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ABSTRACT

The 50 papers on English language and literature included in this compilation are grouped under the following headings: Old English (editing "Judgment Day," the syntactic types "every man" and "each of men," and continuity and variation in psalm glosses); Present-Day English (speech rate and vowel quantity as compared with Finnish): neutralization in generative phonology; nouns ending in "-ee"; embedding in legal English; conversion; term-formation in engineering; lexicology; aspects of dialect space; "go to" and "will" in spoken English; preterite and perfect in British news bulletins; semantics of terminologies; secular, doctrinal, and supernatural illocutionary acts; cohesion and coherence in short expository essays; pronominal chains in conversation; argumentative text structure; content and sentence structure in simplified and abridged texts; the transferred epithet and body language; term papers in research projects; comparison of spoken and written English; adverbials; discourse analysis; English in Sweden); Teaching of English (intonation and Norwegian students; difficulty in English as a foreign language; technological developments; British politics); and literature (controversy over literary theory; comedy and twentieth-century drama; medieval portraiture; the song "Little Son Hugh"; folktales; partition in Indo-English novels; and 12 authors: William Shakespeare, John Milton, Thomas Otway, Mary Wollstonecraft, Samuel Coleridge, Charles Dickens, Elizabeth Sewell, Thomas Hardy, Hans Andersen, D. H. Lawrence, Andre Brink, Tom Stoppard). (MSE)

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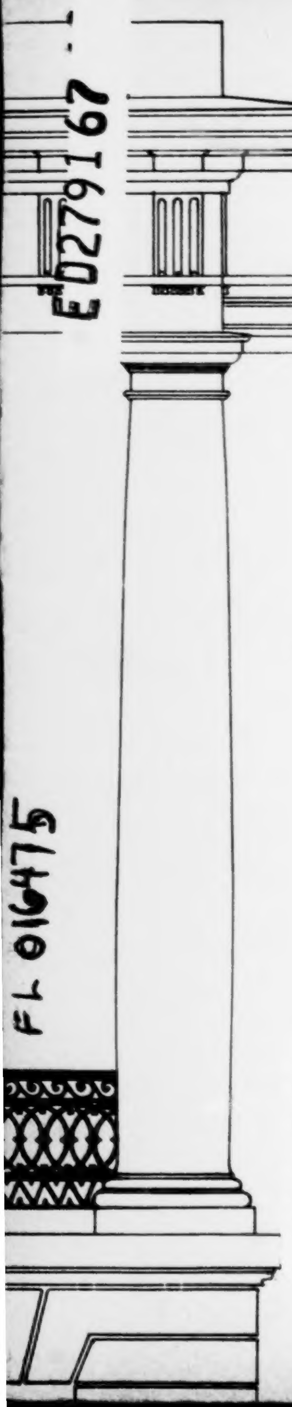

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MEDDELANDEN FRÅN
STIFTELSENS FÖR ÅBO AKADEMI
FORSKNINGSINSTITUT NR 92

Proceedings from the Second Nordic Conference for English Studies

Edited by

HÅKAN RINGBOM and MATTI RISSANEN

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MEDDELANDEN FRÅN STIFTELSENS FÖR ÅBO AKADEMI
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Proceedings from the Second Nordic Conference for English Studies

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PREFACE

The Second Nordic Conference for English Studies was organized at Hanasaari/Hanaholmen, near Helsinki, on May 19 - 21, 1983. Some 140 English scholars from the five Nordic countries participated in the Conference. Fifty-six papers and reports were read, of which fifty were submitted for publication in the present volume.

The organization of the Conference was made possible by grants from the Finnish Ministry of Education and the British Council. This support is gratefully acknowledged. The editors also wish to express their gratitude to the Research Institute of the Åbo Akademi Foundation for permission to publish the Conference Volume in their Series.

December 1983,

Håkan Ringbom	Matti Rissanen
Åbo Akademi	University of Helsinki

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HISTORY OF ENGLISH

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ON EDITING OLD ENGLISH JUDGMENT DAY II

The Doomsday poem usually called Judgment Day II (Jdg II) in the mid-11th century MS CCCC 201 (MS C) and dated late 10th century is based on a Latin poem by Bede, De die iudicii, of c. 716-30. A third version exists in the later vernacular prose homily "Her is halwendlic lar...." in MS Bodley Hatton 113 (MS H).

Both Latin poem and later prose version can be useful when editing the Old English poetic text which has a number of corrupt passages. But the modern editor should not borrow indiscriminately from Bede or the homily as the Old English poet may not have had the same version of the Latin poem in front of him and the later homilist might also have copied from a different version of Jdg II than the only one extant today. As there are many scribal errors in Jdg II which the homilist has simply omitted, one might be tempted to assume that he had the MS C version in front of him, but there are also corrupt readings he has solved which suggests that he either had a different version or was highly inventive and imaginative.

I have only time to discuss two aspects of my present work on editions of the three versions of this Doomsday verse. First I shall consider how and why the Old English poet and later homilist changed their sources, as this will tell us much about their methods and aims. Then I intend to view Jdg II in its manuscript context, as such an investigation casts light on the aims of the manuscript compiler and on how it might have been read in the eleventh century.

My first task was to establish the Old English poetic text, but I shall spare you from a detailed survey of textual problems. Next a Latin version close to that used by the poet had to be found. De die iudicii was extremely popular for many centuries from Hexham (MS CCCC 139) to central Europe (Reims, Orleans, Turgensee), as the forty surviving manuscripts bear witness to.[1]

The most commonly used version today is that of J.P. Migne in Patrologia

Latina vol. 94, which is based on an early 19th century transcription by J.A. Giles, who copied Cassander's edition in *Hymni Ecclesiastici* of 1556. Cassander's version was taken from a late continental manuscript which is now lost; Migne's edition, therefore, is hardly the best available. Fraipont did little better in his *Corpus Christianorum* edition, as he adopted Migne's text and supplemented it with another later version (found in MS CCCC 139) which had been edited by T. Arnold.[2]

There are, however, many 9th and 10th century versions extant and L. Whitbread, who has extensively investigated the Latin manuscripts and to whom I am much indebted, has suggested that MS BL Cotton Domitian A 1, a 10th-century insular manuscript written by one scribe, might be the nearest version we can find to that used by the Old English poet.[3]

Textual evidence for this choice I have outlined elsewhere.[4] The most convincing piece of evidence is the Old English poet's use of the expression *wanhydige mod* (line 50) to translate the Cotton manuscript's *quassatos ...animos*, but not the Migne version's *quassatos...calamos*, which in fact is nearer the biblical source from Isaiah 42:3 -- "Calamum quassatum non conteret, et linum fumigans non extinguet". The text that refers to the quivering reed(s) that will not be condemned until Doomsday, and directly adopted by the "Migne" scribe, has been interpreted by the "Cotton" scribe to refer to vascillating souls and it is this explicit interpretation that the Old English poet has adapted with his "weak mind". There are other, similar pieces of evidence that support the theory that the Cotton Domitian text provides a more reliable source than any printed version.[5]

The Old English *Jdg II* might be called a translation, although it is more than that, especially in the first eight lines. One Latin hexameter is regularly expanded into two Old English alliterative lines with a general elaboration of or variation on the source but little additional material. The Old English poem is less abstract in imagery than Bede, as the above example demonstrates. At times the Old English poet seems to misunderstand the Latin: *apertas* (32), referring to the open gates of paradise, becomes *ænlican* (63) 'unique', 'exquisite'. *Tumidus* (80) 'swelling' is translated *afæred* (163), probably confused with *timidus*. *Dirus* 'fearful' is translated *steacheard* (201), confused with *durus*.

On some occasions the Latin can aid our understanding of the vernacular text. We find *deað-beacnigende* (112), 'death-signifying', an adjective with no qualifier, while the Latin has *signa minantia mortem* (56). *Signa* might be translated by O.E. *tacn* and this addition restores meaning and aids the metre of the line.

The most significant changes to the Bede text were made in the initial, lyrical section of the text.[6]

Hwæt! Ic ana sæt · innan bearwe,
mid helme beþeht, · holte tomiddes,
þær þa wæterburnan · swegdon and urnon
on middan gehæge, · eal swa ic secge.
Eac þær wynwyrta · weoxon and bleowon
innon þam gemonge · on ænlicum wonge,
and þa wudubeamas · wagedon and swegdon
þurh winda gryre; (1-8a)

Inter florigeras fecundi cespitis herbas,
Flamine uentorum resonantibus undique ramis,
Arboris umbriferae maestus sub tegmine solus
Dum sedi, . . . (1-4)

Lo. I sat alone within a grove covered with foliage, in the middle of a wood, where the streams made music and ran in the middle of the enclosure, just as I say. Pleasant plants also grew and bloomed there amid the throng in the excellent plain, and the trees of the forest tossed and murmured in the strength of the wind.

Amidst the flowery grasses of the fertile earth,
with the blast of the winds everywhere in echoing branches,
Under the cover of shade-bearing tree, alone and dejected.
While I sat . . . .

The poet has omitted the sense of "alone and dejected" and created a more joyful, paradisal opening. He adds the grove, the protecting foliage, the enclosure (on middan gehæge, 4) with its connotations of the hortus conclusus, the wynwyrta (5) 'blessed, joyous flowers' and he significantly adds the image of streams with their many associations. This cultivated, enclosed garden affords a sense of security and welfare, as well as pleasure. The sense of loneliness and dejection is entirely missing. Then later the trees toss in the wind and clouds gather; the persona raises his eyes to the troubled heavens "and my wretched mind was completely disturbed". The metaphor of clouds gathering is well-known today while the onslaught of sudden wind frequently heralded the commencement of Doomsday signs in medieval eschatological literature. This worldly paradise is now seen as a place of escapism and contrasted with the state of spiritual danger that the persona finds himself in: such a contrast between physical ease and spiritual anxiety prepares us also for the later Body and Soul debate. The symbolic -- as well as the lyrical -- aspects of the nature scene in Bede's poem are augmented by the Old English poet. The mood becomes one of contemplation in preparation for the theme of penance.

Of even greater help to the editor of the Old English poem is the later prose version in MS H in a Wulfstanian homily "Her is halwendlic lar ..." ("Here is healing advice ... and necessary knowledge for all men who know no Latin"). The poem is encorporated into the middle of this popular, vernacular sermon. The initial, lyrical section discussed above is omitted for the mood is no longer personal, the persona is not a sinner speaking intimately to sinners; the *ic* and *þu* are gone and instead the tone is harsher, the aim doctrinal and didactic and a large audience, addressed as *geo*, is envisaged. The homily begins with an exhortation on the needs for confession, knowing the Creed, The Pater Noster, fasting and the importance of Penance. It is significant that he should choose the *Judgment Day II* poem as a penitential work. The homilist is clearly in search of the terrifying, Doomsday description, beginning at 1. 92 of the poem with "Ondrædon us þone micclan dom and þa miclan wite".

Although the homilist adds the articles and pronouns omitted by poetic licence from his source, he retains most of the alliteration and rhythm of poetry. He appends accent marks to point out stressed alliterative syllables when reading the homily.

There are two major omissions from that section of the poem the homilist chose to copy: lines 166-174 are omitted, a section on the flood of fire and the snakes, the weeping and the fear at Doomsday. But this is largely a repetition of previous, similar descriptions. The homilist deliberately attempts to avoid all repetitions and to make the poem more concise and thereby vivid. Lines 231-241 are also omitted and this time the homily manuscript has *lacuna* in the margin. It is a passage in which the deadly sins are listed, the vices of this world and the onomatopoeic description of sleep slinking stealthily away: *slæp sleac mid sluman slincan onhinder*. Instead the homilist substitutes one line *ealle agene þing þissere worlde þætleof wæs ær*. Presumably he considered a long list of sins distracting from his aim of terrifying his congregation with the fear of Doom, as he quickly continues with the horror, illness and fire in the blind cave where all burn.

The poet mentions the *wuldor and wurðmynt* (270) of heaven and this seems to provide a fitting cue for the homilist to conclude his paraphrase of the poem with a doxology.

Structurally, the homilist is more succinct and direct than the poet. Omitted are the obscure, or corrupt passages of the poetic text, such as line 222 *ne þara wera worn wihte* (222), a line that still plagues modern editors. The Latin has *flentibus*, so *wera* should probably be *wependra*, but the homilist simply omits the line. The poetic text has "onworuld aworuld" for "on worulda woruld" and this is also omitted. The mention of hail and snow in l. 265 is omitted, either because a repetition, or, more likely, because of the corrupt form *swase* (265) for *snawe* (MS ſnaƿe). Generalisations such as "No one can tell of the horrors" (185-86) and repetitive line-fillers are also omitted.

Poetic expressions are "watered down", so that *upplice eoredheapas* (113) becomes *engla þreatas*, and the ornate *swegles brytta* (117) becomes the prosaic *se Dema*. *Eala* exclamations in the poetry becomes *Ac* and spelling is normalized. Can we therefore assume that the Old English homilist used "our" manuscript of *Judgment Day II*? The fact that he passes over scribal errors, flounders over *snawe*, etc. might point to this conclusion. Yet the scribe of MS C might have copied errors from another manuscript. There is also a number of places where the homilist corrects errors in the poetic version; these are of particular importance to the modern editor of *Judgment Day II*. Do such corrections point to the fact that the homilist used another and less corrupt poetic text or to the fact that the imaginative homilist could reconstruct the original Old English poet's text? On line 125 of the poem there are obvious signs of a confused scribe: there is a lacuna, scraped out letters and a final *stent he ..... heortleas and earh* which is meaningless. The homilist provides a solution *[þonne ðær] stent ealra hergea mæst heortleas and earh*. It is difficult to guess at a solution from the Old English line; we can see that *he* is part of a word and not a pronoun and that there are six missing letters. The line is metrically short and *he* as a pronoun has no antecedent. Possibly the poetic scribe wrote *hergea*, as the Latin has the genitive plural *cunctorum*, then erased it, but the homilist's reconstruction is intelligent and accurate and may well point to his use of a version of the poem other than ours.

There are other occasions in which one might suspect that a more accurate poetic text was available:

poem: nan stef nestyreð (201)
prose: nan stefen gehyred
poem: wa þe nu þu þeowast (178)
prose: wa þe nu, þu þe þeowast þissere worulde
(the *þu þe* is added above the line).

poem: eald and yrre (22)

prose: adl and yrre, as *eald* cannot be a substantive form.

The third and final aspect of the Old English poem I should like to discuss here is its context in MS C. This manuscript has been called a hodgepodge, a miscellany of homilies, legal documents and laws and is most famous for the Old English *Apollonius of Tyre* and its Wulfstan homilies. It also contains the Canons of Edgar, the Laws of the Northumbrian Priests, sections of Aelfric's *Genesis* and the Old English prose sections of the Benedictine Rule, preceded by *De Ecclesiasticus Gradibus* and followed by *De Confessione*. *De Confessione* reappears in the manuscript at the conclusion of a number of Old English poems, the first of which is *Jdg II*. The others are *An Exhortation to Christian Living*, *A Summons to Prayer*, *The Lord's Prayer II* and *The Gloria I*. There are many facts that suggest that this manuscript,like MS BL Junius 121 and MS H, was compiled for Wulfstan's own use as a Commonplace Book. At any rate the Hatton and Cambridge manuscripts contain those homilies which are accepted as Wulfstan's own and other works connected with his activities. Very likely all are of Worcester origin.[7] The Cambridge and Junius manuscripts contain The Benedictine Office, as well as the *Lord's Prayer*, and *Gloria* in Anglo-Saxon. In Junius 121 the *Lord's Prayer* and *Gloria* form an integral part of the Office, whereas in MS C these two poems occur later in the manuscript but are in the same hand as that of the scribe of the Office. *Judgment Day II* is also linked to the *Lord's Prayer* and the *Gloria* and, by the repetition of *De Confessione*, to the Office as well. The link between poems and Office is surely to be found in penitential literature.[8]

The connection between penance, eschatology and prayer is seen in another of Bede's works, *De Temporibus Anni*,which Aelfric translated and used as a monitory sermon on penance; this eschatological work concludes with The Creed and *The Lord's Prayer*, and stresses the need to know these works as the gateway to Penance.

Exactly the same could be said about the later prose homily in MS H (or indeed of the poems in MS C) in which Doomsday fear is the initial step. Bede's *De Temporibus Anni*, as his *De die iudicii*, begins in a personal mood and progresses through the fear of doom to devotional exercises prescribed by the Confessor. The group of poems introduced by *Jdg II* begins personally with the garden scene, progresses through personal fear to the memory of sin, the fear of Doomsday, tears and contrition, physical self-torment and the treatment of the sin as a disease to be cured by its contrary - all conventional, text-book steps on the road to penance. Penance is the medicine for the sick soul and Christ is the Physician, and Jdg II has the Cristus medicus motif as a central theme. The poem moves from personal mood to a Body and Soul debate and the scene gradually embraces all mankind. In addition there is a gradual movement from this world to the next, concluding with the joys of heaven. The following poem in the group, An Exhortation to Christian Living picks up the theme at a more prosaic level. It is written in the same hand as Jdg II, follows it on the same page and the second line echoes a phrase from the rubric of Jdg II - "Blowende þe to godes rice farað" - "Gif þu wille þæt blowende rice gestigan ...". It begins with "Nu lære ic þe", 'Now I shall teach you', as if naturally following the preceding work and becoming more didactic.

The Summons to Prayer is a brief macaronic poem that does just as its title suggests, and it is followed by the vital Lord's Prayer and Gloria which are greatly expanded versions with c. 10-20 lines of explanation after each line of prayer. Again the mood is admonitory and the aim explanatory. One might imagine that the Confessor would suggest the recitation of these poems as devotional exercises to the penitent.

The poems, therefore, form an important, integrated group, although not all in the same hand, and the repetition of the De Confessione at the conclusion links them with the Office. Jdg II therefore no longer appears an isolated Doomsday poem, but an initial step on the journey to penance.

NOTES

1. See L. Whitbread, "A Study of Bede's Versus de die iudicii, PQ 23 (1944), 193-221, and his "After Bede: The Influence and Dissemination of his Doomsday Verses", Archiv f.n. Sprachen 204 (1967), 250-66.

2. Corpus Christianorum, Series CXXII (Turnhout, 1955), 439-44.

3. L. Whitbread, "The Old English Poem Judgment Day II and its Latin Source" PQ 45 (1966), 635-56.

4. "The Source Manuscript for the Old English Judgment Day II" in Presented to Knud Schibsbye, ed. M. Chesnutt et al. (Copenhagen, 1979), pp. 27-31.

5. Other manuscripts share this textual variant and these are discussed in the above article, but only one other, MS Trinity College Cambridge 1135 chronologically precedes Jdg II. The Cambridge MS is defective from line 148 and the conclusion written in a later hand.

6. A detailed analysis of Jdg II and particularly of the passage quoted here can be found in my book, The Judgment Day Theme in Old English Poetry, (Copenhagen, 1976), pp. 115-159.

7. L. Whitbread suggests a Canterbury provenance in "MS CCCC 201: A Note on its Character and Provenance." PQ 38 (1959), 106-112. See also the remarks in James M. Ure, ed. The Benedictine Office,(Edinburgh, 1957), pp. 9-11, and Dorothy Bethurum, ed. The Homilies of Wulfstan,(Oxford, 1957).

8. See L. Whitbread, "MS CCCC 201 ....", 109-11 and his "Notes on Two Minor Old English Poems", Studia Neophilologus 29 (1957), 123-29.

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ON THE SYNTACTIC TYPES 'EVERY MAN' AND 'EACH OF MEN' IN OLD ENGLISH

In Modern English we have *each* and *every*, but in Old English several words were used in the same functions as the modern ones. There were *gehwilc* and *gehwa*, *æghwilc* and *æghwa* and *ælc*. Besides, *æghwæþer* and *gehwæþer* were used in the sense 'every'/'each', but even more often as 'both' or 'either' with dual reference. This is why I have excluded them from the present study and restrict myself to the four first mentioned ones only. In the ModE usage there are some differences between the two alternatives. According to Quirk et al. (1972:218 f.), *every* and combinations with *every* refer to three or more and have collective reference, whereas *each* refers to two or more, i.e. it can be dual or plural, and has individual reference. Both of them can be used as determiners, i.e. dependently, but it is only *each* that can have a nominal, i.e. independent function, whereas *every* can serve the same function only in a combination with -*body* or (-)*one*. Besides, there is a further meaning difference between the independent *each* and *everybody*/(-)*one*. *Each* refers to something in the context, whereas *everybody*/(-)*one* does not. Alongside of the dependent use, like *every student* or *each student*, the two words also have *of*-constructions, e.g. *every one of the students*, *each* or *each one of the students*. In many contexts the distributive meaning is emphasized by the *of*-construction.

Against the ModE background, and I think even otherwise, the OE words for 'every' and 'each' offer an interesting object of study. The title of the present paper may seem somewhat misleading and therefore calls for further precision. 'Each of men' is there to refer to the very common OE pattern with a word for 'every' + a noun or a pronoun in the genitive plural, i.e. something corresponding to the modern *of*-construction, formally a partitive genitive. My intention is to illustrate the variation between the two syntactic patterns: the dependent structure, like *ælc man*, and the independent one, like *manna ælc*. OE shows considerable deviation from the present usage. The two-parted division in the reference of every and each (collective and individual respectively) and in their syntactic behaviour has no direct correspondance in OE, although something of it can be detected. Meaning, of course, is always difficult to define, and to quite an extent one has to rely on his or her intuition also when the possible differences between ælc, æghwilc, æghwa, gehwilc and gehwa are pointed out. Mostly these seem to be only delicate shades of meaning and are heavily dependent on the context in which the words appear. The occurrence and behaviour of the five OE words for 'every' mostly seem to be regulated by other factors than those affecting the modern usage.

The present study is based on the extant OE literature, practically all of it, both poetry and prose, and it comprises some 4000 instances of ælc, æghwilc, æghwa, gehwilc and gehwa construed either with a noun in agreement or with a noun or a pronoun in gen.pl. This means that the ca. 600 examples of these words used alone without a nominal head or gen. modifier in the generic sense 'everybody' or 'everything' are excluded, as my main concern is to compare the two alternative constructions 'every man'/'each of men' which, as far as the meaning is concerned, are generally interchangeable. The overall situation in the corpus is illustrated by the simple table below, which gives frequencies of the words and of the two syntactic types in question in prose and poetry separately.

	dependent	indep. + gen.mod.		totals	total
ælc					
poetry	30	6	(-376)	36	2621
prose	2160	425		2585	
æghwa					
poetry	-	2	(-7)	2	14
prose		12		12	
æghwilc					
poetry	32	46	(-46)	78	458
prose	338	42		380	
gehwa					
poetry	6	142	(-6)	148	164
prose	-	16		16	
gehwilc					
poetry	9	289	(-10)	298	784
prose	253	233		486	
totals					
poetry	77	485		562	4041
prose	2751	728		3479	
total	2828	1213		4041	

(The figures in brackets, which will be commented on later in this paper, indicate those instances where the gen. modifier is a pronoun.)

Even at a first glance at the table we can see that there are considerable differences in the frequencies between various words, syntactic structures and types of text. The least frequent words may deserve a comment at this point. The etymology of gehwa and æghwa explains their rarity in dependent use. The interrogative root hwa is purely pronominal and therefore hardly allows adjectival inflection. The six dependent instances of gehwa should therefore of course be viewed with some suspicion. They all appear in poetry, three of them in the Paris Psalter (the others in Cæd, Dan and Prec).[1] In support of the correctness of the forms could be said that in all of them the inflectional endings are grammatically correct. Still, we also have good reason to consider them corrupt, on the basis of parallel MS readings once and of the general carelessness of the writer of the PPs, of which we have several examples in other contexts. In spite of this, these instances should not, in my mind, be completely ignored and condemned as invalid. Æghwa, on the other hand, seems to have been archaic and generally in little use in the OE period already.

The above discussion leaves us after all with only ælc, æghwilc and gehwilc for a closer study. The etymology of these words (ā + ge + līc > ælc, (ā +)ge + hwȳ + līc > æg-/gehwilc) would imply that they are primarily adjectival, but as we can see from the table, they all appear frequently both in dependent and independent constructions. There are 2800 examples of the dependent use and about half of it or 1200 of independent use. Why is that? Among the relatively few people who have studied this problem and related ones, Eduard Hermann is the one to be quoted in this connection: "Man braucht sich aber nur die ungeheure Vorliebe des Altgermanischen für den Teilungsgenetiv gerade beim Pronomen klarzumachen, um sofort den Schlüssel für die Öffnung der Schwierigkeitstore in die Hand zu bekommen." (1940-1:178) And further on: "Man darf eben nie vergessen, dass die Konstruktion mit dem Genetiv eine ganz äusserliche, mechanische Umsetzung aus dem attributiven Verhältnis ist, das erst zuverlässig den Sinn vermitteln kann." (206) The adjectival use seems to be considered the primary one and also the more reliable one. The two alternatives can possibly be taken as an indication of the rich resources of the language - a natural way of expression has expanded to an area where it did not originally belong.

It is, however, in my mind worth having a closer look at the two alternative constructions and the factors that regulate their variation. To delineate the area where we can really speak of variation we have to restrict the number of the independent instances further. If the gen. modifier is a pronoun, personal or demonstrative, there is only this one way to express "everiness", i.e. 'every' cannot obviously in any circumstance appear in agreement with such a pronoun. A few examples to illustrate such instances:

Ælc þæra ðe hæfð, him bið mare geseald. *ÆCHom* ii 556.11

Ælc þæra manna þe Cristes willan on ænige wisan gewyrcþ, he þenað Criste. *ÆHom* 25.8

and þara manna [seofan menn] *æghwylc* a to life gesceapen wære, and þara *æghwylc* hæfde seofon heafda *WHom Napier* 215

þæt mot ure *gehwylc* rihtlice healdan *WHom* 18.139

The stereotyped relative constructions 'each of those who' are also included here. No alternative way of expression exists for this kind of phrases, and therefore we cannot speak of variation proper. Nor can we do that of ModE *each of us*, *each of those* (*men who*). The exclusion of these decreases the number of independent constructions to a considerable extent, especially in the case of *ælc*. The figures in brackets in the table above show us how many instances should be deducted in this operation. The interesting figures are those of *ælc* (431-376=55) and *æghwilc* (88-46=42) in that these two words seem to become even more prevailingly adjectival in such cases where two alternatives really exist. Still, it is typical of *ælc* and not so much of the others to appear in stereotyped relative constructions *ælc þæra þe* or such where an additional nominal modifier also appears, e.g. *ælc þæra manna þe*. In my opinion, this could be explained by the aim at and achievement of a rhythmically balanced phrase with less emphasis on 'each' (*ælc* being monosyllabic) than on the restrictive clause which is connected to the antecedent by the post-modifier *þæra*.

We have seen that defining *ælc*, *æghwilc* and *gehwilc* as purely adjectival words and *æghwa* and *gehwa* as substantival ones would mean over-simplification. On the whole, *æghwa* and *gehwa* can, however, be considered pronominal, but the three others are not definable in such simple terms. At this point, we should also be reminded of the fact that *ælc* appears 270 times alone as a pronoun proper in the sense 'everyone' or 'everything', *æghwilc* 86 times and *gehwilc* 44 times. It is especially *gehwilc* that seems to build a bridge between the adjectival and substantival uses.

Are there any factors that regulate the variation, and if there are any, what are they? I believe that it has by now become clear that the words themselves are different by their syntactic character. On the other hand, it would be interesting to see whether the noun combined with 'each' affects the choice. The word man is obviously often combined with 'every', in the generic sense 'human being'. There are 280 instances of ælc man but none of manna ælc, more than a hundred of manna gehwilc and about 20 of gehwilc man, 65 of æghwilc man whereas only two of manna aeghwilc. These figures illustrate very well the general syntactic patterns of the 'every'-phrases throughout the corpus. They represent the average usage, which perhaps becomes clearer or more concrete from the following examples:

ðæt wat ælc mon Bo 107.20
Ac do nu manna gehwylc swa him mycel þearf is WHom 7.135
Cuð is gehwilcum menn þæt þis lif is geswinc-ful. ÆLS 34.141
swa sceal æghwylc mon // alætan lændagas Beo 97
Bið eac swa same // monna æghwilc / micle þy fægenra // liðes
weðres, gif ... Met 12.12

After analysing the accompanying words, it seems to me that more than the quality or meaning of the noun itself, it is the meaning of the whole phrase, I mean whether the distributive sense is emphasized or not, that matters in the choice of the structure. There are hundreds of adjectival examples like ælce dæge, ælce geare etc. where the reference is really collective. And it is ælc that seems to have the least individual reference even otherwise. Differences of this kind between the five words are of course difficult to detect and the analysis has to be based on intuition among other things, but the general trend seems to be that the monosyllabic ælc often has a less distributive meaning than the other four, which more often emphasize each individual separately. The stress pattern of the words is not without significance. The gen. structure also seems to me to emphasize the distributive sense in the same way as the of-construction in ModE.

It was said earlier that the choice of the word for 'every' is an important factor that influences the syntactic structure of the phrase as a whole. But we have also seen from the table above that gehwilc especially is very common both in dependent and independent uses. I have given the frequencies in prose and poetry separately to make it clear how important the type of the text is. The demands of prose and poetry are very different. In a somewhat simplistic manner we could say that in prose what you say is even more important than how you say it, whereas in poetry the two things come in reverse order. In prose the general aim is at a natural speech rhythm and clarity, even if a sermon for example also serves an artistic purpose. The metrical rules of OE poetry, alliteration very often, put some restrictions on the language use and therefore the demands of the metre sometimes go ahead of those of the natural speech rhythm and usage.

Two conclusions can again be drawn from the table referred to several times earlier. First, *ælc* does obviously not belong to the OE poetic vocabulary, and second, the dependent use seems to be much less frequent in poetry than in prose. The reasons for the rarity of *ælc* in poetry could be searched for in two different directions. The pronoun either emerged at a later date or in a different dialect than the bulk of the OE poetry, or, as a monosyllable, it is less suited for the demands of the metre than the other words. There are facts in support of the former reason which I do not go more into here.[2] Metrically satisfactory lines with *ælc* are not easy to find either, but two such instances may be quoted here as an example:

Sie ðæt la on eorðan *ælces* ðinges
gesælig mon, gif he gesion mæge
...
æðelne æwelm *ælces* goodes, *Met* 23.1-4

Alliteration has most probably played a decisive role in the choice of the word. As we know, both the number of stressed syllables and alliteration are important in the OE metre. The fact that the words begin with a vowel and the first syllable is stressed in *æghwilc* and *æghwa*, whereas *ge-* in *gehwilc* and *gehwa* is not, is therefore not without importance. The variety of the words provided the poets with a good possibility for choice so that the demands could be fulfilled in most cases. An illustrative example of this flexibility is given by a few lines from *The Panther* quoted below:

Þæt is wrætlic deor, wundrum scyne
hiwa *gehwylces*; swa hæleð secgað,
gæsthalge guman, þætte Iosephes
tunece wære telga *gehwylces*
bleom bregdende, þara beorhtra *gehwylc*
aeghwæs ænlicra oþrum lixte
dryhta bearnum, swa þæs deores hiw,
blæc brigda *gehwæs*, beorhtra ond scynra
wundrum lixeð, þætte wrætlicra

æghwylc oþrum, ænlicra gien
ond faegerra frætwum bliceð,
symle sellicra. Pan 19-30

There we have examples of both alliteration at work and of the rules about the number of stressed syllables well followed.

When studying some other indefinite adjectives in OE poetry, Lydia Fakundiny (1970:133-6) has noticed that in a normal situation, when the adjective precedes the noun, it can be separated from the noun by the metrical caesura or by speech materials, but when the indefinite follows the noun, such interception is much less frequent. For the OE 'every' this also holds true, even as much as that when 'every' precedes, it can be separated by both the caesura and speech materials. In the other order such interception never appears. This seems to be connected with how the 'every'-phrases are construed in OE poetry. Fluency and naturalness of the language has been achieved when the elements of the indefinite phrases have not been forced apart by demands of the metre. I feel that the fact that the dependent 'every' normally precedes its head in OE, whereas the independent one follows the noun, has contributed to the frequency of the independent structures in poetic texts. Different parts of speech have different positions in the hierarchy of the OE poetic language (cf. also Fakundiny 1970:130). The fact that nouns regularly provide the lifts and share in alliteration explains for its part the high frequency of the order noun (gen. mod.) + 'every', i.e. a regular independent structure. This pattern seems to be favoured by gehwilc and gehwa in particular. Also, in several instances the gen.pl. form of the noun has made a monosyllabic word into a two-syllabic one, which often suits the metrical pattern better. All these aspects are well illustrated by the following few examples:

engel ufancundne, se mec efna gehwam,
...
sigorfæst gesohte, ond me sara gehwylc
gehælde hygesorge Guth B 1242-5
mon on mode mæla gehwylce Met 22.65
and wundorlic witena gehwylcum Met 20.3
ylda æghwilc yfles and godes Gen B 480
... ræcað efne gehwam
æghwilcum men agen gewyrhta LPr ii 15-6

The demands of alliteration and the stress pattern have been well observed as well as the hierarchy of the different parts of speech whenever possible.

The last example is a relatively rare one, such where the repetition of the indefinite and the dependent use in the latter instance provide a metrically most satisfactory result.

Much time and space has here been spent on the two main areas, so to say, where some obvious factors regulating the dependent and independent uses of *ælc*, *æghwilc*, *æghwa*, *gehwilc* and *gehwa* can be traced. The first was the "syntactic nature" of the words themselves and the second the basic differences between prose and poetry, and in particular the demands that the OE metrical rules put on the structure of the phrases in question. These two aspects in fact are the far most important ones. In addition to them, however, at least one more should be mentioned. That is a more personal or individual aspect of language behaviour. The problem with the provenance of each text then immediately rises and the question who is after all responsible for the final form of a book or manuscript. I would anyway like to draw attention to a few most consistent and obvious cases in order to point out the relevance of such features even more generally. It seems indeed that the OE language was very flexible in its use of the words for 'every' among others. The wide choice of words and structures was considerably restricted at later times, but a thousand years ago the writers could still follow their own lines within a limited range, of course.

The most obvious pair of writers for comparison are the two contemporaries Ælfric and Wulfstan. Karl Jost (1950:163-5) has already drawn attention to the fact that Ælfric and Wulfstan differ from each other especially in their use of *gehwilc*. If Wulfstan writes *manna gehwilc*, Ælfric hardly ever uses the word independently. There is some inexactness in Jost's figures, but the claim as such is correct. Wulfstan has as many as 35 instances of *manna gehwilc*, and AElfric mostly *gehwilc man* instead. Even with other nouns he favours dependent *gehwilc*. Out of the 262 instances of dep. *gehwilc* in the whole corpus, about 120 are in Ælfric's works. But for generic 'everyone' AElfric has most commonly *gehwa*, and the word seems to have a strong stylistic colouring for him. In the rich use of *ælc*, they both seem to be in the same line, whereas *æghwilc* seems to belong to Wulfstan's vocabulary only. This kind of difference can hardly be explained in other terms than those of personal liking or habit. Alfred, for his part, seems to favour *ælc*, but the syntactic structure of his *ælc*-phrases does not differ from the average usage in any way.

Idiolects lead to dialects, of which only a few words will be said here. The main differences lie in the choice of the words for 'every' and not so much in the syntactic structure of the phrases. The Gospel translations offer a good object for comparison, and from them one feels tempted to conclude that æghwilc is a characteristic of the Anglian vocabulary, whereas aelc is particularly common in WS. Remarkable is that the words gehwa and gehwilc, which favour independent structures with a gen. modifier, are very rare in the Gospels. In the glosses the Latin original seems to have provided the model, and therefore omnis + a noun has always been translated with the "most adjectival" words æghwilc and aelc in a dependent construction.

As typical representatives of the above idiolectal and dialectal peculiarities the following examples may be quoted:

Ac do nu manna gehwylc swa him mycel þearf is, WHom 7.135
Swa swa gehwilc man wunað on sawle and on lichaman an mann, ÆCHom
i 454.6
forðaemðe ælc mon wenð þ þ betst sie þ he swiðost lufað Bo 56.11
Suæ eghuelc treo god wæstmas goda doæð [ł] gewyrces Mt(Li) 7.17
Sic omnis arbor bona fructos bonos facit
ælc god treow Mt(WS) 7.17

The use of an/anra with the OE words for 'every' would deserve a chapter of its own. I will, however, leave it as it falls outside the scope of the present study, in spite of the fact that it has some connection with the dependent or independent use of the words, but even more with the choice of the words themselves.[3] My main concern here has been to detect the factors that regulate the variation between the two syntactic structures which appear in the OE phrases for 'every' + a noun. To quite an extent, the usage was different from the ModE one, first, because there was a greater variety of words in OE and therefore a freer choice, second, the words were syntactically different from each other, third, the type of the text had considerable influence on the usage, mainly because of the metrical rules of OE poetry. In addition to this, one should never forget the personal element in language use. In that respect the Anglo-Saxons did not differ from the speakers of English today.

NOTES

1. The short titles for Old English texts follow the system proposed by Christoph Ball, Angus Cameron and Bruce Mitchell, in Anglo-Saxon England, IV, 1975, pp. 207-21.

2. Poetry is generally considered more archaic than prose, whereas ælc is a younger formation than the other four words. Also, in spite of the very mixed nature of the OE poetry, the extant texts as they stand carry many Anglian features which, among other things, do not include the use of ælc in prose either.

3. A detailed and thorough study of it is to be found in Rissanen (1967: 238-60), to which very little can be added.

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CONTINUITY AND VARIATION IN OLD ENGLISH PSALM GLOSSES

The purpose of this small-scale study by manual means is to obtain some idea as to how much lexical continuity might be expected in later English Psalm translations if a computerized study of the interlinear OE Psalm glosses in Latin MSS of the Psalms were to be undertaken.

All the MSS in British libraries containing the first thirty Psalms with interlinear glosses were included in the corpus. The Latin Psalms represent two different versions of the Psalter the Roman (Ps.Rom.) and the Gallican (Ps.Gall.). The Roman type was the official text in England until about 1025. It was probably the first revision by St. Jerome of an old Latin text. The Gallican version goes back to a thorough revision of the former. The current version of the Vulgate is Gallican, though it has undergone a number of smaller alterations.

The relevant MSS of the Roman type include the Vespasian Psalter; gloss c. 875-900(= A_r), the Junius Psalter, c. 925 (= B_r), the Cambridge Psalter, c. 1025 (= C_r), the Regius Psalter, c. 950 (= D_r) and the Canterbury Psalter, gloss c.1150 (= E_r). Further, it seemed appropriate to include in the Roman corpus the first thirty Psalms of the idiomatic West Saxon prose translation known as the Paris Psalter, c. 1025 (= P_r). Though the order of verses had often been altered by the translator, and the number reduced, it was nearly always possible to establish the proper translation equivalent of a Latin word that had interlinear double glosses.

The Psalter copies of the Gallican type included in the study are the Stowe Psalter, c.1050-75 (= F_g), the Vitellius

Psalter, c. 1050 (= G_g), the Tiberius Psalter c. 1050-75 (= H_g), the Lambeth Psalter, c. 1025 (= I_g), the Arundel Psalter, c. 1050-75 (= J_g), and the Salisbury Psalter, c. 975 (= K_g).[1]

One MS of each type with numerous double glosses was chosen as the basis for this study: E_r and G_g. All multiple glosses inserted in Psalms 1-30 in the two MSS, either by one glossator or several, were registered and collated with the other glossed MSS of each group. Though I_g contained even more multiple glosses than G_g it was not considered equally suitable as basis, because the majority of the glosses added turned out to be unique ones, most of which did not survive in later Psalm translations.

The MS containing E_r was finished by a scribe called Eadwine between 1115 and 1120. Eadwine was probably a Benedictine monk. The original goes presumably back to the first half of the tenth century. The scribes responsible for the glosses to Psalms 1-30 seem to have introduced a number of erasions, alterations, and second glosses. They apparently wanted to modernize the language of the glosses as much as possible, in order to make the text more accessible to the people of their time. They revised endings and replaced old glosses by new ones. A later corrector, probably a monastic scholar, continued to work towards the same aim, adding double glosses where necessary and replacing the older vocabulary by a modern one. The present state of the glosses was reached by 1150.

The editor of G_g states that the glosses to Psalms 7-30 were written in the original glossator's hand. The first six Psalms in G_g had no glosses. In a few instances the new gloss is written before the first entry.

The multiple glosses in the first thirty Psalms in E_r amount to 234, while those in G_g number 265, altogether 499. The total number of words occurring in these glosses is more than one thousand. The relations between all the MSS are very intricate. The texts A_r, B_r, and C_r appear to be closely related. The glosses in G_g agree to some extent with D_r, which Lindelöf regards as the basis of another group. According to Wildhagen, (1920:36) the texts in the Gallican group belong to

Winchester. K_g, which comes from the Salisbury region, seems to be independent.

Insufficient mastery of Latin by many of the glossators had brought about contamination of glosses in most of the MSS, with ensuing erasions. Besides, a number of differences in endings and tenses may be traced back to orthographic confusion, scribal errors, alterations, and corrections. Some of the eleventh-century glosses added to MSS of the Roman group must have belonged to the transition period when the Gallican Psalter was being introduced into the liturgy. Lindelöf (1904:122) postulates that even the L text in G_g was influenced by Ps. Rom. Some OE glosses were put down in their basic form, while others were inflected as if they had occurred in a proper translation. Against this background, it was considered appropriate to pay attention to bases or word-stems only, disregarding differences in prefixes, suffixes, word-classes, person, number, and tenses.

To establish any possible continuation it was decided to collate all words occurring in the multiple glosses with two available Middle English and two Early Modern English Psalm versions, as well as with the version in The New English Bible (= NEB). The two medieval texts were a Prose Psalter from the first half of the 14th century (= PrPs.), and Wyclif's Bible from the 1380's (= Wy.). The two Early ModE texts were a Prayer Book version of the Great Bible translated by Coverdale in 1539, hereafter to be referred to as PrB, and the Authorized Version of 1611 (= AV).

The original ninth Psalm was first divided into two in the Prayer Book version. Accordingly, the rest of the Psalm numbers in the ModE texts are one digit ahead of the OE numbering.[2] Further, there are some slight differences in the numbering of verses in the texts. The primary aim of the study was to find out which of the OE word bases included in the material lived on in later translations in the same Psalter passage corresponding to the same Latin word.

During the process of collating the OE glosses with their equivalents in later texts it appeared that several categories of glosses would have to be excluded from the main study at this point, viz., - (i) syntactical or phonological glosses, such as *sylest* l. *sealdest*, *naht* l. *nawiht*, as well as glosses of two words with the same base, e.g., *langsumnessa* l. *lengo*. - (ii) glosses where all lexical continuity was interrupted after the OE period. They numbered 33 in E_r, and 31 in G_g. - (iii) glosses to L words where the Roman reading differed from the Gallican because of a great deal of confusion in the MSS. Some double glosses in G_g referred to the word in *PsRom.*, whereas in others the first gloss was correct but the second one was added after the Roman text, or vice versa in E_r. Such passages numbered 14 in E_r and 17 in G_g. - (iv) glosses to words either altered or omitted in the later L versions of the Clementine *Vulgate* on which the ModE Psalm translations were based. - (v) a few expositional or metaphorical glosses, such as *getreowfulra* l. *Jacobes*, or *deaþ* l. *deofol*. - (vi) incomplete or misapprehended glosses . - (vii) a Latin word repeatedly doubly glossed in the same MS was treated as one, but all the variants were registered. - (viii) instances where it was the L word itself or its French derivative that lived on in later texts. The number of L words of this category was 34 in E_r, and 11 in G_g.

The material having been narrowed down in this way there remained 95 glosses with some continuation of the base. Owing to certain overlapping the number of L words to which the OE equivalents referred that were to survive in any later Psalm translations in the same position was somewhat smaller. Altogether 40 word bases survived only in the ME Psalm versions: 11 in *PrPs.*, 9 in *Wy.*, and 20 in *PrPs.* and *Wy.* Out of these, 14 occurred in E_r; 8 of them had been added by late correctors. G_g had 10, including 4 second glosses.

From now on, words where the base of the OE gloss survives in ModE will be discussed in more detail. Each English word will be presented in a standard form. The L words will be given as they occur in the Psalter text. The OE glosses will mostly be inflected. The sign '+' before a sigil indicates a gloss that has been added, whereas '+' after a sigil refers to the first one of two or more glosses. If there is no '+' the MS has only one gloss. As a rule, only sigils containing the base that survived beyond the OE period are indicated.

Two bases have survived in Wy. and NEB:

child (parvulis Ps.16.14): i) 1 cyldum + E_r ii) lytlingum iii) 1 bearnum.

open (aperuerunt Ps.21.14):i) 1 upenedon + E_r ii) 11 on/a/tyndon.

A few bases have only survived in one ModE text. Three of them occur in PrB:

(at) hand (proxima Ps.21.12):i) 5 gehende D_r, E_r+, G_g+, H_g, I_q ii) 10 (5 neah; 5 neawost). AV,NEB:near.

gum/s (fauces Ps.21.16):i) 8 gomum A_r, B_r, C_r, E_r, P_r, +G_g, H_g, I_g ii) 5 welerum iii) 1 ceace. AV, NEB: jaws (14th c.)

break (down) (destrue/s Ps.27.5):i) 6 to/brec D_r,E_r, F_g, +G_g, H_g, K_g ii) 6 toweorp iii) 1 to/stencst. AV:destroy, NEB:tear down.

Three bases occurred in NEB only:

(scorching) wind (procellarum Ps.10.7):i) 1 (wolberende) windas P_r ii) 7 ysta iii) 5 storma. Other ME and ModE texts: tempest .[3]

wag (moverunt/caput) Ps.211.8):i) 2 weagedon/wecgað E_r+, P_r ii) 7 hrysedon iii) 2 hyredon iv) 1 cwehtun v) 1 onwændan. PrPs.:stir; Wy.: move; PrB, AV: shake.

give (redde/retributionem Ps. 27.4):i) 5 a/gyf A_r, B_r, C_r,+G_g, +I_g ii) 8 a/gyld. PrPs., Wy. : yield; PrB: pay; AV: render.

Four word bases survived in two ModE texts as follows:

PrB and AV: worship (adorate Ps.28.2):i) 4 weorðiaþ A_r, C_r, +G_g, J_g ii) 7 to/ge/biddaþ. PrPs.:aouren; Wy.:honouren, NEB: bow down.

offer (sacrificate Ps. 4.6):i) 5 geoffrieþ + E_r, P_r, I_g,J_g,K_g ii) 6 on/secgaþ. PrPs., Wy.:sacrifien; NEB: paraphr.

PrB and NEB: quake (contremuit/terra Ps.17.8):i) 4 a/cwacode A_r,B_r,C_r,P_r ii) - fohrtode iii) 4 beuede. ME texts, AV:tremble.

AV and NEB: do (quem fecit Ps.21.32):i) 6 dyde A_r, B_r, D_r, G_g+, H_g, K_g ii) 7 worhte. ME texts, PrB: make.

Eight bases have survived in three ME and ModE texts as follows:

PrPs., Wy. and PrB: gift (muneribus Ps.25.10):i) 4 giefum A_r, B_r, C_r, J_g, ii) 5 medsceattum iii) 3 lanum. AV, NEB: bribes.

sound (sonus Ps.18.5):i) 3 són D_r+, G_g+, H_g+ ii) 8 sweg iii) 4 hlisa iv) 1 stemn. PrPs.,Wy.:soun (AN) (Cf.OFrisian/són). AV: line; NEB: music.

Pr.Ps., Wy. and AV: many (aquas/multas Ps.28.3):i) 6 manego D_r, E_r, P_r,G_g+, I_g, K_g, ii) 4 micle. PrB ∅, NEB:paraphr.

PrPs., Wy. and NEB: look (respice Ps.24.16,19):i) 6 ge/loca A_r, B_r, C_r, E_r+, P_r, J_g ii) 6 be/seah iii) beheald. PrB, AV: paraphr.

PrPs., PrB and AV: fat/ness (adipum Ps.16.10):i) 7 fetnisse D_r+, E_r+, P_r, F_g, H_g, I_g, K_g ii) 3 ge/lynde iii) 2 smeoru iv) 2 rysel.

Wy.:talwȝ 'tallow' ; NEB: paraphr.

tell (dinumeraverunt Ps.21.18):i) 7 tealdon D_r, +E_r, F_g, G_g+, I_g, K_g. ii) 8 a/rimedon. WY.: made noumbrable; NEB: paraphr.

Wy., PrB. and AV: cleave to (adhesit Ps.21.16):i) 9 to/ge/cleofode D_r, +E_r, P_r, F_g, G_g+, H_g, I_g, J_g, K_g ii) 5 ætfealh. PrPs.: drawen to. NEB: stick to.

Wy., AV and NEB: ever/more (semper Ps.18.15;24.15):i) 2 æfre +G_g, K_g ii) 9 simble. PrPs., PrB: alway/s.

All three ModE texts contain six OE word bases included in the double glosses:[4]

path/s (super/semitas Ps.22.3):i) 2 paðas F_g, I_g ii) 8 stige/s iii) 3 siðfæt/fatu. (Ælfric : paðas) PrPs., Wy.: bi/sties.

breasts (ab uberibus Ps.21.10):i) 6 from breostum A_r, B_r, C_r, P_r, J_g, K_g ii) 5 breostwelmum iii) 1 breostcofan iv) 1 tyten. PrPs., Wy.: tetis (cf. Dutch dial. tet;OF tete).

flee (transmigra Ps.10.2):i) 1 fleo P_r ii) 5 ofer/far iii) 5 a/leor iv) 2 gewit v) 1 flygæn. PrPs.:wenden; Wy.:passen forb.

dust (pulverem Ps.17.43):i) 12 all OE MSS ii) 2 myll +G_g, +J_g. PrPs., Wy.:poudre.

offering (sacrificii Ps.19.4):i) 6 offrunge D_r, P_r, F_g, G_g+, H_g, K_g ii) 7 onsægdnesse. (Alfric:offrunge). PrB: meal-offering.

though (etsi Ps.22.4): 5 þeah/þe A_r, B_r, C_r, +G_g, J_g ii) 5 gif.

Altogether fifteen bases survived in four later texts. PrPs., Wy., PrB and AV:

smite (percussisti Ps.3.8):i) 1 smite E_r+ ii) 12 of/sloge. The 11th c. smite is now rhetorical or rare. NEB: strike (13th c.).

know (noverunt Ps 9.10):i) 1 cniewen +E_r ii) 9 cunnon/cuþon iii) 6 wiston. (Ælfric:cnawan) NEB: acknowledge (16th c.).

understand/ing (intelligens Ps.13.2):i) 2 understandende +E_r, K_g ii) 11 ongietende iii) 1 andgitel I_g+ .Common in Ælfric.NEB:paraphr.

give (dedit/vocem suam Ps.17.14):i) 1 gef E_r+ ii) 12 sealde. (Alfric; also common in OE verse). NEB: spoke out.

lips (labiorum Ps.20.3):i) 1 lippe +E_r ii) 12 welera. (Cf.OFris.lippa. EETS 242, p. 35). Ælfric. (K_g has lippes elsewhere, along with welera). NEB: paraphr.

hope (spes Ps.21.10):i) 2 to/hopa/e E_r+, P_r ii) 10 hiht/an. (Ælfric). NEB: paraphr.

witness (testes Ps.26.12):i) 8 (1 gewitnessa Pr, 7 gewitan A_r, B_r, C_r, +E_r, +G_g, I_g, J_g) ii) 6 cyþeras. (Ælfric). NEB: give evidence (16th c.).

break (confringentis/cedros Ps.28.5):i) 10 ge/breocendes A_r, B_r, C_r, D_r, E_r, P_r, F_g, G_g+, H_g, I_g ii) 2 for/to/brit iii) 1 forbyrnd(!) iv) 1 gebringende (!). NEB: splinter (Early ModE).

PrPs., Wy., AV and NEB:

near/next (proxima Ps.21.12):i) 10 (5 neah/lice +E_r, P_r, +G_g, I_g+, J_g, 5 neawost A_r, B_r, C_r, F_g, K_g) ii) 5 ge/hende. PrB:close at hand.

seek(after) (requiram Ps.26.4):i) 7 sece A_r, B_r, C_r, E_r+, G_g, I_g, J_g, ii) 4 ge/gierne. PrPs., Wy.: bi/sechen; AV, NEB: seek after. PrB:require.

Wy., PrB, AV and NEB:

back/ward (retrorsum Ps.9.4):i) 11 on/bæc E_r+, P_r, G_g, etc. ii) 2 hinder. PrPs.: oȝainward.

sword (framean Ps.15.13):i) 5 sweord A_r, B_r, C_r, E_r+, I_g+, ii) 4 flana iii) 2 cocor iv) 1 mece v) 1 paraphr. PrPs.:vengeance (non-metaphorical).

dry (ex/aruit Ps.21.16):i) 4 a/drugode A_r, B_r, C_r, I_g+ ii) 5 a/stiþode iii) 2 a/heardode iv) 2 forsearode. PrPs.: defailed.

pot/sherd (testa Ps.21.16):i) 1 croc/sceard +I_g ii) 9 tigle iii) 2 lamsceal iv) 1 læmencrocca v) 1 blywnys. PrPs.: shelle; Wy.: shord (cf. ON skarð-r).

cedar/tree (cedros Ps.28.5):i) 10 cederbeamas/treow ii) 3 lange stefnas.

Fourteen bases occur in all ME and ModE Psalter translations.(a) Equivalents of Latin words with double glosses in E_r.

say (dicunt Ps.3.3):i) 4 seggeð +D_r, +E_r, I_g, J_g ii) 10 cweþaþ. (Frequently used by Ælfric).

hate (odisti Ps.5.7; 30.7; verb in other persons 10.6; 20.9): i) 10 hatodest C_r, D_r, +E_r, P_r, F_g, G_g+, H_g+, I_g, J_g+, K_g ii) 10 feodest iii) 1 on/scunodest (Some 250 occurrences in OE).^{5}

proud/pride (in superbiam Ps.16.10):i) 1 prutscipe +I_g ii) 8 ofermod iii) 6 oferhygd iv) 1 ofermetto. Prutscipe dates back to early 11th c. (cf. Icel. adj. pruðr).

smoke (fumus Ps. 17.9):i) 7 (1 smoca I_g, 6 smec/smic B_r, C_r+, E_r+, P_r, F_g, K_g) ii) 7 rec. Pr.Ps.: smeke (as in Ælfric), the other translations: smoke (from late OE verb smocian).

hail (grando Ps.17.13):i) 8 hagol A_r, B_r, E_r+, P_r, F_g, G_g, I_g+, K_g ii) 3 yst iii) 1 hreohnes iv) (a mistake). Common in OE. NEB: hailstones.

thunder (intonuit/vox domini/dominus Ps.17.14; 28.3):i) 2 þunerode +E_r, P_r ii) 6 hleoþrode iii) 6 on/swegde iv) 1 hlydde v) 1 hlynde vi) 1 denede vii) 1 ontynde. (Ælfric).

honeycomb (favum Ps.18.11):i) 1 hunicamb +E_r ii) 12 beobread. NEB: honey from the comb.

crown (corona Ps.20.4):i) 1 coruna +E_r ii) 7 wuldor/beag iii) 2 hroðgirela iv) 2 cyne/helm v) 1 cynegold. Coruna may be formed after AN coroune, with 11th c. confusion of end-vowel (cf. Campbell § 379), or after ON krúna.

(b) Equivalents of Latin words with double glosses in G_g:

street (platearum Ps. 17.43):i) 8 stræta D_r, E_r, P_r, F_g, G_g+, H_g, I_g, K_g ii) 3 worðigna iii) 2 lanena. (Pr reads herestrætum).

wisdom/wise (sapientiam Ps.18.8):i) 7 wisdom D_r, E_r, F_g+, G_g+, +I_g, +J_g, Kg ii) 7 snytro. AV, NEB: wise.

mighty (potens Ps.23.8):i) 9 (7 mihtig C_r, P_r, F_r, +G_g, I_g, J_g, K_g, 2 mæhtig A_r, B_r) ii) 3 rice iii) 1 stræng E_r. PrPs.: mihtful.

again/st (adversum me Ps.26.3):i) 7 ongean/gegn/togeanes D_r, E_r, F_g, G_g+, H_g, I_g, K_g ii) 6 wið.

in the morning (ad matutinam Ps.29.6):i) 7 to/morgen/mergen/tide A_r, B_r, C_r, P_r, +G_g, J_g+, K_g ii) 7 on dægred iii) 1 to bam uhtlicum. PrPs.: at morwen, Wy.: at the morewe tid.

sack/cloth (saccum Ps.29.12):i) 7 sæc A_r, B_r, C_r, E_r+, +G_g, I_g, J_g ii) 6 hære iii) 1 hwite hrægl. The ME texts read sack, the ModE texts, sackcloth.[6]

Sometimes more than one variant survived in Psalm translations beyond the OE period, e.g. sties (ME) but paths (ModE). In one instance all the OE variants were found in later texts, namely those corresponding to L respexisti (Ps.30.8). PrPs.: lokedest (from A_r, B_r, C_r, E_r+, J_g); Wy.: hast beholden (F_g, I_g+), and NEB: hast seen (D_r,+E_r, P_r, G_g, H_g, +I_g, K_g). PrB., AV: hast considered.

Where none of the OE word bases survived in the later translations, 37 Latin words continued in their Romance form in one or several of the ME or ModE texts as follows: *PrPs*.: 28, *Wy*.: 30, *PrB*.: 22, *AV*: 19 and *NEB*: 8. Seven of these words occur in the four oldest translations, viz. *reins* (L renes), *destroy* (L destruxisti), *refuge*, ME *refut*, (L refugium), *trouble* (L tribulant), *corruption* (L corruptionem), *firmament*, (L *firmamentum*), and *desire* (L desiderium), whereas *NEB* has a paraphrase. Additionally, four Romance words occur in all five texts: *fruit* (Ps.1.3.), *throne* (Ps.9.5), *tabernacle* (Ps.14.1), and *prey* (Ps.16.12).

On the other hand, there are three native words shared by all five ME and ModE Psalter texts that had not occurred in any of the OE double glosses: *wrath* (in furore Ps.2.5; rare in WS), *clouds* (in nubibus Ps.17.12; the current sense of the word dates back to the ME period), and *keeping* (in custodiendo Ps.18.2; this meaning is ME).

A simple comparison was made to find out how many glosses that had occurred in one to twelve OE Psalm MSS survived in Modern English texts. This is illustrated by the following table

Number of occurrences in OE MSS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Number of bases surviving in ModE	12	6	1	5	6	6	8	4	2	3	1	1

Even with this very small material it can be seen that the utmost values are inversely proportional. There were 12 unique glosses in OE MSS; 8 had been added to E_r by correctors, 2 were second glosses in Iq, and 2 occurred in P_r. Five of the glosses added to E_r ousted an OE gloss shared by all the other MSS, namely, *open* - *ontynan*, *smite* - *ofslean*, *give* - *sellan*, *lips* - *welera*, and *honeycomb* - *beobread*. The new words belonged to the transition period and were virtually Middle English. It seems that a number of words in P_r, apparently current in idiomatic West Saxon, were gradually being adopted by the more formal language of sacred texts. P_r contained about half of the words that lived on in later texts. The fact that only one gloss occurring in all twelve OE MSS survived in ModE (dust for L pulver) seems to corroborate the trend for a great many OE words to come into disuse when the language was subjected to the influence of French and the Scandinavian dialects for a longer period.

From among all the OE equivalents of Latin words that had double or triple glosses in E_r and G_g there survived 42 bases in the New English Bible. Besides, 16 of the L words themselves survived as Romance loan-words. The words that had disappeared from NEB were replaced in various ways. Altogether 35 words of native (Germanic) origin were introduced, as well as 26 words of Romance origin. The rest of the instances, 25 in all, were paraphrases.

Nearly 40 per cent of the words where continuation of the OE base is manifested in NEB occur in the WS Psalter translation (P_r), whereas the corresponding figure for E_r, including variants added by late correctors, is slightly over 40 per cent. The corresponding figures for G_g are identical with those for E_r, though the words concerned are not always the same.

The largest category of words that lived on in AV and NEB were verbs, mostly of action, some of perception. Other words were connected with nature, such as wind, hail, thunder, or with people and everyday life, including basic adjectives like dry, wise and mighty. Religious life was reflected in words such as sin, hope, worship. Transition of meaning and introduction of new words was a feature manifested by the later texts. The numerous paraphrastic expressions in NEB reflect the prevailing idea of semantic translation.

NOTES

1. The dates of the OE glosses are given after Sisam and Sisam in EETS 242.ix.
2. This innovation is indicated in parentheses in the modern

version of the Vulgate.

3. The gloss in position i) is not always one of the double glosses.
4. The verb lead (educavit Ps.22.2) was omitted here, because there is a great deal of confusion in its history. All later glossators, as well as some medieval translators interpreted the L verb differently, as will be seen from the following: i) 3 gelædde A_r, B_r, C_r, ii) 7 fedde iii) 2 lærde iv) 1 gedwolode. PrPs.: nourissed (The Lothringian Psalter: gouerneit et norrit) Wy.: broȝte out,(crossed out, and nurshide in the margin). The German Wegelebener Psalter has the original meaning: her ledde mich. In the revised version of Vulg., educavit has been replaced by conducit. Accordingly, all the ModE translations consulted have the correct word.
5. There is another double gloss in G_g involving hate (oderunt Ps.24.19) where feodon still occurs as the only gloss in A_r, B_r, and C_r.
6. The figures given in this paper are unverified. Considering that this is a small pilot study where the data are not sufficient to draw any definite conclusions, even if they indicate the potential trend, verification would have been too time-consuming.

PSALTER TEXTS

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Wy. = Bodleian MS 959. Ed. Lindström, Conrad. 1965. The Earlier Version of the Wycliffite Bible, vol. 4 (I Esdras-Ecclesiasticus 48.6). Stockholm Studies in English 13.

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PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH

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SPEECH RATE AND QUANTITY OF VOWELS IN ENGLISH AND FINNISH

1. In a typical L1/L2 communicative situation, the only practically possible aspect that you can try to influence -- apart from asking for repetitions -- in the speech of your interlocutor is his or her rate of delivery. It is therefore surprising how little is really known about the effects, phonetic or otherwise, of tempo changes on the linguistic signal, relevant as they must be for communication, particularly between native and non-native speakers of a language.

In the instrumental study of spoken English there has been a marked shift since the pioneering days of E.A. Meyer (1903) towards a well-nigh exclusive interest in the qualitative aspects of the sounds. And where quantitative research has been conducted, the following statement of another classic, B. Malmberg (1944:6), seems to have been denied its crucial importance: "erstens beruht die Quantität jedes einzelnen Sprachlautes auf dem allgemeinen Tempo der Rede." In the field of English speech studies this appears understandable -- even if not excusable -- for three interlinked reasons.

The phonological system of English does not utilize sound length as an independent phonemic feature; consequently, autonomous descriptions of English naturally tend to overlook quantitative matters. The focus of interest then guides the construction of new instruments, which become less suitable for investigating less popular parameters of the speech signal. And finally, wherever quantitative phenomena do come to be looked at, they are viewed in a fashion similar to the mode of approaching qualitative (spectral) characteristics: without feeling a necessity to account for the rate of speech prevailing in the production of the utterances constituting the research material. If we accept the broad generalizations made above as valid at least to some degree, it is easy to appreciate one reason why the mainstream thinking in the field of instrumental speech analysis has not been particularly congenial to an adequate study of genuine, spontaneous spoken discourse. It is only fairly recently that there has been a wider rekindling of interest in the prosodic or suprasegmental aspects of speech in the English-speaking world.[1] A considerable impetus for this has come from the field of applications: as work on various forms of automatic speech recognition apparatus proceeded, it soon became obvious that more detailed information about the temporal aspects of English, among them subphonemic segmental duration and its parameters, was vital for the construction of devices capable of successfully receiving and processing real human speech in at least some of its variety.

Some of the quantitative characteristics of English sounds -- now seen as necessary to be specified for machines -- have traditionally been regarded as central features to be accounted for, in some form or another, by teachers of English as a foreign language, especially by those working with learners whose L1 exploits quantity in a clearly linguistic function, as is the case in Finnish.[2] The following is a brief report on some aspects of an experimental acoustic investigation into the quantitative characteristics of qualitatively similar English and Finnish vowels under different tempo conditions. Although the research rationale was the one broadly hinted at above, the present writer wishes fully to recognize the danger articulated by K. Suomi (1980:16) of "useless pseudo-applications (of which there is no particular shortage in the gallery of contrastive analysis)."

2. The study was focussed on the eleven English stressed monophthongal vowels and their Finnish counterparts, which can be claimed to reflect the tendencies of substitution commonly exhibited by Finnish learners of English (e.g. Wiik 1965).

English	Finnish
ɪ i:	i ii
ʊ u:	u uu
ɔ o:	o oo
ʌ ɑ:	a aa
e	e
ɜ:	ö öö
æ	ä ää

The sounds were embedded as the first, stressed vowels in words of the structure type $C_1V_1[C_2(V_2)]$, allowing only those sound combinations which are phonotactically possible both in English and Finnish; in other words, they constituted "cross-linguistic homophones." Each informant read his or her material (the test words of his or her L1 in a sentence frame) three times over, first at a normal tempo, then at a fast, and finally at a slow rate of speech. Consequently, the factors affecting the duration of the object vowel came to be the following.

			e.g.
1.	Language	(1-2)	English
2.	Sex of Speaker	(1-2)	male
3.	Informant	(1-2)	E1
4.	Rate of Speech	(1-3)	normal
5.	Qualitative Category	(1-7)	i-like
6.	Quantitative Category	(1-2)	/short/
7.	Structure of Word Frame	(1-2)	monosyllabic
8.	Class of Following Consonant	(0-4)	$-c_1$
9.	Identity of Following Consonant	(0-8)	-k
10.	Identity of Preceding Consonant	(1-11)	k-
11.	Occurrence of Vowel Segment		V_n

The present discussion will be restricted to some of the effects attributable to factors 1, 4, 5, and 6 only.[3]

The tape recordings were translated into optical form by means of an ink-jet oscillograph, and trace intervals representing the realizations of the object vowels segmented and measured. Ordinary statistical description and analysis of the values was carried out for relevant categories of the material: means and standard deviations computed, t tests and analyses of variance performed, and correlation coefficients and best-fit lines determined.

2.1. Obviously, the physical quantity of both the English and the Finnish vowels under study shortens when the tempo of speech grows faster, and lengthens under the influence of a slower rate of production. However, marked interlingual differences also prevail, as evidenced by figure 1 (next page), which is based on relatively high-level means of observed segment durations. All eleven English qualitatively different vowels also differ from each other quantitatively: the so-called /short/ and /long/ vowels could well be collapsed into a single sequence of individual sounds durationally distinct from the others, with /æ/ acting as a link between the five vowels towards the shorter and the five vowels

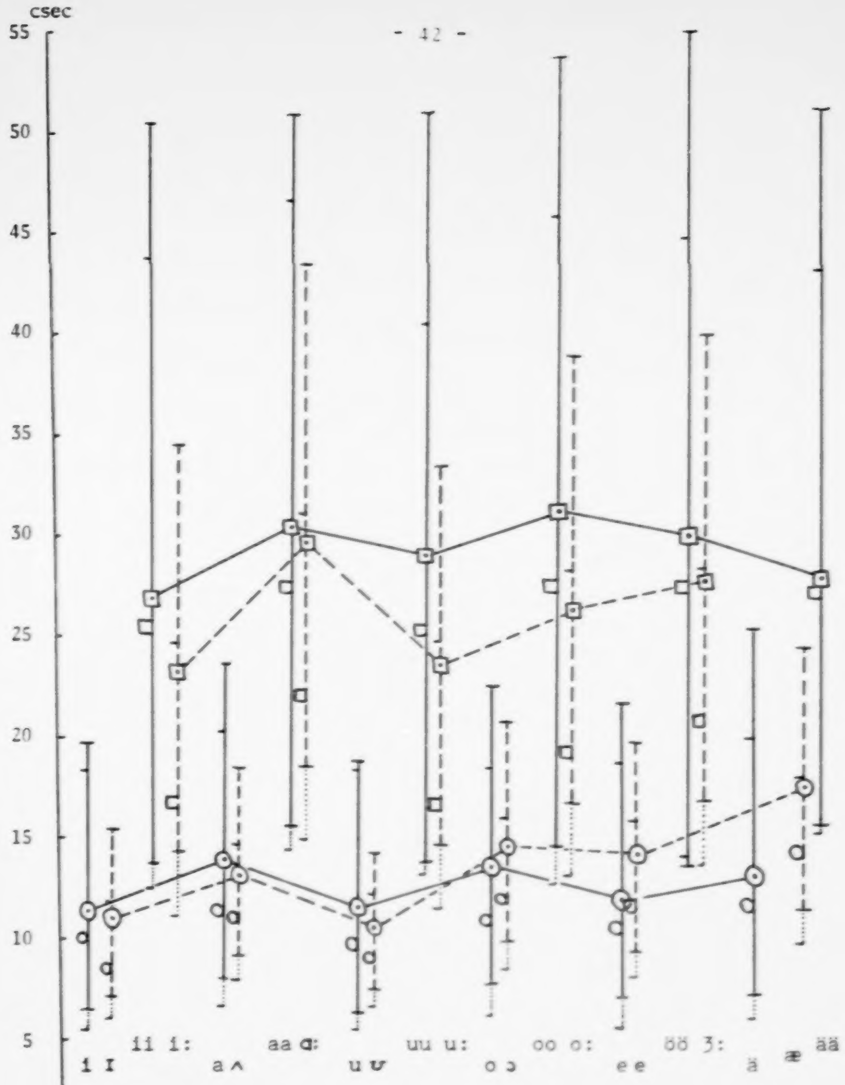

Figure 1. Absolute vowel duration data for English and Finnish arranged to demonstrate effects of changes in the rate of speech. Solid line stands for Finnish, dashed line for English. Dotted circles represent durational means of single/short vowels in monosyllabic words produced at normal tempo, dotted squares denote those of double/long vowels. The upper and lower termini of each vertical bar show the average vowel duration in slow and fast speech, respectively. Circles, squares and dashes to the left of the bars indicate the corresponding values for disyllabic words.

towards the longer end of the scale. The Finnish pattern is essentially different; the /single/ and the /double/ vowels constitute two conspicuously separate quantitative categories, whose members are extremely uniform in physical quantity within their category. These patterns are, of course, due to a systemic difference between the languages; in English, the qualitative features have the primary function of distinguishing between the vowel phonemes, whereas Finnish has to operate with quantitative cues alone. The systemic pressure for homogeneity within the phonemic length categories of Finnish seems to be so strong as to level out the inherent -- and at least to some extent universal -- durational differences between qualitatively different vowels. This is particularly apparent, irrespective of tempo, in the /double/ category, where one would naturally expect greater quantitative variation than in the /single/ class, in the fashion observable within the corresponding English sounds.

The durational means of the English vowels appear to be less affected by changes in speech rate than their Finnish counterparts; the portions of the lines extending upwards and downwards from the circles and squares are shorter for English than the corresponding lines representing the relations in Finnish. No doubt this observation concerning the stressed vowels can be related to interlinguistic timing differences above the segmental level.

2.2. Concretizing into an optical form the distributions of the original, individual segment duration measurements beyond the means, but pooling the different vowel qualities, we get figure 2 (next page). Again, tempo changes move the distribution of the Finnish vowels drastically along the durational scale, the situation of the English values remaining more stable. The paramount overall disparity is that the realizations of the eleven English vowels fill out a single bell-shaped distribution area, while the Finnish graph is clearly bipartite, reflecting the essential distinction, under all tempo conditions, between the /single/ and the /double/ quantitative categories.

2.3. From a Finnish viewpoint at least, it is interesting to establish the durational residue between the /short/ or /single/ and the /long/ or /double/ vowel categories, respectively, both in absolute and relative terms. Under the influence of the Finnish spelling system for one thing (e.g. a:aa for /single/ and /double/ vowel), a Finn has the proclivity to assume that this residue is 50 per cent, and also to transfer this assumption to apply to the sounds of English, too. When

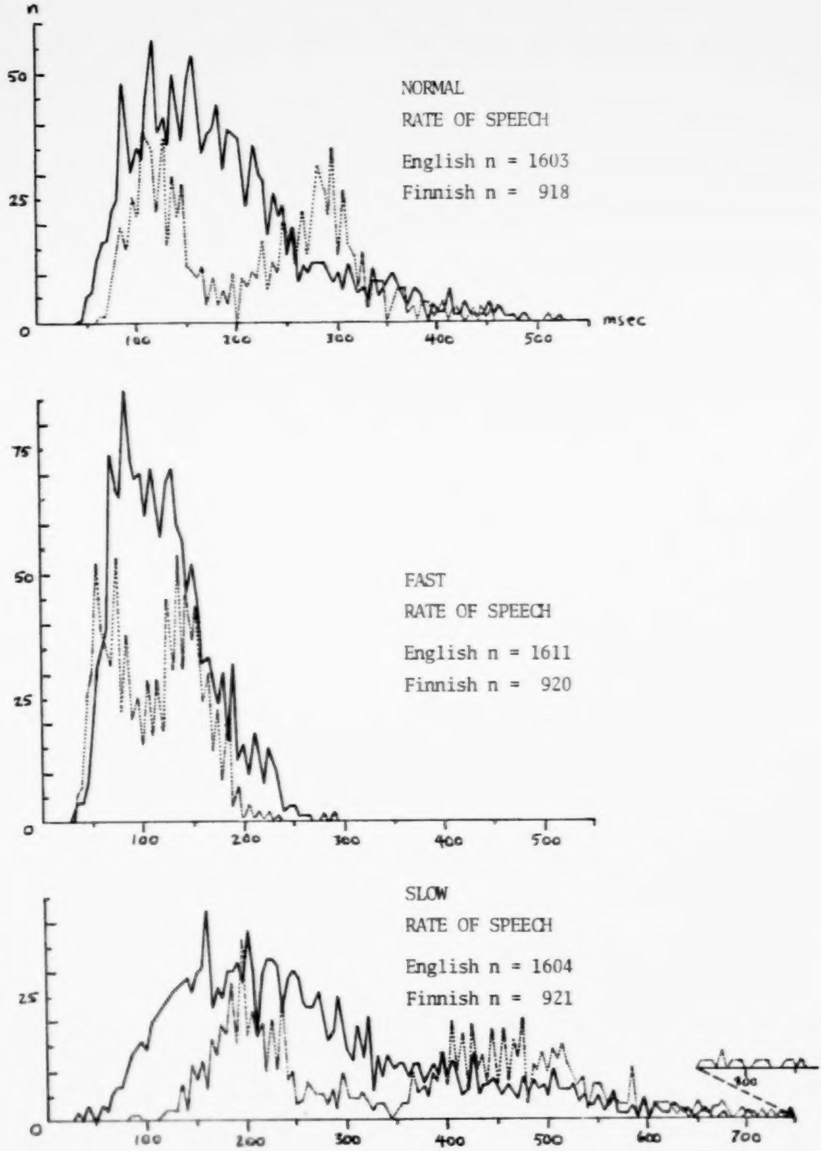

Figure 2. Distribution of vowel durations under different tempo conditions. The graphs are based on the original, individual measurements of phone durations. Duration on x axis, number of occurrences on y axis. Solid line = English vowels, dotted line = Finnish vowels.

the absolute quantitative values observed in the course of the present study are converted into overall ratios by marking the duration of the /short/ and /single/ vowel as 1, we get the following. (Ratios of /short/ vowel to the quantitatively neutral /æ/ are given in brackets.)

	normal	fast	slow
English	1:1.9 (1:1.4)	1:1.8 (1:1.3)	1:2.0 (1:1.3)
Finnish	1:2.4	1:2.1	1:2.3

So it is in fact English that is closer to bearing out the "Finnish hypothesis" of a 1:2 ratio. Whatever the conditions created by speech rate, the absolute measure of distinction between the phonemic length classes in Finnish must be more than 50 per cent; the residue seems to be at its greatest in the normal tempo category. The quantitatively characteristic neutral position of the English /æ/ between the so-called /short/ and /long/ vowels might also be worth noting. One of the cross-lingual consequences of the fact that the English ratios are of the order of 1:1.9 is that Finnish listeners are still likely to hear the contrast as identical to /single/:/double/ -- the minimum Finnish ratio between the longest vowel perceived as /single/ and the shortest vowel perceived as /double/ being about 1:1.9 (Lehtonen 1970:89) -- thereby hypostatizing the length of English vowels, very probably at the expense of qualitative differentiation.

2.4. In order to obtain a view of the linguistic quantity distinction in relative terms, statistical significance tests were performed on the residues transmuted into percentages. One intralingual and one interlingual test are reported here. The statistical significance of the effects in English and Finnish of changes in the rate of speech on the magnitude of length distinction observed in the normal tempo category (marked as 100 per cent) was determined. The effects were found to be "strongly significant" (risk percent less than 1 in all qualitative categories but one, where it was less than 2 per cent) in both languages. The possible significance of cross-lingual differences in length distinction was established after marking the "ideal" (for a Finn) residues observed in Finnish as 100 per cent and transforming the English values in proportion. Again, the disparities tested were in general strongly significant in all qualitative vowel categories. As for the influence of tempo, only a fast rate of production seems to confuse the patterns to some degree, possibly a reflection of differences in the effects of stress and/or different basic timing models of the two languages. Statistically speaking, there can be no doubt about the significance of tempo changes on the patterns of physical quantity of vowels in English and Finnish.

3. It is quite obvious that any adequate statement of sound duration patterns must be extended beyond the limits of a segment. As far as speech reception is concerned, the quantity of an acoustic interval is perceived in relation to its environment. Segment durations are processed within a framework of speech rate data obtained by viewing the incoming signal through a window which must be of the order of several syllables. However, while the ultimate aim of the description has to be set at this level, in a cross-linguistic study of this type of phenomena it seems necessary first to delimit the number of factors affecting segment duration, both linguistic and non-linguistic, to a more manageable number, and to confine the investigation to one level of analysis.

The crucial question of statistical vs. linguistic significance in the present area naturally also requires extensive assessment by means of perception tests before any definitive comprehensive statement can be attempted.

In continuation, the scope of the study is being widened to take into specific consideration the effects of the phonetic environment of the interval and also the quantitative interrelations within a word of its constituent sound segments. The validity of the results of the study outlined above will in part be put to test by bringing English and Finnish into contact in interlanguage material -- symmetrical with that of the investigation reported here -- produced by L2 speakers of English and Finnish.

NOTES

1. There have, of course, always been notable exceptions to this apparent lack of interest in things prosodic, both in and outside the English-speaking world, not least in the Nordic countries.

2. Both researchers and pedagogues working in Finland have addressed themselves seriously and successfully to quantitative questions. To name but a few works representing the first category, the contrastive dissertations of K. Wiik (1965), V. Vihanta (1978), and K. Suomi (1980), and the autonomous description of Finnish by J. Lehtonen (1970) might be mentioned, as well as the research of A. Iivonen (e.g. 1978). The most

recent textbooks include K. Sajavaara & J. Lehtonen & A. May (1977) and I. Morris-Wilson (1981).

3. For a fuller scrutiny of the results, with some of the relevant numerical data, see Marjomaa (1983).

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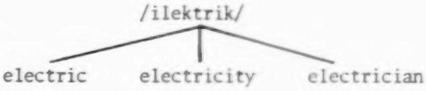
THE INTERPRETATION AND REPRESENTATION OF NEUTRALISATION IN GENERATIVE PHONOLOGY

As the title indicates the object of this paper is twofold. On the one hand, it will examine in what sense it is possible to operate with phonological neutralisation when a strictly generative position is taken. And on the other, how the problems concerning the representation of neutralisation products, which ensue from the taking of such a position, are to be solved.

Let me first, before we embark on this project, briefly recapitulate what consequences follow from adopting a generative position. Characteristic of generative phonology is that the phonological level is constructed in such a way that all forms of the same morpheme are derived from the same underlying form, as shown in (1):

(1)



This results in an abstract phonological level which is directly connected with the phonetic level by means of phonological rules. No surface phonemic contrasts are thus reflected in this type of phonology.

How do neutralisations then show up in this kind of phonology? That is, do e.g. the post-initial neutralisations such as those found in the English sp-, st-, sk-clusters or the final neutralisations found in Danish lap "patch", ladt "loaded", lak "lacquer" constitute neutralisations in a generative framework? As is well known, these examples are interpreted as instances of neutralisation in theories that operate with a surface phonemic level, cf. Davidsen-Nielsen 1978. But is this also the case in a theory which does not include a surface phonemic level such as generative phonology?

Whether such examples of neutralisation should be considered examples of neutralisation in generative phonology depends on whether the neutralisations in question are morphologically resoluble or morphologically irresoluble. If they are resoluble then they are not instances of neutralisation. If, on the other hand, they are morphologically irresoluble then they will be considered instances of neutralisation.

The post-s stops in English sp-, st-, sk-clusters are then in generative terms instances of neutralisation. No morphological alternation will, as it were, resolve the suspension in the way that e.g. the final (surface phonemic) neutralisations in German Bund, bunt will be resolved, although they invariably are pronounced with a final [t]. The final stops of the German examples will, in generative terms, be interpreted as /d/ and /t/ respectively, i.e. no neutralisation occurs, due to alternating forms like Bunde and bunter with [d] and [t] respectively. Accordingly, by the same criterion, the Danish lap, ladt, lak examples are then also, like German Bund and bunt, resoluble in that they enter into morphological alternations, and hence in generative terms not instances of neutralisation.

The situation in generative phonology with respect to the concept of neutralisation is then clear-cut enough. The traditional (surface) phonemic neutralisations become in generative phonology either resoluble or irresoluble and only the latter will be considered 'true' neutralisations by the generative phonologists. Observe that according to this proposal neutralisation is not differentiated from non-neutralisation (defective distribution) in terms of the number of suspended dimensions, cf. Davidsen-Nielsen 1978. I find such a definition of the concept of neutralisation problematical not only because there are irresoluble neutralisations which are more than one-dimensional, cf. French vendre,[1] but also because it can be shown that what within one notational framework appears as a one-dimensional suspension may surface as a two-dimensional suspension within a different notation, cf. Anderson and Ewen 1980, Staun in preparation. In fact, it seems most appropriate that the methodological position of a theory determines, as it were, the definition of the concept, and then that that notation which seems most appropriate (in a sense which will become clear later) subsequently is applied to represent what arises as a result of the application of the theory.

Having established this, we can now turn to the other problem which this paper proposes to discuss, viz. the problem of how to represent the irresoluble neutralisation products.

Unfortunately examples of irresoluble neutralisations in English are few. As a result the following discussion will also deal with data from other languages (despite the theme of this conference), in particular with data from Danish and German. The examples that will be subjected to an examination involve:

(2) (a) (i) English sp- st- sk-
(ii) Danish -p -t -k kap 'cape'; at 'that'; ak 'alas'

(b) (i) Danish -p- -t- -k- mappe 'briefcase'; vætte(lys) 'thunderstone'; klokke 'bell'
(ii) German -d und 'and'

In order to be able to focus on the representational problems that such examples pose, we must first establish the following two facts: 1) that the a)-examples involve a double encoding on the part of the native speakers and 2) that the b)-examples involve a single encoding. That is, in the a)-examples the consonants may be pronounced in two different ways, either voiced or voiceless (English, this surfaces in slips of the tongue, cf. Davidsen-Nielsen 1975) or voiceless aspirated or voiceless unaspirated (Danish) and in both languages neither the one nor the other pronunciation is predictable. On the other hand, in the b)-examples only one pronunciation invariably occurs: in Danish voiceless unaspirated, in German [t].

Now how are we to represent such phenomena? For the notation of standard generative phonology, the a)-examples pose no serious problems. In fact, they are adequately described in terms of a zero-notation, so that with respect to these we respectively get:

$$\text{(3) English } \underbrace{\text{st-}\quad\text{sp-}\quad\text{sk-}}_{\substack{\text{C} \\ \text{s} + [{}^{0}\text{voice}]}} \qquad \text{Danish } \underbrace{\text{-p}\quad\text{-t}\quad\text{-k}}_{\substack{\text{C} \\ [{}^{0}\text{aspiration}]}}$$

which allows for the ambiguous encoding, zero suggesting neither the one nor the other value of the binary features. The use of zeros, however, presupposes that the true generalisation condition is observed, cf. Stanley

1967, otherwise zero implies a third value, cf. (4) in which no such condition has been observed as rule (2) and matrix (a_1) highlight, and we end up with three distinct matrices (a_1), b_1), c_1).

(4) matrices a) $\begin{bmatrix} 0f \\ 0g \end{bmatrix}$ b) $\begin{bmatrix} +f \\ 0g \end{bmatrix}$ c) $\begin{bmatrix} -f \\ 0g \end{bmatrix}$

morpheme structure rules 1) $[\ \ ] \downarrow [-g]$ 2) $[+f] \downarrow [+g]$ 3) $[-f] \downarrow [+g]$ 4) $[-g] \downarrow [+f]$

a_1) $\begin{bmatrix} +f \\ -g \end{bmatrix}$ b_1) $\begin{bmatrix} +f \\ +g \end{bmatrix}$ c_1) $\begin{bmatrix} -f \\ +g \end{bmatrix}$

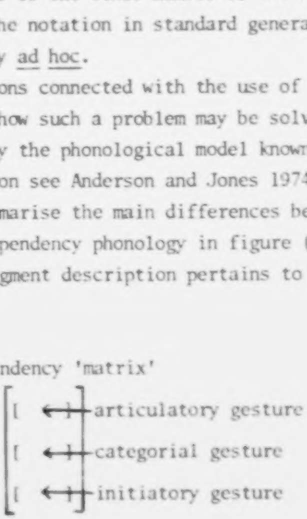
rule 1 + 4 rule 2 rule 3

The b) examples, on the other hand, constitute a problem for the standard notation. A zero-representation is inapplicable with these as they cannot be said to involve an ambiguous encoding. The problem which then faces the phonologist is to decide whether the neutralisation product (of such b) examples) should be identified with the one or the other member of the neutralised opposition. Given the nature of the notation in standard generative phonology, this choice will be totally ad hoc.

This fact together with the complications connected with the use of zeros inevitably leads to the question of how such a problem may be solved. As I see it, it can be overcome if we apply the phonological model known as dependency phonology, for an introduction see Anderson and Jones 1974, 1977, Anderson and Ewen forthcoming. I summarise the main differences between orthodox generative phonology and dependency phonology in figure (5). The difference between the two types of segment description pertains to the nature of the internal structure:

(5) standard matrix dependency 'matrix'

$$\begin{bmatrix} +f \\ -f \\ \cdot \\ \cdot \\ f_n \end{bmatrix}$$



such that a standard matrix involves minimal structure (the features being discrete and of equal status) while a dependency 'matrix' is highly structured, in particular it is ordered in sub-segments (gestures), where each gesture is described in terms of dependency components which may enter into dependency relationships.

Given this dependency-based model, we can now show that a non-*ad hoc* choice is no longer involved with respect to the b)–instances. Observe, incidentally, that the representation for the Danish and German examples in (bi) and (bii) involve in dependency terms:

$$\begin{array}{lllllll}
(6) & \text{German} & \underline{t} & \underline{d} & \text{Danish} & \underline{p} & \underline{b} \\
 & & & & & & \\
 & \text{categ.} & C & C & \text{categ. +} & C & O \\
 & \text{gesture} & & | & \text{init.} & | & | \\
 & & & V & \text{gestures} & O & C \\
 & & & & & \cap & \cap \\
 & & & & & \begin{bmatrix}[\ \ ] \\ [\ \ ]\end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix}[\ \ ] \\ [\ \ ] \\ [\ \ ]\end{bmatrix}
\end{array}$$

from which it is immediately apparent that German /t/ is less complex than German /d/, by virture of the fact that it involves just one component and as such should be chosen as the representation in case of neutralisation. In Danish it is less obvious that one of the stops is more simple than the other, but since governing $|O|$ is the unexpected configuration, as it is characteristic of a tri-gestural language, which, *ceteris paribus*, is more complex than a bi-gestural language, the notation allows for the selection of the representation for /p/.

What remains now is to see how the representational problem posed by the post-*s* stops in English is solved. The opposition which is neutralised involves in dependency terms the two following configurations:

$$\begin{array}{lll}
(7) & \underline{p\ t\ k} & \underline{b\ d\ g} \\
 & & \\
 & C\ \ (C;\emptyset) & C\ \ (C;V) \\
 & & | \\
 & & V
\end{array}$$

Given these, the intermediate status of the post-*s* stops is captured in terms of:

$$(8) \qquad \overset{C}{|} = \{C;\}$$

which is paraphrased as |C| in governing position but where |C| is not necessarily the only component present, hence no verticals. This avoids the dubious zero-notation, at the same time as the double-encoding postulate is maintained.

It may be argued that by reserving the term neutralisation only for such suspensions which are irresoluble, we fail to allow for those resoluble examples which in the orthography show a vacillation between the two members of the neutralised pair, cf. the evidence discussed by Davidsen-Nielsen (1978:§10.10), i.e. such examples which clearly look like neutralisations. These no doubt constitute a problem to the present proposal, but it should be observed that to incorporate such examples within a generative framework requires that the model be significantly extended, in particular that an intermediate surface phonemic level between the phonological and the phonetic levels be introduced. I am not prepared to go as far as this, since what is gained by introducing such a level does not seem to outweigh the loss of generality which also follows from such an extension.

If we take a generative position and do so consistently, then the concept of neutralisation seems to crystalise: only the irresoluble instances will be considered 'true' neutralisations. To differentiate between neutralisation and defective distribution is then no longer a problem, since the concept of neutralisation is defined independently of notational properties. However, there is a notational problem which follows from the generative analysis, cf. the examples in (2b). This is not resoluble unless a notational model with a greater componentiality assumption than that of the standard notation is incorporated; in particular the model must allow for the expression of relative complexity of phonological segments. We have seen that dependency phonology, being a model of this capacity, can overcome these problems.

NOTES

1. In French *vendre* the nasal vowel may be interpreted as either /en/, cf. *genre*/*generique*, or / n/, cf. *paysan*/*paysanne*; that is, *vendre* can be argued to involve the suspension of the two dimensions [low] and [back].

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THE SEMANTICS AND PRAGMATICS OF DEVERBAL NOUNS ENDING IN -EE
A REPORT ON WORK IN PROGRESS

This piece of research is a development of part of my thesis on the meaning of compound nouns with deverbal heads (Flognfeldt 1982). The study of deverbal nouns in -EE serves as an illustration of problems that were taken up in the thesis and which will be investigated further in my planned project on the meaning of adjective-deverbal noun collocations.

PRESENTATION OF PROBLEM AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH

In my thesis, I discussed a few examples of deverbal nouns ending in -EE, which I called 'patient nouns', and which others have termed 'passive nouns'.[1] Examples of the type are *appointee*, *employee*, and *draftee*. In the data on which I based my semantic analysis, only two compound nouns of this type occurred: *Carter appointee* and *government employee*. The general objective of my investigation was to determine whether these nouns exhibit certain verbal characteristics - aspectual, temporal, or modal features - which can be attributed to their history as derivations from verbs. I analysed the nouns in terms of Fillmore's case theory, seeing the suffix -EE as the surface reflex of an underlying case role 'patient'. The relation between the underlying verb, its associated case roles, and the patient noun is illustrated by the following semantic representation:

$$\text{(1)}\qquad [\text{APP}\underbrace{\text{OINT]}\ \text{agent, patient}}_{+} \quad \rightarrow \quad \underset{\text{patient}}{[\text{APPOINT-EE}]}$$

The modifiers in the compounds (i.e. *Carter*, *government*) were then said to specify the 'agent' role in the underlying semantic representation. In addition, I argued that deverbal nouns like *appointee* embody 'perfective aktionsart' with its concomitant temporal feature [anterior action]; in other words, the meaning that is paraphrasable as 'sb who has been V+ED by sb'.

My present task is to extend the analysis to a much larger number of data, to see whether any general claims can be made regarding the meaning of deverbal nouns in -EE. For this purpose I have collected a total number of 209 -EE nouns from various sources.[2] I have included in this collection (see the Appendix at the end of this report) nouns which are native deverbal formations and which are not marked in the dictionaries as obsolete. Many of the occurrences are nonce words which have been coined for a particular, often humorous, effect.

Most of the earliest recorded -EE nouns were Anglo-French legal terms, like *vouchee* (1485), *grantee* (1491), *indictee* (1581), the ending being the anglicized French past participle *-é(e)*, used as a noun.[3] But ever since the suffix became a naturalized English formative in the 17th century, forming new nouns from native verbs, it has been fairly productive. Over the centuries non-legal nouns have been created as well, e.g. *cheatee*, *examinee*, *testee*. And new ones are coined all the time. Bolinger (1941) records *crack-upee*, *bombee*; Barnhart et al. (1973) give *adaptee*, and *curee*; and I have come across *leakee* (1976) and *abortee* (1980).

It is interesting to note that the coiner of a new -EE noun is often quite conscious and explicit about what he/she is doing, as a few illustrations will show (my underlining throughout):

(2) The cheater and the *cheatee* (to parody law-jargon) are equally enjoying themselves.

(3) An ingenious *crammee* - if we may be allowed the convenient coinage - will, with *equal facility*, assimilate, reproduce, and forget.

(4) ...and that will please you no end - refusal to cooperate will point the finger of suspicion at the *refusee*, if that's the word I want.

Some writers do not altogether appreciate the novel -EE nouns:

(5) How many *amputees* were there, General Bradley wanted to know, resorting *to a ghastly* form that has given us, also, *trainees*, *dischargees*, and *retirees*.

Others welcome the form:

(6) *Describee* is a happy specimen of a whole series of words much needed *in our language*.

I have divided my data into 12 preliminary categories or semantic fields (see the Appendix). Some fields could have been subdivided; we could, for instance, have a subgroup ENTERTAINMENT within the general category SOCIAL INTERACTION to comprise jocular terms like *gaggee*, *jokee*, *jestee*, *laughee*. Moreover, some -EE nouns have developed specialized senses and must be placed in more than one category, like for instance *refer(r)ee*, *committee*, *transferee*.

The only extensive study of deverbal nouns in -EE is Bengtsson (1927). Her collection of data from the earliest occurrences onward is in itself invaluable for a student of these nouns. Scholars like Jespersen and Marchand have built on her study, discussing more recent coinages as well. Bengtsson distinguishes two major types with regard to the relation between the 'actee' and the action:

I DIRECT PASSIVE NOUNS, denoting the direct object of the action implied in the corresponding verb: e.g. examinee, paraphrased as 'a person who is examined';

II INDIRECT PASSIVE NOUNS, denoting the indirect object of the implied action. This second type is further subdivided into two kinds:
  (a) NON-PREPOSITIONAL INDIRECT PASSIVE NOUNS: grantee, 'a person who is granted something', and
  (b) PREPOSITIONAL INDIRECT PASSIVE NOUNS: laughee, 'a person who is laughed at'.

There is a group of -EE nouns which she does not include, naturally, as passive nouns, but which have to be accounted for as well, i.e. words like escapee, retiree, returnee, and crack-upee. I think we lose an important generalization if we analyse and classify -EE nouns according to which surface syntactic paraphrase they will allow. If we establish a type for every prepositional construction we need, in addition to the non-prepositional ones, we shall have to operate with an unnecessarily large number of types.

A felicitous analysis of the meaning of deverbal -EE nouns will have to take into account not only Fillmore's (1977) 'relational notions' (i.e. the basic case relationship between a given noun phrase and the verb), but also his 'categorial notions', like HUMANNESS and CHANGE. Out of the total of 209 nouns, only one refers exclusively to an animal (vivisectee). Almost all deverbal nouns in -EE, then, refer to human beings. The categorial notion of CHANGE seems to be particularly salient in connection with the question of lexicalization or idiomatization of -EE nouns. Furthermore, the notion of CHANGE is intimately linked up with the aspectual feature 'perfective aktionsart', which is part of the meaning of a number of established -EE nouns, including the group that cannot be classified as either patient nouns or passive nouns: escapee, retiree, etc..

PRESENT WORKING HYPOTHESIS

My working hypothesis involves the following four aspects:

(1) The suffix -EE is the surface reflex of an underlying case role combined with the basic verb from which the noun is derived.

(2) Deverbal nouns in -EE contain certain aspectual markers as part of their

meaning. They can be seen to embody one of three aktionsarten: 'perfective', 'progressive', or 'neutral' aktionsart. Temporal and modal distinctions, insofar as they relate to these aktionsarten, are involved as well.

(3) An -EE noun is coined, together with its corresponding agent noun in -ER/-OR, as the *ad hoc* name of one of the participants in a situation, the human being who is in some way acted upon, the actee.

(4) With some important exceptions (for example, examinee, and trainee), -EE nouns denoting persons who are subject to a change of status are most likely to be idiomatized. The notion of CHANGE is a particularly salient feature from the point of view of idiomatization.

DISCUSSION

I shall discuss a few points relating to the four aspects of my hypothesis in the order presented. At the present stage of my work, I have not been able to conduct an exhaustive study of all the nouns.

(1) Underlying case roles

In a conceptualized situation, what are the roles human beings can play that will be lexically designated by an -EE noun? As a first approximation, we can say that it is any being who is acted upon, in one way or another, by an agent. Bengtsson's 'actee' could be a cover term for the majority of instances. But a closer study of the nouns reveals that they specify or 'perspectivize' diverse case roles.[4] The variety of defining syntactic paraphrases the nouns allow is already an indication that more than one role is involved. Still, it is a fact that most of the nouns analysed so far refer to persons who are directly affected by an action; the nouns beatee, kickee, kissee, interviewee, detainee all denote persons who are manipulated by an implied agent. Thus, they can be said to perspectivize the PATIENT role.

A great number of -EE nouns perspectivize the actual or potential goal or receiver of an action, persons to whom or against whom an action is directed. Allottee, complainee, describee, advertisee are examples of this type. The majority of *legal* -EE nouns specify this RECIPIENT (or GOAL) role; they refer to people to whom something is abandoned, aliened, remitted, mortgaged, etc.. This is to be expected; in the world of law people are regularly given new rights, responsibilities, and so forth.

A small group of nouns pick out the person *from* whom something is taken. Clark and Clark (1979) operate with a LOCATUM role, designating the location of one thing with respect to another thing, either positively on, in, etc., or negatively, not-on, not-in, etc.. According to Clark and Clark, the denominal verb skin, for instance, as in skin the rabbit depicts the activity of removing something (skin, the parent noun), which had a location with respect to another thing (rabbit). It seems to me that -EE nouns like arrestee (='sb in whose hands sth is arrested'), borrowee ('sb from whom sth is borrowed'), and squeezee ('sb out of whom sth is squeezed') can be said to specify this LOCATUM role. As a fourth type, devotee and retardee seem to perspectivize an EXPERIENCER role, referring to associated emotional and mental states rather than actions. Finally, the non-conforming group consisting of escapee, crack-upee, retiree, and returnee must be said to denote the AGENTS of the associated actions. The nouns in this last category are not included by the common denominator 'actee'. They are perhaps too many to be simply explained away as the outcome of over-productiveness on the part of the formative. They do, however, have one important semantic feature in common with a great number of 'actee' nouns, and that is the component [completed action].

(2) Aktionsarten

It seems correct to say that the agent-denoting -EE nouns just mentioned must be paraphrased as 'sb who *has* escaped/cracked up/retired/returned'. In other words, the actions associated with the nouns are completed; a change is involved, a new state initiated. The meaning of these nouns, then, can be compared to what is called a 'statal passive', as for example in one of the readings of The doors were closed. Deverbal nouns like escapee embody perfective aktionsart. The aspectual marker [completed action] and consequently, the temporal feature [anterior action] are parts of their semantic make-up. This temporal notion is similar to what Lyons (1977) terms 'secondary tense', i.e. the expression of an action as past, or anterior, with respect to another action in the past. I take the modifiers in the sentences containing -EE nouns as an indication of the presence of inherent perfective aktionsart in the nouns (italics mine):

(7) They want to go back to Russia...*Would-be* Soviet returnees...

(8) Now let us, the hangees *that are to be*, sift and examine this position.

(9) Samples of baked goods and frozen foods were given to *potential* franchisees.

The question of aktionsart is obviously dependent on the basic meaning of a given verb. Some verbs typically denote states, others acts or events, still others processes or activities. The point I would like to make is that a number of the established -EE nouns appear to have perfective aktionsart. Some embody progressive aktionsart: trainee ('sb who *is being* trained'), and likewise educatee, examinee. It is the *undergoing* of the activities rather than completion that is captured by these -EE nouns. Note the modification in:

(10) It is the only piece of academical learning that the *finished* educatee retains.

These -EE nouns are parallel to deverbal -ING nouns, like crying, swimming, which denote unfolding, dynamic activities.

The third kind, 'neutral aktionsart', is the unmarked aktionsart, referring to actions that are neither in progress nor completed, i.e. not marked [+PROGRESSIVE] or [+PERFECTIVE]. Neutral aktionsart implies such aspectual notions as ITERATIVE, FREQUENTATIVE, and the related modal notion of proneness, readiness to perform certain activities regularly. Words like detainee and lovee embody neutral aktionsart. They refer to persons who are in the state of being detained or loved. Murderee denotes 'sb who has been murdered', but it also has the extended sense 'potential murder victim', which can be explained as an instance of neutral aktionsart:

(11) He's the real type of murderee...the obvious victim; he fairly invites maltreatment.

Lecturee denotes someone who goes to lectures regularly:

(12) They were the born lecturees; like Mrs. Wiggin, who had been attending classes for twenty years.

The semantic categories ABUSIVE/CRIMINAL CONDUCT and SOCIAL INTERACTION are especially rich in -EE nouns with progressive aktionsart, which are marked as *nonce words* or *rare* in the dictionaries. I shall discuss these presently.

(3) The coining of *ad hoc* relational opposites

The vast majority of -EE nouns crop up in sentences in combination with their corresponding relational opposites, or converse terms, agent nouns. Here are a couple of examples:

(13) A very necessary convenance interposed between visitor and visitee in those numerous calls of etiquette.

(14) It is not enough for the educator to pour fact after fact into the educatee.

There are two important points to bear in mind in connection with the opposites agent nouns and actee nouns. Firstly, agent nouns are essentially of two kinds. One type denotes persons who carry out a profession regularly; the other denotes beings who are temporarily engaged in an activity. Typical examples of the former type are: baker, dancer, reporter in their profession-denoting sense. It is the latter type, however, which is especially relevant as the relational opposites of -EE nouns. In cases where there already exists an agent noun ending in -IST, -0, or -ANT, a new -ER noun may be coined to refer to a *temporary* agent. The agent noun in the following sentence is a temporary agent:

(15) Abortion is still a criminal offence for both the aborter and the abortee.

The corresponding professional agent is designated by abortionist.

The second important point relates to a significant notional difference between an agent, on the one hand, and the various kinds of actees on the other. An action is more intimately associated with the character of an agent; there is, so to speak, a direct relation of cause and effect. From the point of view of an actee, on the other hand, a given action will be only one among many that he/she is subjected to. For instance, an educator educates people for a living; an educatee plays that role only for a limited period of time. Similarly, a joker will probably crack jokes more than once; being a jokee is, on the other hand, a transitory predicament. This is probably part of the reason why comparatively few actee nouns become lexicalized as regular terms.

It seems that when relational opposites denoting temporary participants are coined, they reflect the tense and aspect of their containing sentences. They function as a kind of 'anaphora' (italics mine):

(16) Maybe, at first, he thought he could overhear the leaker and the leakee and catch them red-handed, *passing a secret.*

(17) ...a 'seeker'...*was being held* over the infernal flames by a thread or a hair. If the thread does not break, the suspendee is 'in the Lord'.

As names of participants in unfolding situations most new coinages appear to have progressive aktionsart. This also applies to cases where the underlying verb denotes a momentary action, but where a series of such events constitutes an activity: floggee, whippee, beatee. To decide whether the nouns refer to single events or a series on a given occasion is, of course, a pragmatic question.

(4) Idiomatization of -EE nouns

Scholars are generally aware of the transitory character of -EE nouns. It is a fact that a great number of them are humorous nonce words which belong to the register of jargon. Some are terms of long standing, however, especially the legal terms. For an innovative -EE noun to get beyond the status of nonce word, it must probably depict something more than a temporary participant in a situation. Idiomatization is, of course, a matter of pragmatics. Some of the -EE nouns that *have* been idiomatized typically involve a state initiated by an event which is regarded as nameworthy and categorially necessary in a given world (law, business, politics, medicine, etc.). Amputee is an idiomatized -EE noun, as in the rather grotesque example:

(18) Put the patient both to bed. We shall see later which is the amputated part, and which the amputee.

Losing a limb, getting a job, a new right or responsibility are considered significant changes in our society. Likewise, being educated or trained for a job (educatee, trainee) make nameworthy roles as well, without there being any change involved.

At the present stage I have only been able to outline some of the issues that have to be investigated further in a semantic and pragmatic analysis of deverbal nouns in -EE.

NOTES

1. The term 'passive noun' is used by Bengtsson (1927), Jespersen (1965), and Marchand (1969).

2. Apart from the sources mentioned in the text, I have collected data from the following works: Oxford English Dictionary (1933) and Supplements (1972-82), Webster's Third New International Dictionary (1963), the Brown Corpus KWIC Concordance (1978), the LOB Corpus KWIC Concordance (1979), Barnhart et al. (1973), and Stillman (1965). I would like to thank Professor Stig Johansson for drawing my attention to recent coinages.

3. The dates in parentheses are the first occurrences given in the OED and recorded by Bengtsson (1927). The examples I shall be quoting are all taken from these sources, with the following exceptions:
(4) MacLean, A. 1980. Athabasca. 100.
(9) The New York Times. January 6. 1968. 39.
(15) Weldon, F. 1980. Female Friends. 212.
(16) Erlichman, J. 1976. The Company. 182.

4. I have adopted Fillmore's (1977:79) term 'perspectivizing' to refer to the process by which one particular case role is associated with a given verb to form a deverbal noun. In his paper, Fillmore is concerned with the case analysis of sentences rather than with word formation, however.

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APPENDIX: LIST OF DEVERBAL NOUNS IN -EE ARRANGED IN SEMANTIC CATEGORIES

LAW	SOCIAL INTERACTION	ABUSIVE/ CRIMINAL CONDUCT	BUSINESS/ ECONOMICS	POLITICS	MEDICINE/ SCIENCE
abandonee	amusee	abusee	advertisee	absentee	abortee
alienee	banteree	affrontee	bargainee	appointee	actee
allottee	boree	beatee	borrowee	committee ◆	adaptee
arrestee	callee	blackmailee	boycottee	conferee ◆	amputee
assessee	complimentee	bombee	consignee	consultee	causee
bailee	confidee	bribee	directee	contestee ◆	civilizee
chargee	congratulee	chasee	drawee	convenee	crack-upee
cognizee	describee	cheatee	employee	co-optee	curee
committee ◆ a)	flirtee	cudgellee	endorsee	cuttee	deferee
complainee	gaggee	cursee	franchisee	designee	mesmerizee
conferee ◆	gazee	dumpee	hiree	expellee	operatee
depositee	hoaxee	eatee	licensee	leakee	retardee
detainee	honoree	flingee	loanee	meetee	testee
devisee	impressee	floggee	managee	nominee	transplantee
distrainee	interviewee	hangee	mergee	plottee	vaccinee
distributee	invitee	holdupee	moneylendee	pollee	vivisectee
divorcee	jestee	kickee	payee	preferee	
donatee	jokee	muggee	protectee	purgee	
escapee	kissee	murderee	retiree		
garnishee	laughee	pickpocketee	revisee		
grantee	lovee	provokee	transferee ◆		
insuree	nicknamee	raidee	vendee		
internee	noddee	revengee			
legatee	pattee	rubbee			
libellee	persuadee	seducee			
mortgagee	philantropee	sharkee			
objectee	promisee	shootee			
obligee	quizzee	slanderee			
parolee	refusee	sockee			
pawnee	sayee	squeezee			
petitionee	shavee	suspendee			
pledgee	standee	sweatee			
recoveree	staree	twistee			
refer(r)ee ◆	succouree	whippee			
releasee	toastee				
remittee	treatee				
supervisee	visitee				
transferee ◆	wishee				
trustee					
vouchee					
warrantee					

APPENDIX continued

MILITARY/WAR	EDUCATION	WRITING	CHURCH	TRAVEL	CONTEST	???
conscriptee	advisee	addressee	baptizee	departee	challengee	permittee
deportee	coachee	biographee	collatee	drivee	contestee +	throwee
dischargee	crammee	citee	confessee	embarkee	refer(r)ee +	
draftee	educatee	dedicatee	confirmee	luggee	tryoutee	
enlistee	examinee	quotee	devotee	returnee		
enrollee	exchangee	sendee	illuminee			
evacuee	lecturee	writee				
inductee	rushee					
pillagee	trainee					
rejectee						
selectee						
signallee						

a) A '+' indicates that the noun has been placed in more than one category.

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SOME COMPLEX TYPES OF EMBEDDING IN LEGAL ENGLISH

Introduction

For some time now, I have been working on the structure of English legal texts, especially in terms of finding out the features that set it apart from other registers. I started with an analysis of the syntax of legal discourse, and in this paper I shall discuss one detail of this analysis, viz. the extensive use of clausal embedding, which is definitely one of the stylemarkers of the legal genre.[1]

Since the early years of transformational-generative grammar, embedding (i.e. the use of subordinate clauses within one sentence) has been an important topic in the description of linguistic systems. In consequence of the generativist assertions pertaining to the psychological reality of the theory, embedding came to be one of the central objects of testing also in psycholinguistic research. Of this work, Charrow (in Felker 1980:14-16) provides a succinct summary, which serves as the basis for the following brief survey.

One of the early studies seeking to demonstrate how certain types of embedding hamper understanding is Yngve's article "A model and an hypothesis for language structure" (1960). According to Yngve, the greater the "sentence depth" (i.e. the greater the number of embedded clauses), the harder the sentence is to understand and produce, because it places a greater load on short-term memory. It has been discovered afterwards, however, that the matter is not quite so simple. Subsequent testing of the depth hypothesis has produced mixed results, and the whole idea of using memory techniques to measure syntactic difficulty has, in fact, been cast into doubt. Instead, it has been suggested that memory for sentences has a semantic, rather than syntactic, basis. According to Charrow (p. 15), "there apparently are confounding semantic, pragmatic, and performance factors that make the real-world situation much more complex than the earlier studies suggested." This is, I think, a correct conclusion, but it is equally true that there are some types of embedding, such as the so-called self-embedding constructions of the type *The boy (whom the girl [whom the man in the red car hit] kissed) lives next door to me* (quoted from Charrow & Charrow 1979:1328), which are difficult to process almost regardless of their semantics and pragmatics. One indication of this is the fact that such constructions are hardly ever used in speech.

In this context I am not going to say more about problems of comprehension, except that they certainly exist in the material that I am about to discuss. My purpose is to analyse embedding (which I use synonymously with subordination) in a genre which uses it more than probably any other register in English, viz. the language of the law, placing the emphasis on the structural complexities created by this syntactic device.

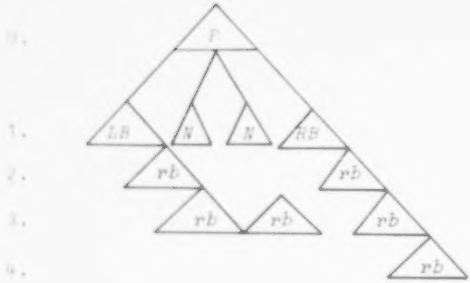
1. The patterns of embedding

To get an idea of what is meant by 'embedding', 'field of embedding' and 'depth of embedding', let us look at example (1). If we take the (underlined) principal clause (= P) in (1) as the starting-point, we find embedded clauses before it, in the middle of it, and after it. Following the terminology of transformational grammar, these clauses may be called 'left-branching' (LB), 'nested' (N) and 'right-branching' (RB), respectively. If we, further, consider both finite and non-finite dependent clauses[7], and take the principal clause (P) to represent zero level, the maximum depth of embedding is 3 in LB, 1 in N, and 4 in RB, as shown by the simplified structural description (1a).

The information in brackets after each clause indicates the relevant field and level of embedding. The capital letters refer to the position of the embedded clause in the principal clause, while the lower case ones specify the position in terms of the clause immediately above.

1. For the purpose of spreading the work of (*LB*,*1*) / issuing certificates in contemplation of a change in the length of the period (*rb*,*2*) / specified under subsection (5) above or of the appropriate period (*rb*,*3*) / (and whether for purposes of this section or section 52 of this Act) (*rb*,*3*) / the order or, / as the case may be (*N*,*1*) / regulations / changing the length of that period (*N*,*1*) / may be made so (=*P*) / as to come into operation on different days (*RB*,*1*) / as respects vehicles (*rb*,*2*) / first registered under any of the enactments (*rb*,*3*) / mentioned in subsection (7) above at different times. (*rb*,*4*)-Part II. 44(8).

1a.



Most people would, I think, agree that (1) is a difficult sentence to grasp fully at one reading. Yet, it is not particularly complex in terms of what can be found in the language of the law. But it is complex enough to illustrate some central features of embedding, e.g. that embedded clauses may be finite or non-finite, they may occur in any of the three fields, and that they may extend to relatively deep levels, especially in LB and RB. Interesting as all these aspects are, I shall leave them aside in this discussion, and concentrate on the internal structure of LB, N and RB. I shall do this by describing what I found out about this aspect of the problem in a corpus consisting of 373 sentences from the (British) Road Traffic Act 1972. These sentences contained 564 principal clauses (with only 74 simple sentences), 917 finite embeddings and 1036 non-finite ones. Of the embedded clauses, 714 occur on the first level of subordination. The first level is important in the sense that it determines whether the principal pattern of embedding is LB, N, or RB. Taking this analysis as the starting point, we get four structural alternatives. Their frequencies are given in Table 1. The first group ('single') indicates that there is only one embedded clause involved, while in groups (2)-(4) the embedded sequence is a complex one. The symbol X stands for a first-level clause, whether LB, N, or RB, according to the relevant column, and the index (n) for any number of them. The percentages are given by row (→) and column (↓).

Table 1. The structure of LB, N and RB

Type	LB			N			RB			Total	
	No.	% →	% ↓	No.	% →	% ↓	No.	% →	% ↓	No.	% ↓
1. Single	36	10.5	36	117	34.1	62.2	190	55.4	44.6	343	48.0
2. $X + rb_n$	38	14	38	57	21	30.3	177	65	41.5	272	38.1
3. $X + n_n$	1	12.5	1	6	75	3.2	1	12.5	0.2	8	1.1
4. $X + \begin{Bmatrix} rb + n \\ n + rb \end{Bmatrix}_n$	25	27.5	25	8	8.8	4.3	58	63.7	13.6	91	12.7
Total	100	14	100	188	26.3	100	426	59.7	100	714	100

According to these results, single embeddings constitute about half of the occurrences. Those where the subordinate clauses follow the clause immediately above them (i.e. Type 2), are also common. In contrast, Types (3) and (4), representing the most complex variants, are a minority, though an important one. In (3), there are nested embeddings inserted into the first-level clause, while in (4), the pattern consists of a combination of rb and n (in whichever order). It is mainly these most complex types that we are concerned with now.[3]

1.1. Left-branching

Let us take the three fields in turn, and look first at LB. In Types (1) and (2), when LB (i.e. and), only one subtype is worth mentioning, because it may create a problem for comprehension, viz. the construction where two dependent clauses are co-ordinated asyndetically, as the if and having clauses in the following:

2. If a person drives a motor vehicle on a road recklessly, or at a speed or in a manner (*LB,1*) / which is dangerous to the public, (*rb,2*) / having regard to all the circumstances of the case, (*LB,1*) / including the nature, condition and use of the road, and the amount of traffic (*rb,2*) / which is actually at the time, (*rb,3*) / or which might reasonably be expected to be, on the road, (*rb,3*) / he shall be guilty of an offence. (*=P*)-Part I. 8(4).

A more important point to observe is the fact that there appear to be no examples where a first-level LB, N or RB clause would have an lb clause following (i.e. * , * , or *).[4]

In contrast with the asyndetic type, which has a low insidence, clauses introduced by a conjunction are extremely common, and occur at all levels of embedding, especially in LB and RB. At the beginning of the sentence they often significantly increase the length of the LB-sequence. The longest LB in the material contained 14 clauses. On the average, there are more than two clauses in this position (mean 2.3/P).

Since Type (3) is almost non-existent in LB, Type (4) - involving both n and rb clauses below the first-level LB clause - remains the most complicated structurally. The nested clause is commonly at the second level in such examples, e.g.

3. If, / while a motor vehicle is on a road or on a parking place (*n,2*) / provided by the local authority, (*rb,3*) / a person otherwise than with lawful authority or reasonable cause gets on to the vehicle (*LB,1*) / or tampers with the brake or other part of its mechanism, (*LB,1*) / he shall be guilty of an offence. (*=P*)-Part I. 29.

But there are also instances where the nested insertion comes later in the LB-sequence, e.g.

4. If it appears to a constable in consequence of a breath test (*LB,1*) / carried out by him on any person under subsection (1) or (2) above (*rb,2*) / that the device / by means of which the test is carried out (*n,4*) / indicates (*rb,3*) / that the proportion of alcohol in that person's blood exceeds the prescribed limit, (*rb,4*) / the constable may arrest that person without warrant (*=P*) / except while that person is at a hospital as a patient. (*RB,1*)-Part I. 8(4).

The instances where more than one nested clause is involved, represent a yet more complex variation, e.g.

5. If any person at any time on or after the day / appointed by
regulations (*n*,2) / made by the Secretary of State in
relation to goods vehicles of a prescribed class, (*rb*,3) /
being vehicles (*rb*,4) / to which type approval requirements /
prescribed by those regulations (*n*,6) / apply, (*rb*,5) / uses
on a road, or causes or permits (*LB*,1) / to be so used,
a goods vehicle of that class (*rb*,2) / and it does not
appear from one or more certificates then in force under
section 47 of this Act (*LB*,1) / that the vehicle complies
with those requirements, (*rb*,2) / he shall be guilty of an
offence. (=*P*)-Part I. 51(1).

Here the nested sequence consists of five clauses, three of which are rb with regard to the preceding nested clause.

Summing up the properties of LB, we may say that it constitutes an important position, where a lot of information can be squeezed in a syntactically economic way (usually in the form of conditions, provisos, and the like). At the same time, however, excessive crowding of the initial position constitutes a source of complexity, especially when the LB-sequence is very long, and when nested clauses are inserted in it.

1.2. Nesting

When we come to nesting, we find that Type (3) is, according to Table 1, less common throughout than might be expected. Most of the instances (N=6) involve self-embedding of the type exemplified by (6).

6. A person / who, / when riding a cycle, / not being a motor
vehicle, (*n*,3) / on a road or other public place, (*n*,2) /
is unfit to ride through drink or drugs (*N*,1) / shall be
guilty of an offence. (*P*)-Part I. 19(1).

In the self-embedding type the depth value does not exceed 3; normally it is 2. In Type (4) - with a combination of nested and right-branching clauses - the depth value can be as much as 4 in the present corpus. Example (7), involving a long N-sequence, illustrates this type:

7. Any person / who, / without being authorized by the compe-
tent authority (*n*,2) / to apply any approval mark, (*rb*,3) /
applies that mark or a mark (*N*,1) / so nearly resembling it
(*rb*,2) / as to be calculated to deceive (*rb*,3) / shall be
guilty under the Trade Descriptions Act 1968 (=*P*) / whether
or not he would be guilty of such an offence apart from this
subsection. (*RB*,1)-Part I. 63(2).

The clauses of Type (2), involving N+rb, extend deepest in the nested field (level 5) in the corpus. The mean maximum depth of embedding of this type is 2.2 clauses per principal clause. Taking all the clauses in the medial field into account, however, the mean maximum depth of embedding is 1.8/P, i.e. there are approximately two clauses inserted in this position.

Summing up the features of nesting, it can be said that excessive complexity is avoided in this position.[5] The likely reason for this is the fact that the limits of perceptual capacity are narrower there than in LB or RB. One indication of this is the lower mean depth value in the medial position.

1.3. Right-branching

Finally, we shall look at RB clauses, which are more straightforward. We know by now (on the basis of Table 1) that they are the most common type of the three. Their mean depth value is also greater (3.1/P) than that of LB or N. Successive RB is a common type, e.g.

8. Subject to provisions of this section it shall not be lawful (*=P*) / to alter a motor vehicle or trailer so (*RB,1*) / as to render its condition such (*rb,2*) / that the use thereof on a road in that condition would be unlawful (*rb,3*) / by virtue of any provision made (*rb,4*) / as respects the construction, weight or equipment of vehicles by regulations under the said section 40. (*rb,5*)-Part. I. 60(2).

On the other hand, also the share of Type (4) - involving a combination of rb and n clauses - is greater in the terminal field than in either LB or N. However, there is an important difference in that only one nested clause normally intervenes in such cases. The examples represented by (9) are thus a minority, because they contain more than one nested clause.

9. The Secretary of State may by regulations require (*=P*) / that prescribed alterations in any of the relevant aspects of design, construction or marking or any other such aspect / which affects the plated weight (*n,2*) / made to any vehicle (*rb,3*) / for which a manufacturer's certificate or a Minister's approval certificate is issued (*rb,4*) / shall, / subject to any exemption (*n,2*) / granted under subsection (3) below, (*rb,3*) / be notified to the Secretary of State. (*RB,1*)-Part I. 48(2).

On the whole, nesting is qualitatively speaking not so significant in RB as it is in LB and N itself. In fact, there are only a couple of examples involving more than one nested clause within RB in the corpus, in addition to (9). This limited use of nesting is explained by the fact that there is really no need to condense the message in the final field, because the open-ended device of right-branching is freely available to be extended almost at will. In contrast, there is a need to condense the message in the fields of LB and N, which is dictated by perceptual limitations, and this is why we find complex nesting more frequently there than in RB.

Conclusion

In this paper I have attempted to illustrate the use of embedding in a genre that exploits the device to the full. I have done this by showing how it functions, on the one hand, as an economic way of loading a sentence with information - and as a potential source of complexity and even confusion, on the other. When considering the aspect of complexity, however, it should also be remembered that not only do we find embeddings of the type exemplified in this paper one at a time - on the contrary, there are frequently complex sequences of embedding in all positions, LB, N and RB. Moreover, the sentence may itself be of the complex-compound type, i.e. consist of more than one principal clause, each of them having embedded clauses in one, two, or all three fields of embedding. I shall finish off by quoting one such example.

10. In any proceedings for an office under section 5 of this Act, the court shall, / subject to section 10(5) thereof, (*N,1*) / have regard to any evidence (*=P*) / which may be given to the proportion or quantity of alcohol or of any drug (*RB,1*) / which was contained in the blood or present in the body of the accused (*rb,2*) / as ascertained by analysis of a specimen of blood (*rb,3*) / taken from him with his consent by a medical practioner (*rb,4*) / or of urine provided by him, at any material time; (*rb,4*) / and / if it is proved (*LB,1*) / that the accused, / when so requested by a constable at any such time, (*n,3*) / refused (*rb,2*) / to consent to the taking of (*rb,3*) / or to provide a specimen for the analysis, (*rb,3*) / his refusal may, / unless reasonable cause therefore is shown, (*N,1*) / be treated (*=P*) /

> as supporting any evidence (*RB,1*) / given on behalf of the prosecution, (*rb,2*) / or as rebutting any evidence (*RB,1*) / given on behalf of the defence, with respect to his condition at that time. (*rb,2*)-Part I. 7(1).

NOTES

1. A more detailed analysis of embedding in legal English will appear in a forthcoming article of mine. The purpose of the present discussion, concentrating on the most complex variants, is to supplement that analysis.

2. For a definition of finite and non-finite clauses, see Quirk et al. (1972:722-27). The distinction is based on the form of the verb. The group of non-finite embeddings contains a few verbless clauses of type while at a hospital, but the constructions where the non-expression of the verb is due to co-ordination have not been analysed as separate (verbless) clauses. Thus, in principle a finite clause has a finite verb, and a non-finite one a non-finite verb.

3. Note that Table 1 gives, in a way, a misleading picture of the frequency of dependent clauses in the text, because it only contains the types of embedding, and the numbers are, therefore, those of the clauses found on the first level of embedding. In particular, it should be noted that Types (2) and (4) frequently consist of more than two clauses, which may be subordinate to, or co-ordinated with, each other, or both.

4. This is perhaps not surprising. According to Quirk et al. (1972:793), no subordinate clause can itself be the first element of another subordinate clause, but must at least be preceded by a subordinator.

5. I have not discussed all variations of nesting. One type that has been left out is where a main clause is embedded. Such examples are rare, however. In the following sentence the clause who he has reasonable clause to believe represents this type:

> If an accident occurs owing to the presence of a motor vehicle on a road or other public place, a constable in uniform may require any person who he has reasonable cause to believe was driving or attempting to drive the vehicle at the time of the accident to provide a specimen of breath for a breath test - (Part I. 8(2)).

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WHAT HAPPENS IN CONVERSION?

1.1. On the face of it, the definition of conversion as the deliberate transfer of a word from one part of speech to another without any change in its form (Zandvoort 1957:264) gives the answer to the question posed in our title. But we are not allowed to look behind the scenes of this process: the term "transfer" does not tell us what really happens and how, any more than do the range of designations, from functional change, functional shift, grammatical homophony and derivation by a suffix zero to zero derivation and identity operation (input = output). Gabriele Stein is absolutely right in characterizing the treatment of conversion as "one of the most unsatisfactory and controversial issues in the study of word-formation" (1977:220, cf. Pennanen 1972). The concepts are not explicit, the system not consistent, and occasionally the description loses sight of the linguistic reality (cf. Lütjen 1970:34 on Lehnert 1970:5-40).

In the present paper conversion will be looked upon as a typically English phenomenon, decisively conditioned though not directly caused by the extensive wearing-off of word-endings and weakening of inflections. As a result, as Adams (1973:14) emhasizes, English nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs are identified not primarily by anything characteristic in their formal make-up, but by the way they behave in sentences. Distinctive class-markers being absent, the infinitive has come to be identical with the nominative singular of substantives or the positive form of the adjective. This is the background of the high frequency of multifunction items like _down_, _like_, _round_, etc. quoted by Spitzbardt (1967:613ff.), who refers to Robert Gordon Latham and his "Law of Conversion for English": 'The convertibility of words is the inverse ratio of their inflection, this meaning "peculiar signs expressive of particular parts of speech"' (_Handbook of the English Language_, London 1851).

Marchand (1969:363) does not accept the specifically English character of conversion, nor does Lipka, according to whom "zero-derivation must be regarded as an extremely productive word-formation process both in English and German" and also in other languages (Lipka 1976:129, Kastovsky 1969). Marchand (op.cit.) contends that derivation by a zero-morpheme began to develop on a larger scale before the disappearance of the final-_n_ of the infinitive. Not only does he extend the concept of conversion to OE -*ian* verbs, he also speaks of zero-derived verbs in French and German (Marchand 1963, 1964 and 1969b, cf. Berndt 1963:306-8). Such an analysis, as well as the likening of Swedish verbs of the pattern *fisk* - *fiska* (Biese 1941) to zero derivation, is questionable in its total disregard of the derivational character of the termination of the infinitive in favour of its flexional function (cf. Henzen 1947:224f. and Fleischer 1969:68, 286). Ultimately the above analysis is due to a confusion of conversion with so-called direct derivation, also known as *dérivation immédiate*, *transfert grammatical*, *unmittelbare Ableitung* etc. Although the derivative element - German -*en*, French -*er*, Swedish -*a* - is semantically empty, it is not morphologically zero. Besides, if the -*ian*, -*er*, -*en* and -*a* element is defined as the ending of one of the forms of the flexional paradigm of the verb, one wonders what, then, would be the 'naked', i.e. the citation form of the verb in question. Evidently, the verb pure and simple does not exist on surface level: the process of verbalization runs from the base (noun) to an inflected form of the verb. In fact, this is exemplified by such partial conversions in English as *bird's-nesting* (1772), described by the OED as representing a verb *to bird's-nest* first instanced in 1856. In my book on back-formation (Pennanen 1966:63, 101, 113) the gerund is taken to be basis of the back-formed verb, but it is understandable if the gerund is looked upon as a "direct" verbalization of the noun *bird's nest*: the conversion verb only exists below the surface level, i.e. in the internalized lexicon of the speech member, emerging in the form of the verb paradigm required in the speech situation. That is to say, the finite verb need not necessarily be deduced from the verbal substantive.

1.2. There are several reasons for the unsatisfactory treatment of conversion. For one thing, conversion as a whole is considered to be a matter of syntax, as no new word in the sense of a phonic concept emerges from the process. For another, the treatment of conversion is dictated by the model of word-formation chosen by the analyst, which depends on the school of linguistics he adheres to as a grammarian. Marchand, whose description of zero-derivation is our point of departure, observes the diachronic-synchronic approach within a structuralist framework. But conversion in itself is a complex and opaque object of analysis, because - and this applies to other categories of word-formation as well - the synchronic analysis of word-derivation does not always parallel the diachronic formation of a word (Dearmond 1969:355). In other words, items that seem to be conversions in the synchronic view of a (naive) analyst, may diachronically be suffix-derivations, the base and the derivative being of early English origin or borrowed from another language, e.g. OE lúfu -> lúfian, ModE love sb. & v. Ellipsis, too, has its share in the process, thus daily sb. ← daily paper.

The analysis of conversion has so far been mainly limited to denominal verbs and deverbative nouns (Lipka 1971:212), which is why the remarks in this paper follow the same lines. A further aspect of the study of conversion is that up to recent times the efforts of analysts have been directed towards a morphological description.

This, however, disregards the fact that conversions are marked by context instead of a morphological element (Pennanen 1976:294f.). This is to say that conversion operates in speech, the basic unit of which is, according to Saussure and more particularly Gardiner, the sentence. The products of conversion, on the other hand, are recorded in the dictionary (and probably in the individual lexicons of speech members) as words, which are the units of language. Accordingly, conversion has been analysed outside its proper and natural basis, which is utterance and/or the sentence, or, rather, it has been analysed on two levels at one time to the exclusion of the level of speech.

1.3. The following conspectus provides a survey of the various types of conversion in English according to Quirk (1972:100ff.). In my paper on lexical markers (Pennanen 1971:42) there is a survey of the dimensions of conversion in English according to six grammarians; cf. also Marchand 1969: 360. Table 2 illustrates what Quirk defines as "minor categories" of conversion, which some grammarians would exclude from consideration.

1.	NOUN → VERB	I'd like to cash this cheque.
2.	ADJECTIVE → VERB	They emptied the bottle.
3.	VERB → NOUN	Let's take a walk.
4.	ADVERB → NOUN	The ups and downs of life.
5.	ADVERB → VERB	They downed the weapons.
6.	INTERJECTION → VERB	He was hailed as a hero.
7.	NOUN → ADJECTIVE	A very Oxbridge accent.
8.	ADJECTIVE → NOUN	A half of bitter.
9.	ADJECTIVE → ADVERB	It serves him right.
10.	ADVERB → ADJECTIVE	Is this the down train?

Table 1. Types of conversion.

CLOSED SYSTEM WORD → NOUN	I must know the how and why of the plan.
PHRASE → NOUN	He was one of the also-rans.
PHRASE → ADJECTIVE	An upper-class accent.
AFFIX → NOUN	Pacifism is not his favourite ism.

Table 2. Minor categories of conversion.

It goes without saying that the borderline between 'total' and 'partial' conversions, distinguished by the line between 6 and 7 in Table 1, is fluid not only in the sense that some analysts would not include types 7 to 10 in conversion at all but also on account of the tendency of partial conversions to go over to the total class by accepting the full grammatical properties of the new part of speech. This has led some analysts to adopt a distinctive terminology: 'conversion' is used of partial conversions, no new word being formed in this case, and 'zero-derivation' for full or total conversions which yield a new word or lexical item (Dokulil 1968:56f.). Lyons (1977:522f.), for his part, remarks that conversion, "the derivational process whereby an item is adapted to a new world-class without the addition of an affix", carries different implications from the term 'zero-affixation'. Cf. Beard (1977), who suggests that lexical and syntactic derivation on one hand and affixation on the other should be kept separate.

2.1. According to Marchand (1969:2) word-formation is that branch of the science of language which studies the patterns on which a language forms new lexical items. It is understood, though not explicitly stated, that the material basis on which such patterns operate is the primary vocabulary. In other words, word formation is concerned with secondary formations. Coseriu (1970) describes word-formation as a component of grammar in its own right; such a grammar of forming new words operates on concepts different from the traditional grammar and the traditional categories of word-formation.

To be relevant to word-formation thus defined, an item must be a composite formation, a syntagma made up of a determinatum and a determinant, and analysable morphologically, grammatically and semantically. In establishing this set of criteria Marchand is somewhat ambiguous: the analysis can be morphological, semantic or grammatical (1965:117, 1969:31), and "a combination of all three in equal parts is necessary"; but on the other hand "a morphologic description applies to all types (of nexus substantives) and is indispensable" (1969:31). Cf. Gunter 1972:4.

2.2. In the 1960 edition of the Categories Marchand describes conversion (in his opinion an 'infelicitous' term) or zero-derivation as the use of "certain stems for the derivation of lexical syntagmas with the determinatum assuming a zero form" (294). In the second edition the definition runs like this: "the use of a word as a determinant in a syntagma whose determinatum is not expressed in phonic form but understood to be present in content, thanks to an association with other syntagmas where the element of content has its counterpart on the plane of phonic expression" (1969:359). This analysis is illustrated by the equation: *clean* adj. is to *clean* v. as *legal* to *legalize*. Here we have an illuminating example of the problems that an a priori adoption of a linguistic philosophy - in the present case the structuralist school of thought - creates by predetermining the treatment of the items within the field of study.

2.3. The paradoxical character of the structuralist analysis of conversion is evident to common sense: a morphologically monomorphemic item like *clean* v. is declared to be a syntagma, whereas syntagmatic derivatives like the OE verbs in *-ian*, German verbs in *-en* or French in *-er* are explained as zero-derived. As the determinatum is that part of a syntagma which can stand for the whole, it seems problematic how a syntagma, a composite form, can be built on nothing. The proportional equations adduced to illustrate the associative presence of the derivative element (see also Lyons 1977:523 *release* v.:*release* sb. = *justify*:*justification* and Kastovsky 1969:8 *bake*:*baker* = *cheat* v.:*cheat* sb) do not apply to verbs zero-derived from adverbs (*to out*, *to down*)and to interjections (*to hail*), there being no verbs derived from adverbs and interjections by means of suffixes. Nevertheless, there ought to be 'something' to take over the role of the determinatum.

In his review of Adams 1973, Lipka (1975:382-89) points out that Adams classifies zero-derivations according to the direction of the derivation (noun to verb, verb to noun, adjective to verb etc.) but the subclassification is carried out on the basis of the syntactic function of the base in a paraphrase (underlying) sentence, e.g. "the noun is the object in a paraphrase sentence", or the complement, or the indirect object etc. Deverbal nouns, again, are split up into three groups according to the role of the verb: the agent, the object or the concrete result, and the abstract result of the action (Adams 1973:51).

Lipka's comment on this is highly interesting: "If the concept of zero is really taken seriously, it is not the noun which denotes the agent etc. but rather the zero morpheme, since it is the very parallelism of *cheat*/Ø vs. *swindler*, *cook*/Ø vs. *baker*, *spy*/Ø vs. *observer* on which the theoretical concept of zero is based" (1975.386). This is not a convincing way of dealing with the dichotomy of morphologically indivisible but semantically complex items (cf. Ohlander 1972:306). The quoted word pairs are grammatical synonyms, each denoting the agent that performs the action denoted by the basic verb, just as *clean*, *legalize*, *widen* and *enlarge* are the pattern "to make object like what the base denotes", but that does not mean that they should be formally commensurate (Winter 1964:14).

2.4. Marchand and with him many others (Kastovsky, Lipka, Lyons) find the solution to the structural problem of conversions by introducing the zero-morpheme: it provides the determinatum that we do not see or hear. It is true that the opposition of something to nothing is a fact in language, as was shown by Saussure, but it is a paradigmatic phenomenon. When extended beyond the scope of the paradigm of one and the same word and used as an instrument of linguistic description, zero becomes highly dubious, nearing the status of the Emperor's clothes "until the opposite is proved", as Barri (1977:22) describes the case. While Winter (1964) shows that zero cannot even be an allomorph of suffixes and Matthews (1974:122) bluntly declares that zero is no morph, Kastovsky (1969:8f.) contends that zero is not to be looked upon as an allomorph but as an independent morpheme; Lyons (1977:522), too, classifies the identity element or zero with other derivational elements of the same function. Thus, the verbalizing identity element ($N + NV_q = V_q$) belongs to the same class as -*en*, -*ify*, -*ize* and -*ate*. Cf. also Gauger 1977 (*Festschrift Marchad*) and Crystal 1971:192.

The decisive argument against the 'structural' zero is, as Matthews (1974:117) points out, that one cannot determine its distribution: "One cannot say that in some forms 'nothing' is 'there' but in others it is not 'there', that the 'presence' of 'nothing' in one form 'contrasts' with the 'absence' of 'nothing' in another, and so on." This is in full agreement with the classic description by Haas (1957), aptly illustrated by Leitner's analysis (1973) of ornative and privative denominal verbs formed without an ornative or privative affix as well as without a verbal suffix (*to bone*, *to arm*); here, the stage is completely cleared for the zero to show up and operate. See also Leitner 1974:37-86.

In his analysis of the zero-morpheme Kastovsky (1969) emphasizes that zero-derivation is not only a straightforward shift of function or a change of word-class, but also further semantic elements accompany the process. In other words, the concept of conversion does not take into account the syntagmatic character of such formations; Lyons (1977:523) distinguishes between coversion ("a derivational process whereby an item is adapted to a new word-class without the addition of an affix") and zero-affixation ("the addition to the stem of the identity-element functioning as an affix), cf. Hansen 1969. Significanly enough, Kastovsky argues that walk sb. is not a derivative with different semantic developments ("eine Ableitung mit verschiedenen Bedeutungsentwicklungen") but a set of homonymous words that go back to different tagmemes of the kernel sentence, a line of thought that compares with his analysis of cheat sb. as someone who not only cheats but does so habitually. This reminds one also of the 'dérivation lexicale'and 'dérivation syntactique' proposed by Kuryłowicz on one hand and of the process of lexicalization on the other (see e.g. Lipka 1977:159). Conversions are lexicalized items in so far as they can be disambiguated only on the basis of the context, something that Kastovsky, too, had in mind in stating that context and situation are responsible for the selection of the "theme" in the underlying structure (viz. zero-derivations, 1968:23-25, and Lipka 1976:129).

All these and similar arguments seem to be beating about the bush in face of the evident fact that derivation in general and conversion in particular take place on two levels, of form and of content, form being subordinate to content, as Leitner (1974: 12 and passim) emphasizes. Thus it is not possible to attach the new grammatical and lexical meaning to a formal nothing: zero-derivations are an exception to the rule of diagrammatical iconicity (diagrammatische Ikonizität), as Plank (1981:88) points out - "more of form" does not correspond to "more of meaning". What Motsch (1970:563) states about N + N type of compounds applies to word-formation in general: the surface structure does not provide all the information that is needed for the reconstruction of the corresponding deep structure, cf. Lightner 1975:632. So the morphological approach leads the analyst into a blind alley, and we must look for another more promising point of departure.

3.1. Above (see 1.2.) it was suggested that conversion yields items which are marked by the context. An item like 'pen', considered out of its context, is neither noun or verb (Martinet 1979:144), nor is it possible to attach a word-class to such multifunction words as down, like, round etc. when considered in isolation. Word-class, indeed, is an impress or character that a morpheme or a combination of morphemes receives when it is realized as a word in parole to enable it to take its place as a certain member of the sentence in accordance with the sentence plan of the speaker, as Lindgren (1964:221) aptly points out. Seen from this angle conversion appears as a process rather than a morpheme (cf. Crystal 1971:196), and zero is another way of expressing the fact that no formal element is made use of: rather, it implies the transfer of an item into another function in the context of the speech situation.

3.2. When we are about to say something (or write, for that matter), we know what we want to say before knowing how to say it, cf. Wundt's definition of the sentence as "the linguistic expression for the arbitrary dismemberment of a complex presentation into its component parts, these being placed in logical relations to one another" (Völkerpsychologie. Die Sprache II:245, translation by Gardiner 1932:241f.). In a recent book Frans Plank introduces a similar concept viz. "the complex conceptual pattern" (ein complexes Begriffsschema, Plank 1981:47), whose units are topicalized (thematiziert) within the limits of lexical possibilities and needs of communication. The following analysis of the German verb aufgabeln may illustrate Plank's idea: "etwas (PATIENS) durch eine geeignete Tätigkeit (MODUS) oder durch geeignete Hilfsmittel (MITTEL oder INSTRUMENT) auf der Oberfläche von etwas (ORT) anbringen".

From our point of view the interesting question revolves about the character of those 'component parts" as well as their origin. It does not seem very likely that the needed lexical items are taken ready-made from their pigeonholes in the lexicon, i.e. native speakers of a language do not learn all derived words by heart (Ljung 1970:14); these are, rather, somehow generated in accordance with a set of rules (cf. Gruber 1967:10, who suggests that lexical items are not "put in" in phrase markers, but generated by subtrees within trees).

3.3. What kind of bases these lexical items originate from is a question so vast that it cannot be entered upon in this paper. However, reference should be made to the theory of 'bare lexemes' to which word-classes, among further grammatical attributes, can be attached by the speakers 'at will' (see D. Bolinger "Categories, Features, Attributes" in Brno Studies in English 8 1969:37-41 and Lipka 1971 with further references) on one hand and, on the other, to the concept of 'word-form' (Gardiner 1932:132-150 and Pennanen 1980), particularly in its interpretation of what we have called multiple conversions. Gardiner thinks the inner word-form of such items is concealed behind a number of alternatives, which are realized in outer word-form in accordance with the demands of expression. That is to say, they are made to signify their 'nuclear' meaning in the substantive way, or the adjective way, or the verb way and so forth, something that reminds of the *modi significandi* of the Schoolmen. Cf. Coseriu 1972, where an analysis of the common semantic element in strings like *rich* - *riches* - *enrich* or German *arm* - *Armut* - *verarmen* is attempted; quite clearly we are dealing here with a below-surface element, not expressable in one word. Perhaps it is that 'something' that Gunter (1972:1) says is expressed by *widen* as a verb while *wide* expresses the same 'something' as an adjective.

3.4. It seems to me that this is the starting point of a process of word-formation that also includes conversion: the sub-surface level Protean notion, without morphological shape, is transposed to surface level according to the needs of expression and its potential of signification. These potentials are part of the individual speech member's lexicon (and appear in dictionary entries as e.g. *round*, which is recorded as sb., adj., v., adv. and prep.).

The transposition to the surface of such sub-surface level semantic elements may be achieved without any morphological changes in the base, or it may need the support of morphological measures. In the first case the derivative process admits of description as conversion, in the second affixal derivation.

Sometimes conversion is supported by slight modifications of the base like stress shift (*réfill* vs *refíll*) or voicing (*use* sb. vs. *use* v.) or vowel change (Marchad 1969:377, Quirk 1972:1017). In some cases the result of this kind of transposition is a full syntagma, i.e. a sentence: while *fish* sb. gives the verb *to fish*, *deer* does not yield *to *deer*, the only possibility being *to stalk the deer*, *to hunt the deer*. The above approach leads the analysis of word-formation in general and of conversion in particular towards a framework whose basis is not the instruments or means to form new lexical items but the semantic jobs these new items, irrespective of the way they are built up, are doing in communication. Such a model has been presented by Coseriu (1977), cf. my comments (1978:118f., 1980:8f.).

3.5. As regards conversion, its transfer from a sub-surface level conceptual pattern (Plank) or complex presentation to the surface level is the process whose description and analysis is a challenge to the new schools of grammar. Robert B. Lees was one of the earliest to attempt a transformational approach (*The Grammar of English Nominalizations*, The Hague 1960), and Chomsky, too, has dealt with this subject in *Remarks on Nominalization* (1970). In his "Notes on the 'Conversion' of Nouns into Verbs in English" (System Development Corporation, Santa Monica 1968) Carter R. Revard expresses some doubt as to the transformational character in the Chomskyan sense of the process of conversion, as "semantic features are added or lost in some fashion". Ljung's thesis (1970) is a generative study of high-frequency adjectives in English, and Leitner's analysis of denominal verbalization in English is based on "a special version of the generative grammar". The unpublished Ph.D. thesis of D.R.J. Knowles on De-adjectival adverbials in transformational grammar (London 1970) is a further departure on the TG basis; however, it was not available to me in the preparation of this paper.

It is not for us to enter upon these studies and to offer an opinion on the optimum approach, but it seems to me that some form of case grammar would afford promising prospects of describing the topicalization of the component parts of a complex conceptual pattern (the "what" we wish to say).

3.6. The prominent role of conversion in English word-formation is an expression of the influence of certain linguistic tendencies that seem to converge in the case of English. All languages, but English in particular, tend to function in accordance with a law of economy of expression, i.e. a maximum of content with a minimum of linguistic means and effort. There is evidence of this outside conversion, both in derivation and flexion, which easily operate with unmarked inflectionally neutral forms, (see Jespersen MEG II, 7.11, Adams 1973:58 and Pennanen 1976:295). Examples are tear-gas, tooth-decay, gutless, (a) five-day (week), where the neutral form functions for plural; in enemy attack, pigtail it stands for the genitive. The English adjective has done away with all inflectional markers, and in verb flexion the marked forms represent only a fraction of the marked inflected forms that are used in French, German or, for that matter, in Finnish (modal auxiliaries, cut, hit, put, set; subjunctive and imperative, watch-dog, workman). Even sentence function may be changed without formal (structural) changes, e.g. He is well? Who cares?, though in spoken language intonation serves as marker. We meet this economizing tendency in a child's efforts to learn its native language: nominal forms are made to function as verbs, adjectives and adverbials as well, something that is repeated in the efforts of a foreign language learner.

As regards denominal and deverbal types of conversion, Biese (1941:339ff.) has shown that the tendency of many Indo-European languages to use the bare verb stem as action noun and as agent noun goes back to Sanskrit, Latin and Greek. There are instances of it, besides in English, in French, German and Swedish in the form of so-called root-nominalization (Guilbert 1975:165 and Söderbergh 1967:79, 97, 127).

3.7. Seen from a linguistically less orthodox angle, conversion may be described as the naive speaker's attempt to see how far he can get in expressing himself by using the naked word, the stem, without having to resort to derivative elements. Now, it is possible to conceive of conversion as the one extreme on a cline at the opposite end of which we find full derivative patterns, made up of root + theme + derivative morpheme.

This treatment gives conversion its proper place as a category of derivation without the difficulties that a structural analysis tries to solve by introducing the zero. Back-formation is another square peg that must be forced into the round structural holes; it starts from what is believed to be a composite and derives a new item which is a moneme, something that cannot be denied although the naive speaker will consider the derived item the base (cf. Pennanen 1975 & 1978). Marchand's treatment does not convince: he overemphasizes the synchronic approach and the criterial force of content as opposed to form. One misses a more detailed analysis of his demand of the threefold syntagmaticity; he seems to have had in mind the basic role of content (meaning), but on the other hand he had to adhere to the determinant - determinatum pattern his model is based upon. It would have been a great help if Marchand had arranged the three types of syntagma in hierarchical order with due consideration of the levels on which they should be satisfied. What holds for the underlying sentence does not necessarily have to be expressed on the surface. To suggest that such grammatical and semantic elements (features) are conveyed to the surface by the zero morpheme (Kastovsky) is to sweep the problem under the carpet.

In the present analysis conversions are semantic syntagmas in the first place; that they are also grammatical syntagmas is a consequence of this, "the component parts being put in logical relations to one another". But conversions are not analysable as morphological syntagmas, it would be a contradictio in adjecto if they were. As Ljung (1970:19) emphasizes, "we cannot always expect there to be isomorphism between the morphemic and the semantic structures of a word" (cf. Ohlander and Winter sub 2.3.).

4.0. By way of a summary the following observations suggest themselves.

4.1. Conversion or "derivation by a suffix zero" is a process which does not lend itself to morphemic analysis.

4.2. The process of conversion takes place on the level of speech (sentence, utterance) or parole. Its products, again, belong to the level of language (langue), whose units are words. Therefore it should be analysed on the level of its origin: instead of affixal markers it is the context that advises us how to understand such an item.

4.3. Zero does not explain conversion as its key element, for it is secondary in character. After the process of conversion it is possible to identify and define the zero. Analysis by means of zero reminds one of putting the cart before the horse.

4.4. In the light of available investigations it seems that the very process of conversion can profitably be approached on the basis of case grammar (which describes the logical relations of 'the component parts of a presentation') and a suitable type of transformational(-generative) grammar. It is only on the basis of transformational descriptions of this kind that we expect to gain a deeper insight into the nature of the process of conversion and find a proper answer to the question we have posed. Thus, it remains to be seen what kind of rules, restrictions and generalizations can be established in this highly productive and versatile field of word-formation, and what degree and character of semantic and grammatical as well as extra-linguistic factors and their interrelations can be distinguished in the process. It does not seem possible that zero could account for the semantic and other features that disappear or are added on the way from base to derivative.

4.5. As it does not seem likely that speech members should learn all conversions by heart, the lexicon of an individual speaker will contain the bases and the conversion rules, and, naturally, some conversions, particularly if they are highly lexicalized. Actually, conversion and topicalization seem to have quite a good deal in common.

4.6. Finally, the law of economy of expression and the specially English predilection for operating with unmarked forms in expression and construction as well as in word-formation should be mentioned as powerful factors in conversion. But what really happens in conversion over and above the transfer of an item from one function (or word-class) to another, remains so far hidden in the black box of the human language machine whose secrets linguists and grammarians are trying to penetrate.

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AN ASPECT OF TERM-FORMATION IN ENGINEERING ENGLISH

It is well-known that engineering English (EE) is fond of heavily modified noun-phrase structures, especially heavy premodification. In this context I shall not discuss the possible reasons for this stylistic phenomenon but instead try to describe one particular word/term-formation type within premodification forms in EE, a type that I have called chain compound e.g. end-of-scan output, in-line piston pump, hold-steady-speed facility.

Statistically speaking, Quirk et al. (1972:934) have pointed out the sensitiveness of noun-phrase structures as style markers and the great proportion of complex noun phrases in scientific writing (embracing both science & technology). According to Godfrey (1965:101 ff.) there are about 147 nominal groups in scientific textbooks for about 100 groups in fiction. Both of these observations are based on the Survey of English Usage. Sager et al. (1980:234) refer to several studies and conclude that nouns account for 44% of special language words as against 28% in general language. They also point out that multi-word terms are much more general in special languages than in general language.

Chain compounds come into the picture in that they, too, seem to be a handy device in the process of technical term-formation and they are on the increase in general as well. Their word status is often doubtful, especially when they are ad hoc forms or not yet established forms. As expressions they can be placed somewhere between syntax and lexis, and at the coining stage they can be considered word units only if they are used in premodification. If used in postmodification they are syntactic collocations e.g. depth-to-average-width fusion zone, no-load optical sensing vs. fusion zone measured from its depth to its average width or optical sensing with no load? The word status is usually shown through the use of hyphens in premodification. If the expression is reasonably well-established, hyphens are used also in postmodification or independent usage e.g. line-to-line, know-how, on-line, off-screen, line-of-sight, state-of-the-art.

The material. The material for this paper is part of a larger corpus of chain compound structures in present-day English journalism both in British English (BE) and in American English (AE) (Varantola 1981) - altogether 2131 occurrences of which 508 (24%) are from engineering publications (BE: Engineering and The Engineer representing general engineering and AE: IEEE Spectrum representing electronics).

Journalism is naturally favourable to linguistic innovation and this is probably why chain compounds could be easily found even in the technical subset although e.g. Gerbert (1970:68) claims that EE is conservative and not fond of bold word-formation.

In the engineering publications 70% of occurrences were considered to be terms, which, I think, indirectly shows their usefulness for technical and terminological purposes. Admittedly it is difficult and perhaps arbitrary at times to define when an expression of this kind has reached term status. Obtaining a dictionary entry is a slow process and naturally special engineering terms very seldom get an entry in a general dictionary. Some of the technical chain compounds could be found in small glossaries but on the whole no systematic search was carried out. Sager et al. (1980:233) also discuss the problems encountered in identifying "extended terminological units" and point out that English orthography offers little help - compounds are rarely spelled as one word and hyphenation is haphazard. They also point out that "... it (terminologisation) relies more directly on the users' knowing the appropriate concepts and thus being able to identify them".

General occurrence. On the basis of the corpus chain compounds seem, perhaps expectedly, to be more popular in AE journalism than BE. The phenomenon is so consistent that even the highest figure for BE is lower than the lowest AE figure. The figures were estimated separately for each magazine or subset used.

The highest BE estimate (from the engineering publications) was 0.640 chain compounds/1000 words and the lowest AE estimate (from *Fortune*) 0.690 ccs/ 1000 w. What is perhaps more interesting is that the engineering publications had the highest proportion of chain compounds in both the BE and AE subcorpora. The figure for *Spectrum* was 0.850 ccs/1000 w. (In practice e.g. a full two-column page in *The Economist* has about a thousand words.) The high frequencies in the technical subset again indirectly seem to prove the applicability of chain compounds for terminological purposes, although, it must be pointed out, chain compounds are not a high frequency structure but nevertheless an existing and productive means of word-formation.

Overall structure. Structurally chain compounds fall into several main groups the biggest of which were what could be the noun group and another nominal group consisting of a preposition or adverb + noun. These classes were the largest in both the whole corpus and the technical subcorpus. Some examples from the engineering texts:

Noun group

lap-and-shoulder strap
chain-and-sprocket gear system
loss-of-data failure
end-of-scan output
input-to-ground dating
peak-to-peak amplitudes

Prep/Adv + noun group

through-the-lens viewfinder
in-the-field complaints
in-factory rejects
on-load isolators
off-line diagnostics

(*In* was the most popular preposition in this group)

It is noticeable, however, that the prep/adv + noun group is far more frequent in the technical subset than in the whole corpus. It accounts for about 41% of cases in the BE material and about 28% in the AE material. In the American technical subset noun forms were more frequent (41% vs 25% in the BE engineering publications). In the whole corpus the noun group predominated, 40% vs 24% of prep/adv + noun forms i.e. the American technical corpus closely resembled the structure of the whole corpus. I shall return to the usefulness of the "on-line" type terms later and, for the sake of comparison, point out only a few of their general language equivalents:

behind-the-scenes battle
up-to-the-minute information
off-the-record meeting
round-the-clock affair
after-dinner debate
away-from-home eating
below-ground crime
in-depth insight

Smaller structural categories in the technical data can be illustrated by the following examples:

difficult-to-machine materials
ready-to-use modules
as-cast surface finish
direct-on-line converters
let-go current
push-to-read switch
read-only memory
switch-to-talk channel
track-while-scan systems
no-load speed

If we look at the changes that take place during the metamorphosis from a syntactic postmodification structure to a premodifying term we notice that prepositions and articles, plural 3rd person -s endings can be dropped and often are. On the whole a more compact and economical form is aimed at e. g.

(from) ceramic-to-microwave transmitters
through-(the)-thickness alignment
run(s)-flat safety tyre
seven-segment(s)-plus-decimal-point displays

but also

state-of-the-art
top-of-the-line hardware
over-the-horizon radars

No systematic rules seem to emerge on the basis of the examples. But the tendency is towards simpler forms with as few closed-system items as possible.

The word-class status of premodifying chain compounds is not very clear-cut. They seem to be situated on a scale between nominal and adjectival ends. More nominal types are represented e.g. by expressions like loss-of-coolant accident, speaker-and-amplifier unit, sound-on-sound techniques, the more adjectival end by on-line monitor, dual-in-line package, hard-to-work alloys, but what about store-and-forward systems, read-only memory, track-while-scan systems. Syntactic rules, however, permit fuller adjectivization on an ad hoc basis e.g. through adverb modification virtually use-anywhere strain measuring transducers. In the formation of chain compounds even outrageous methods are possible. The following examples are from a very matter-of-fact feature article in Engineering (Dec. 1976):

Complex systems with potentially unreliable, *fail-to-danger* elements...
... because spring failure or stem bearing seizure leads to *fail-to-danger*.
... *fail-to-danger* can occur...
The essential ingredients of any safety mechanism are reliability, *failure-to-safety*....
... and the system should *fail-to-safety* in the event of...

A further structural development that leads to an even more compact form is the formation of acronyms based on chain compounds or chain compounds + other elements e.g. *dual-in-line package (DIP) plug-in boards*, *two more over-the-horizon OTH radars*, *silicon-on-sapphire (SOS) integrated circuits*, *1.5 k bytes of programmable read-only memory (PROM)*.

Syntactic features. When chain compounds are used together with other premodifiers they are usually placed closest to the head. In the corpus the chain compound was the only premodifier in about 70% of cases but when it was used together with other modifiers it was closest to the head in 76% of cases. There seem to be two reasons for this. Either the chain compound is considered a noun modifier and automatically takes the place closest to the head e.g. *a holographic lock-and-key system* or, on the other hand, chain compounds are usually restrictive and categorizing rather than descriptive due to their often improvised nature (cf. Quirk et al. 1972:904). Bolinger (1952:1136) thinks that the standardizing function of many chain compounds has actually caused the creation of many items. (His example is *under-the-counter sale* vs *a sale under the counter*.) If we look at engineering chain compounds that are not placed closest to the head we find examples of this kind:

above-ground tropical environment
standard *off-the-shelf* linear integrated circuits
uniform *in-plane* biaxial direct and shear loads

In these cases the other premodifiers are even more restrictive and classifying and the chain compounds often adjectival in nature.

All noun phrases with chain compounds are basically heavy structures. Thus it is not surprising that these noun phrases usually function as adverbials (36%) or objects (32%) and less commonly as subjects (23%). But it is interesting to note that even fairly lengthy NPs are used in a subject position in technical language. This is in accordance with the tendency pointed out by Quirk et al. (1972:934) that in scientific writing there is "the weakest association of simple with subject and complex with non-subject". For example

A range of economic, easy-to-operate treatment plants is now available...
The new programmable-read-only memory version of the PDP-8M would suggest...
Foam filling of difficult-to-protect body sections is likely to be on the increase.

Semantic features. Chain compounds can be broadly divided into concrete and figurative expressions i.e. those types where the meaning is easily extractable as "a sum of the parts" and those where the meaning is harder to grasp and requires a deeper analysis. Naturally this dichotomy is not always clear-cut and here again chain compounds seem to be scattered along a scale rather than placed at the two ends. In the whole material about 2/3 were considered concrete. The technical data was understandably even more matter-of-fact in reference (83%) and less convention-flouting than the general types. Some examples:

Concrete and general

shoot-to-kill order
dial-a-bus experiment
no-confidence motions
turn-of-the-century chamber

Concrete and technical

through-the-lens viewfinder
in-process gauging
push-to-print recorder
in- and out-of-tolerance conditions
leak-before-break safety feature

Figurative and general

warts-and-all biography
haven't-I-met-you-somewhere routine
head-in-the-clouds type
walk-soft course

Figurative and technical

off-the-shelf component
merry-go-round rail system
hands-on sessions
know-how gap
not-invented-here complex

The purpose and functions of chain compounds. It has often been pointed out that present-day English does not actively utilize native resources in the formation of compounds (cf. Ullmann 1964:105) and that the resulting opaqueness has contributed even to building a language bar between educated and less educated people. Leisi (1955:205-6) among others has suggested that chain compounds could be used to replace "hard words". It is certainly difficult to find contrastive examples of this method of simplification but perhaps the next example will illustrate the process that could be at work at the creation stage.

> More often, it applies a newly evolved technique called "value options in a workshop setting". (Translation: on-the-job interviews and meetings to determine where... (Fortune 25.9.78, p. 94.)

In engineering language, it could be claimed, chain compounds are a means to avoid definitions and terms with little indication of function or content (e.g. no-break inverter modes, out-of-range condition). Chain compound terms are self-explanatory in most cases and thus also a means of disambiguation. They also represent the idea-compression process so common in technical language. In this particular case tight packing of information is achieved through a syntactic and a synthetic compound and, as shown above, sometimes through a further development into an acronym.

It is interesting to note that in the corpus news items in the engineering publications had proportionately more chain compounds than longer articles, which gives further proof of their condensing capacities. English is naturally a nearly ideal language for the development of constructions of this kind. Grammatical endings do not pose any difficulties and new coinages that are basically syntactic collocations are easily fitted as word units into the syntactic pattern.

A further reason for the popularity of chain compounds in engineering language is probably the labelling function of premodifiers (pointed out e.g. by Bolinger 1952:1131, Leech 1966: 140, Leech 1974:37 and Akhmanova 1958:17-18) and the labelling needs of engineering language. In general the pre-head position is reserved for permanent or characterizing modifiers and in technology there is very often need for further restrictive definitions and labels or differentiation. Premodification provides an ideal, if not always aesthetic means for this purpose e.g.

a simple press-to-sound and press-to-silence action
surface-down seismology
direct-on-line, direct-on-line reversing, star-delta, two-speed, auto-transformer and stator-rotor types

In general language chain compounds, especially the most daring coinages are often intentionally vague and permit several interpretations and this fact is naturally exploited in advertising e.g. top-of-the-tree flavour (Leech 1966:139-40) or Ford offers the hates-to-stand still look... (Penttilä 1962:40) but in engineering language this quality of chain compounds is seldom taken advantage of. Rather the opposite is true. Chain compound terms are normally explicit and clear in reference within the special language and special communication purpose. Sometimes they can be seen as a means of further clarification and differentiation where a shorter form could be ambiguous e.g. especially the type on-line. The form with the preposition clarifies the relation between the premodifier and the head cf. in-circuit testing vs circuit testing or through-thickness alignment vs thickness alignment.

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SOME CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS ON PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH LEXICOLOGY*

1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to examine critically some aspects of lexicology in general and English lexicology in particular in the light of current linguistic theory. The paper originates in a long-term concern with the growth and nature of the lexical competence of learners of English in Finland and Norway. This explains the references to TEFL word lists later on and the author's interest in the generative capacity of the basic vocabulary.

The beginning of the paper (2) deals briefly with the definition of 'lexicology' (2.1), the role of lexicology in linguistics (2.2-2.3), lexical competence (2.4) and lexical processes (2.5). Section (3) takes up conversion (3.1) and compounding (3.2) as examples of word-formation processes. Section (4), finally, adds some notes on corpora.

2 GENERAL REMARKS ON LEXICOLOGY

2.1 WHAT IS 'LEXICOLOGY'?

There is not full agreement on what 'lexicology' is about except that it somehow has as its object the description of the vocabulary or lexicon of a given language. The Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature includes three subheadings under "Vocabulary": (1) "Words and Idioms", (2) "Names", and (3) "Dictionaries and Lexicography". It is (1) that is the main concern of lexicology, the study of names being a more specialized field. Lexicography or the writing of dictionaries is in part an application of lexicology.

Quirk et al. (1972:8) confine the object of lexicology to "the study of words" and make semantics into something which "has relevance equally within lexicology and grammar." By "words" I assume they mean "lexical items". Crystal (1980), again, seems to identify lexicology with (lexical) semantics.

A reasonable definition of 'lexicology' would seem to be the following:

LEXICOLOGY IS THE STUDY OF THE LEXICON, i.e. THE SYNTAGMATIC, SEMANTIC AND PRAGMATIC PROPERTIES OF LEXICAL ITEMS, AND THE PROCESSES OF LEXICALIZATION AND WORD-FORMATION.

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*The author is grateful to Cambridge University Press and Longman for permission to make a file of their vocabularies (CAMLIST and LONGLIST).

According to this, then, the form and content of lexical items, lexicalization and word-formation are the major interests in lexicology. The syntagmatic properties include collocations, but as Halliday has pointed out many times, there is no clear borderline between grammar and lexis. "The lexicon ... is simply the most delicate grammar" (1978:43).

2.2 LEXICOLOGY IN LINGUISTIC THEORY

In the literature on TGG the term 'lexicology' is hardly found at all. The description of the lexicon is part of the grammar, in a sense the dead end of the grammatical analysis where all the idiosyncracies are stored, including the phonological properties. In TGG the morphological component is in charge of word structure, i.e. inflection and derivation. Although inflection cannot be excluded from lexicology altogether (cp. irregular forms like man-men, run-ran-run), I shall here assume that derivational morphology is more important since it accounts for the stable formal properties of lexical items in isolation (cp. girl, girl-ie, girl-ish). Phonology, too, has a share in lexicology, such as when assigning stress to compounds, but will not be discussed in this context.

There are several reasons for the low reputation that synchronic lexicology has had until fairly recently. One is the fact that mainstream linguistics has been sentence-based for 25 years or more. Admittedly there has been a certain spin-off from work on semantics in TGG and the description of word-formation has profited greatly from progress in syntactic theory. In Europe lexicology has always attracted more attention, and particularly in the Soviet Union lexicology has an established status.[1]

Another possible reason for the neglect of the lexicon is the great interest in larger units than the sentence, i.e. texts, which characterizes the work of many linguists today. This research has proved that it is necessary for the understanding of texts to account for much more than the information provided by the traditional lexicon and sentence semantics. One consequence of this is that those who believe in the semantic autonomy of lexical items have been even more frustrated than before.

Textlinguistic research has no doubt added to our knowledge of the lexicon. Lexical units as they appear in a list, alphabetical or not, are dead ready-made units, like blueberries in a pail. Strung together into sentences and texts lexical items bring into play their covert properties, which may have to do with contextual meaning, co-occurrence in the form of collocations, or semantic networks. In fiction, some types of journalism and in child language words often come alive in a conspicuous manner because they represent deviations from lexical usage or additions to the dictionary. This creativity contrasts with the view of the lexicon as something linguists resort to to replace syntactic categories in a tree, or as a mere repository.

Weinreich's general programme for lexicological research drawn up in 1963 is still valid although one has to allow for the relevant changes in linguistic theory. Thus in lexical semantics there have been ups and downs in the popularity of semantic features. The present trend is down rather than up. Labov's investigations, for instance, show that even the demarcation of such everyday words as cup, bowl and vase in relation to specific concrete referents is by no means straightforward. The fuzziness of items like sort of, principally and literally is even more difficult to account for (Labov 1973a, 1973b). Rosch's prototype semantics should also be mentioned in this context (Rosch 1973).

When it comes to the choice of a theoretical model for lexicological research, the lexicologist will have to commit himself/herself to linguistic theory in a more general sense. For example, the study of lexical hierarchies makes different demands on the model than the study of word-formation. Hierarchies are closely linked up with the psychological process of categorization (superordinate - subordinate, part - whole relationships). Word-formation is more controversial, but offers scope for both transformationalists, lexicalists, and some happy medium between the two.

According to Beard (1981:12), "all of the empirical data upon which a lexical theory must be based are fundamentally psychological. The raw data of performance involve not only linguistic knowledge, but strategies of access, mnemonic restrictions, errors and the like, as well... Secondly, any adequate theory of lexical competence ultimately must be compatible with the data of performance."

2.3 LEXICAL COMPETENCE

Whatever the exact nature of lexical competence, it can never reach the same level of completeness as grammatical (syntactic) competence. For well known reasons the size of the vocabularies of individual speakers varies greatly. Memorization obviously plays a major role in lexical competence as compared with other aspects of grammatical competence. Even so there is one sense in which grammatical and lexical competence are similar: both are characterized by great creativity. An example: the transitive use of pedestrianize in the sense of 'turn into an area for pedestrians' is fairly recent. Once the native speaker and the advanced FL learner have understood that word, the noun pedestrianization is automatically understood, and so is its use in a compound like pedestrianization scheme (sign in a street in Lancaster). Although the base pedestrian may be the only form that a given speaker will ever use, lexical theory will have to accommodate the other forms as well.

Selkirk mentions two reasons why "the list of items called the dictionary forms part of the speaker's knowledge (or grammar) of a language" (1982:11). One is the speaker's intuitions about what is a(n) actual/possible word in a language, the other is the high degree of unpredictability of word properties. The former is based on familiarity with phonological, orthographic and morphological features, the latter is related to the independence of lexical units.

2.4 GRAMMAR AND THE LEXICON

As to the relation between grammar and the lexicon, it is risky to say anything definite at a time when this field is subject to intense research. If we take Fillmore's case grammar (1968), for instance, it is centred on the verb and its arguments, which means that in that model there will be overlap between the grammatical and the lexical analysis of the verb. Case grammar has turned out to be useful for the description of word-formation (cp. Ljung 1970, Warren 1978, Beard 1981, Kastovsky 1982) because it combines syntactic and semantic considerations at a suitable level of delicacy.

In recent studies within the framework of TGG the lexicon has been given more and more attention, and the share of the lexicon in the grammar as a whole has increased (cp. Bresnan 1978, Hoekstra et al. 1981). Although this new lexical grammar may in the end add to our understanding of the lexicon, it involves first of all a restructuring of the components of linguistic theory.

There is fairly general agreement on one fundamental difference between lexical units and sentences: lexical units can generally be listed (and stored) whereas phrases and sentences cannot. It is also recognized that there may be differences between lexical and syntactic rules. According to Wasow (1977), for instance, lexical rules may change category labels, as in

$[X]_N \rightarrow [[X]_N\ \text{-ish}]_{Adj}$ e.g. $\text{girl}_N \rightarrow \text{girlish}_{Adj}$

and it is common for lexical rules to have idiosyncratic exceptions. But again, any such argument must be seen in the light of the relevant linguistic model.

2.5 LEXICAL PROCESSES

The process of 'lexicalization', which is included in the definition above, is important in this context. It refers to (a) the replacement of compositional features with lexical items (CAUSE BECOME NOT ALIVE = kill), also called 'lexical insertion', and (b) the insertion of a lexical item into the lexicon. The former relies on a particular linguistic theory (generative semantics) whereas the latter seems to have more universal application and psychological reality since it reflects what happens when a neologism is created (neologization), or when a speaker adds an already available item to his/her particular lexicon (memorization). It may also make the lexicographer add a new item to the dictionary (codification).

The notion of 'process' is intimately linked with the lexicon. Semantic change and various types of word-formation are well known examples. The process of neologization differs from the production of a novel sentence, and thus from the application of syntactic rules by storing items in the lexicon. However, not all new lexical items need to be stored because of the access to productive rules and their application to already available bases and morphemes in performance (cp. the examples with bottle in (3.2)).

Beard (1981:29-32) distinguishes between two types of neologisms: (1) "base extension" and (2) "base stock expansion". Base extension refers to "what the lexicon can do" (27), i.e. the more or less predictable extension of the lexicon by means of its own bases, morphemes and rules. This includes derivation, compounding (cp. pedestrian in (2.3)) and conversion. Base stock expansion refers to "what can be done to the lexicon" (28) through language-external influences, such as borrowing, loan translation, acronyms, blending and back-formation. It consists of processes that are less predictable than base extension and which cause difficulty to any word-formation model based on rules.

This brief exposition cannot do justice to the complex phenomenon of lexicalization. However, in the following section we shall look more closely at two highly productive types of word-formation.

3 SOME WORD-FORMATION PROCESSES

After these theoretical preliminaries we shall examine the role of conversion and compounding particularly with regard to high-frequency content words in English. A file (here called COMPLIST) consisting of 3,457 different items was created on the basis of 5 other lists:

FINNLIST, recommended basic vocabulary for the Finnish comprehensive school;
NORLIST, recommended vocabulary for the Norwegian comprehensive school;
T-LIST, the vocabulary in The Threshold Level;
CAMLIST, vocabulary for TEFL teaching; and
LONGLIST, the defining vocabulary of LDOCE.[2]

The main intention with COMPLIST was to make a file which combined the principles of (a) word frequencies, (b) utility, and (c) metalinguistic requirements. In this context, however, we are not concerned with criteria for vocabulary selection, nor with the characteristics of any of these lists.

It is well known that the high-frequency content words in English tend to be monolexemic, and mainly of Germanic and French origin. Of the words in West's General Service List of English Words 51 % are Germanic and 38 % French by origin (Scheler 1977:84). The higher the rank, the more likely is the Germanic origin.

The flexibility of the high-frequency bases in English is probably best seen in polysemy and in the process of conversion, which applies to numerous words of low rank and more complex structure as well. In my COMPLIST 521 diferent forms are polyfunctional, i.e. they can function as two or more word classes (e.g. open the door (V), the door is open (Adj), life in the open (N)).

3.1 CONVERSION[3]

One type of conversion, that of denominal verbs, has attracted particular attention recently. Like compounding, conversion is an extremely productive process in English. Clark & Clark (1979) propose a theory according to which new English denominal verbs are created almost without constraints.

Their reasoning goes roughly like this: in some situations the speaker/writer can presuppose that the listener/reader is able to interpret the meaning of the denominal verb "in such a way that the parent noun denotes one role in the situation, and the remaining surface arguments of the denominal verb denote other roles in the situation" (787). Their examples include anything from well-established lexicalized items like paint (the ceiling) /LOCATUM (= "verbs ... whose parent nouns are in the objective case in clauses that describe the location of one thing with respect to another" (769))/ and harpoon (the whale) /INSTRUMENT/ to more absurd creations like extract-of-beef (the bread) /Punch; LOCATUM/ and he enfant-terrible'd gracefully /AGENT/. Their corpus of some 1,300 items is undoubtedly of some interest to a lexicographer faced with the delicate task of deciding which items to include in his dictionary. However, many of them are unlikely to gain ground because they are simply none-words, or rather nonce forms, while others are marked as innovations although they are well known verbs in English (e.g. shortlist, blanket (a bed) = 'cover as if with a blanket', robe (the child).

Clark & Clark's theory, then, increases the role of pragmatics in lexical processes and at the same time raises the question of the division of labour between (lexical) semantics and pragmatics. Beard argues that "Clark & Clark /and Aronoff (1980)/ seem to expect too much of pragmatics and L-rules /= lexical rules/ which are too vague" (1981:263). Obviously conversion makes use of the inherent economy of the English lexicon, but as described by Clark & Clark, it is very often a stylistic device with a direct appeal to particular groups or readers (such as readers of Punch) in non-informative informal contexts. It is worth remembering a distinction which Potter makes: that between "permanent /functional/ shifts that reflect changes in social habit and way of life, and temporary shifts that are made by speakers and writers in quest of stylistic novelty" (1969:169). Most of the examples in Clark & Clark seem to represent the second category.

It is generally assumed that lexical processes are unidirectional, i.e. you start from the base (or lexical prime) rather than from the derivatives. In turn, a derivative then makes up the base for a more complex form, as in the case of *pedestrian* above. Leech (1981:220-225) suggests five properties of lexical rules which account for the internal creativity of the lexicon ('diversity', 'semantic open-endedness', 'recursiveness', 'bidirectionality', 'petrification'). Thus, according to Leech, conversion is characterized by 'bidirectionality', i.e. the rule $[X_N] \rightarrow [X_V]$ should be written $[X_N] \leftrightarrow [X_V]$. Arguments for such a synchronic approach to conversion can be found in English (but not in Swedish or Finnish). Barnhart et al., for instance, point out that "sometimes functional shifts are difficult to determine because new words appear almost simultaneously in several parts of speech" (1980:210). An example is *upmarket* (Adj/Adv). Nevertheless, in many instances the direction of conversion is easily recognizable (e.g. *lecture* (N) - *lecture* (V)).

An early observation made by Jespersen was that "One and the same /denominal/ verb may very often mean two or more different things, the context only showing what is meant in each particular case" (1942:93). However, the semantic relationship varies considerably in complexity. For example, *bottle* (N) and *bottle* (V) *the wine* has a more concrete relationship than *Shylock* (N) and *Shylock* (V) *£2,700 from the £17,000 raised*. While Clark & Clark ascribe their denominal verbs to performance, Beard is inclined to explain the relationship between noun and verb as linguistic. More specifically, he ascribes the relationship between lexical and syntactic derivation to "a lexical-syntactic prelexical deep structure ... characterized by grammatically determined case functions (relations) shared by all IE languages" (322). Beard's approach looks attractive from the point of view of linguistic theory. Only such information as is not explicable in terms of lexical rules based on deep structure relations is catered for by performance (and pragmatics).

As far as the role of conversion is concerned, it should still be pointed out that a very large proportion of denominal verbs are used both transitively and intransitively; some (e.g. *move*, *change*, *open*) also occur in ergative constructions. This adds considerably to the syntactic and semantic potential of the base vocabulary.

Whether one looks at conversion as 'zero-formation' or as 'conversion' in the proper sense of the word, whether one adopts a diachronic or synchronic point of view (cp. Adams 1973:37-56), it is obvious that the semantic relationship between the parent noun and the verb is not arbitrary. Clark & Clark should be given credit for focusing more attention on this phenomenon. They also demonstrate various stages that these verbs undergo in their development from complete innovations (e.g. houseguest) to opaque idioms (e.g. boycott). It remains to be seen if Jespersen's contextual interpretation of compounds can be fitted into a similar pragmatic perspective (1942:137).

3.2 COMPOUNDING

While there are different views of conversion as a lexical process, compounding, too, offers scope for different approaches. Kastovsky (1982) stresses the complex interaction of syntax, semantics and lexicon in word-formation processes. In this he follows Marchand (1969), but Kastovsky devotes more attention to a formalized description of these phenomena. He prefers a transformationalist approach within a semantically oriented grammar (case grammar) to a lexicalist approach on a syntactic basis (1982:246).

In this connection I shall only make a few comments on compounding as a productive process within the high-frequency English vocabulary. Compounding is a way of condensing the content and simplifying the structure of sentences. The information content is high in a compound: a beer bottle is a hyponym of bottle in the same way as beer is a hyponym of beverage or drink. A blackbird carries more information than a black bird; the former contrasts with all the other species of birds, the latter with the other colours or whatever properties birds can have. The steadily growing number of compounds in English is a linguistic manifestation of the growing amount of information in society.

What, then, are the implications of the transformationalist vs. lexicalist hypotheses for the study of the potential extension of the base vocabulary?[4] In the light of the two examples just mentioned, beer bottle and blackbird would both be derived syntactically according to the transformationalist hypothesis, but only blackbird is lexicalized. The semantic problem that arises with blackbird has to do with the fact that the bill of the blackbird is yellow, and, above all, that the female is brown.

The majority of the compounds which can be formed by syntactic rules out of very common primes are semantically transparent, i.e. their meaning can be predicted on the basis of the meaning of each member, as in

armchair 'a chair which (S) has (V) /support for the/ arms (O)' (cp. easy-chair)
baby-boy 'a boy who (S) is (V) a baby (C)'
beer bottle 'a bottle which (S) is (V) for beer (A)'
bookshop 'a shop which (S) sells (V) books (O)' (cp. workshop)
carsick 'sick of travelling in a car (A)' (cp. homesick)

Bottle can equally well be preceded by Coca-Cola, brandy, sauce, wine, whisky, or a word for any other liquid that can be bottled. What upsets the picture is the degrees of transparency that exist (cp. items within parentheses), semantic change, and particularly the limited productivity of syntactic derivation in any given instance.

A useful exercise is to give students a set of words like

iceman 'a man who carries ice' or 'a man who is skilled in climbing over ice'
snowman 'a figure which looks like a man and which is made of snow'
policeman 'a man who belongs to the police'
chairman 'a person who sits in a (special) chair at a meeting'

and make them sort out the semantic problems that arise with a syntactic derivation when the same head is preceded by different types of modifier. The problem is the variety of verbs that are needed to relate the two members of the compound to each other. Why is not *iceman* equivalent to 'a figure which looks like a man and which is made of ice' or 'a man who sells ice(cream)', analogous to *milkman*? The only solution to this problem is to refer to knowledge of the world. Some obvious semantic relationships between the members of the compound can undoubtedly be singled out (cp. Levi 1978), but for the semantic interpretation one may have to resort to the context, as in the case of conversion.

The lexicalist solution proposed by Jackendoff (1975:655-656) is to make use of redundancy rules. But his treatment of the semantic element is superficial, which can be seen from the fact that he groups items like *garbage man*, *iceman*, *milkman*, *breadbasket* and *oil drum* under the same rule although the semantic relationship between the two parts of the compound is not identical for any of these. Thus *breadbasket* and *oil drum* refer to /Z THAT IS FOR W/ (Z = *basket*, *drum*; W = *bread*, *oil*) rather than /Z THAT CARRIES W/ and behave like *beer bottle*. I can see no semantic relationship between *iceman* and *beer bottle*.

A relevant question in connection with the most frequent words in a language is to what extent they are made up of compounds and derivations. The lexical compounds shared by all my 5 word lists include *afternoon* (L 122 = has the absolute frequency of 122 in the LOB Corpus; on LOB see (4)), *football* (L 37), *newspaper* (L 65), *policeman* (L 15), and *railway* (L 66). Moreover, there are some more or less opaque items such as *breakfast* (L 50), *grandfather* (L 20), *holiday* (L 107), and *island* (L 76). The most frequent compounds in LOB are *commonwealth* (156), *husband* (133), *afternoon* (102), *chairman* (100), and *household* (68). These numbers include the inflected forms.

Cross-listing of the primes in the base vocabulary gives a large number of compounds which can be added to the original list. A preliminary calculation shows that the intersection of the 5 word lists (= 659 items) will be increased by about 25-30 % if the potential transparent compounds are added. An even higher figure is obtained if opaque formations are included as well. The generative capacity of derivations will probably be lower.[5]

4 DATA AND CORPORA

This brings me to the last section of my paper, which will deal with data. Dictionaries, corpora, word lists and texts of various kinds make up the main sources of lexical research. To this must be added psycholinguistic data from research on language acquisition and language learning. The discussion here will treat corpora only.

Because of the storage function of the lexicon, data are crucial in lexicology. The idiosyncratic nature of lexical items is conspicuous both with regard to the types of words that you find in a large corpus (like the Brown Corpus or the LOB Corpus)[6] and the uneven distribution of words. This observation is matched by the fact that there is also a great deal of individual lexical variation both qualitatively and quantitatively (cp. Hudson 1981:341-342).

The usefulness of Brown and LOB for lexical research has been documented elsewhere (cp. various articles in ICAME NEWS; Johansson 1980). However, the recent Word Frequencies in British and American English by Hofland & Johansson deserves a note. The book is first of all a statistical presentation of the unlemmatized word forms in the LOB Corpus, but it also contains an alphabetical list which gives the frequencies of the word forms in the Brown and the LOB Corpora with difference coefficients. The book will therefore be specially valuable as a starting-point for the comparison of British and American English vocabulary, and for stylistic analysis (press reportage, scientific and literary registers). Each corpus is made up of 1,000,000 items, which the compilers admit is a relatively small number. By comparison, a corpus of some 10,000,000 words has been considered acceptable for work on a new learners' dictionary of English under John Sinclair and Patrick Hanks (personal communication). For the study of collocations corpora of 20-25 million words have been proposed.

To what extent, then, does LOB cover the most frequent words in English? As far as the base vocabulary is concerned, it turns out that all the items shared by the 5 lists mentioned previously occur in LOB (allowing for the fact that CAMLIST, because of its size, is represented only at frequency levels 1-3; cp. Hindmarsh, 1980:xiii). On the other hand, LOB does not contain all the 3,457 different items in COMPLIST. Some items which do not occur at all or only as part of a compound are:

banana (banana-packing 1 = compound occurs once in LOB)
bike (motor-bike 3; bicycle 14)
cafeteria (B 17 = occurs 17 times in Brown)
camping (B 19)
commute (commuter 1; B 14)
gymnastics (B 11)

gym (B 2)
housework (B 2)
moped
photo (colour-photo 1, publicity photo 1; photograph 51)
rucksack
tobacconist (tobacconist-libraries charge 1)
tourism
vanilla

It may very well be that these items reveal more about the TEFL lists than about LOB. Colloquial forms like bike, gym and photo are typical of spoken English although there seems to be a preference for the short form in compounds in LOB (motor-bike, colour-photo). That tourism should be missing is surprising. Judging from the OED, commute should have been established even in British English by the early 60s. The difference in frequency revealed by Brown and LOB might suggest that there was still a difference between American and British English in the use of this item at the time.

From commute it is a very short step to compute, and hence to computers. Concordances have of course been available for a long time for lexical research, but we have not had such general corpora as Brown and LOB for very long. For detailed lexical study of moderately sized materials (up to about 25,000 items perhaps), for which no concordances exist, it may be worthwhile to make one's own concordance. For this purpose and for the comparison of lexical files the computer is extremely useful. This applies to the study of any stage of the English language. It can, for instance, apply to the study of diachrony in the present, such as the development of the English lexicon since 1961 if anybody should like to produce a new British or American lexical data bank for lexical research or look at specific text samples written a generation later for comparison.

5 CONCLUSIONS

In English studies lexicology has so far had a place in the history of vocabulary, dialect research, derivational morphology, word-formation, and in its application to lexicography and stylistics. In the way lexicology has been defined and described here, it is a wide field of research. It comprises both irregularities or idiosyncracies, such as the semantic properties of lexical items, and regularities, for instance the fact that the suffix -less to make adjectives is only added to nouns (homeless, childless). It would be presumptious to maintain that lexicology is an autonomous subdivision of linguistics. Still it is legitimate to study it because it focuses on lexical items rather than sentences, which is the domain of grammar proper. It is another matter that sentences are made up of words or lexemes and that grammar may be needed to account for how lexical items are created.

NOTES

1. Although Ginsburg et al. 1966 is weak theoretically, parts of it would still do as a textbook.

2. The abbreviations are given in the references below. For some data on these lists and a description of LONGLIST, particularly, see Wikberg 1983.

3. On conversion, see Esko Pennanen's paper in this volume.

4. The transformationalist/lexicalist controversy goes back to Chomsky 1970.

5. In a forthcoming cand.philol. thesis by Gerd Nordang Pedersen, Tromsø, it is further shown that the vocabulary taught to schoolchildren has an internal productiveness beyond the actual items taught in class.

6. The items in the Brown Corpus are listed in Kučera & Francis 1967. The LOB Corpus = The Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus. Its word forms are listed in Hofland & Johansson 1982.

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STICKERS, SHIFTERS AND OTHERS: ASPECTS OF DIALECT SPACE

1. INTRODUCTORY

This report constitutes a journey in rural dialect space with the phoneme /r/ as its route[1]. Our community is the village of Thropton (population in the 1961 census: 251), situated in the Coquet valley 2 miles west of Rothbury and 16 miles from Morpeth, Northumberland. This charming village is influenced by the multifariousness of modern society. Only one villager in three (34.0%) had lived there during all of his life,[2] and as many as one in five (20.2%) had moved in from Tyneside.[3] Its population represents all walks of life (table 1), something which implies that the potential is present for variability in attitudes and in habits to be developed and sustained.

Of the phonic environments examined for possible effects of phonetic conditioning on the values of /r/ at the macro- and at the micro-levels, we shall be concerned with (r) in word initial position (I) before short (I:1) and long (I:2) vowels, and before diphthongs (I:3). The term 'phonic' is used here to emphasize that we are concerned with types of environment at an emic level.[4,5] Altogether 69 villagers are involved as burrers here, or approximately two-thirds of all burrers (64.5%).

Diagram 1. {/rV-}: distribution of (r)-2 in word initial position

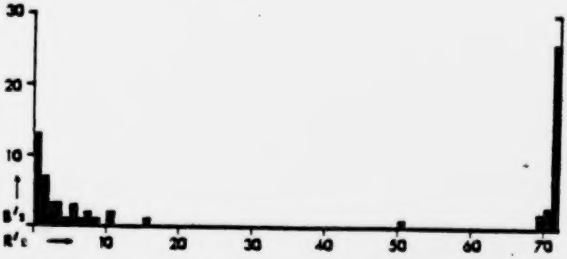


Diagram 1 very unambiguously demonstrates that the phoneme /r/ constitutes a linguistic variable (r) in the village: the two variants used by our speakers are back /R/, which is the genuine realisation found in the dialect (v. Orton & Halliday 1962-63), and front /r/, which is an innovation (v. Viereck 1966). They will be referred to as (r)-2 and (r)-1, respectively.

The three main categories of speakers are (a) the high-burrers, i.e. those who use (r)-2 consistently or predominantly (= the cluster to the right in the diagram); and (b) the low-burrers, i.e. those who use (r)-1 predominantly but who, as part of their speech habits, also have some (r)-2 (= the cluster to the left in the diagram); and finally (c) the non-burrers, i.e. those who use (r)-1 consistently as their only variant (= not seen in the diagram) (for a description of the non-burrers, v. Påhlsson 1972:208ff). Only the burrers will form part of the direct analysis in this report.

The two categories further divide into the following types of speakers (diagram 2):

HIGH-BURRERS	
- Stickers	informants showing consistent use of (r)-2
- Stickers with some (r)-1	informants showing consistent use of (r)-2 but producing some instance of (r)-1 during the recorded interview
- Middlers	informants showing a mixed behaviour including both (r)-2 & (r)-1, with a predominance for (r)-2
LOW-BURRERS	
- Occasionalists	informants showing mainly (r)-1 with some use of (r)-2 across the classes of phonic environment
- Shifters	informants showing mainly (r)-1 with some use of (r)-2 in the class in which the pull of burring is felt the most
- Irregulars	informants showing (r)-1 with some (r)-2 as an irregular effect of the phonic environment

The variability necessary to produce changes in perception and in production (Jansson 1983) is an existing reality in the village itself.[6] We shall now turn to the linguistic and social environments of the (r) variable. The problem of how the instrument (that is, the reading-list) was arranged and of possible effects on the results is discussed at the stage where it is dialectically most relevant to do so, viz. in connection with the low-burrers below. Along the route it will gradually become apparent that the main internal operant underlying the observed patterns of variation is stress.

Table 1. Distribution of the population by social variables: high-burrers & low-burrers in word initial position

Social Variables	Over -all B's	Over -all here	I:all High B's	I:all Low B's	Low-burrers I:1	I:2	I:3	Occ	Shi	Irr
I-Age										
1: 10-14	10.3	8.7	6.3	10.8	9.4	15.4	14.3	16.7	4.8	25.0
2: 15-24	6.5	2.9		5.4	6.3				9.5	
3: 25-44	30.8	31.9	28.1	35.1	34.4	23.1	57.1	33.3	38.1	25.0
4: 45-64	31.8	36.2	40.6	32.4	31.3	46.2	28.6	33.3	28.6	50.0
5: 65+	20.6	20.3	25.0	16.2	18.8	15.4		16.7	19.0	
II-Birthplace										
1: locality	37.4	40.6	53.1	29.7	34.4	23.1	28.6	41.7	28.6	
2: burr area	43.0	47.8	46.9	48.6	46.9	53.8	57.1	41.7	47.6	75.0
3: Tyneside	12.1	10.1		18.9	15.6	15.4		8.3	23.8	25.0
4: elsewhere	6.5	1.4		2.7	3.1	7.7	14.3	8.3		
III-Residence										
1: whole life	44.9	47.8	62.5	35.1	40.6	30.8	28.6	41.7	33.3	
2: - 1950	15.0	14.5	12.5	16.2	15.6	23.1	28.6	25.0	14.3	
3: - 1965	25.2	23.2	15.6	29.7	31.3	23.1	28.6	33.3	38.1	25.0
4: 1965 -	15.0	14.5	9.3	18.9	12.5	23.1	14.3	8.3	14.3	75.0
IV-Education										
1: junior school	.9									
3: non-selective	67.3	76.8	84.4	70.3	71.9	69.2	57.1	66.7	71.4	75.0
4: selective	18.7	14.5	12.5	16.2	15.6	15.4	42.9	25.0	14.3	
5: public school	.0									
7: intermediate	9.3	5.8		10.8	12.5	7.7			14.3	25.0
8: advanced	2.9	1.4	3.1							
9: university	.9	1.4		2.7		7.7		8.3		
V-Social Class										
I : professional	4.1	1.9	3.6							
NM: non-m. interm.	16.2	15.4		33.3	34.8	16.7		14.3	46.7	
M: manual -"-	2.7	3.8	7.2							
A: agric. -"-	4.1	5.8	7.2	4.2	4.3				6.7	
NM: non-m. skilled	6.8	1.9		4.2		16.7				100.0
M: manual -"-	36.5	34.6	28.6	41.7	43.5	50.0	75.0	71.4	26.7	
A: agric. -"-	1.4									
NM: partly -"-	4.1	3.8	3.6	4.2	4.3	16.7	25.0	14.3		
M: -"- -"-	4.1	5.8	7.2	4.2	4.3				6.7	
A: -"- -"-	10.8	15.4	25.0	4.2	4.3				6.7	
V : unskilled	9.5	11.5	14.0	4.2	4.3				6.7	
VI-Status										
1: professional	2.8	1.4	3.1							
2: managerial	12.2	13.0	12.5	13.5	12.5	30.8		16.7	9.5	25.0
3: skilled	25.2	28.9	28.1	29.7	34.4	15.4	42.9	33.3	28.6	
4: clerical	6.5	2.9		5.4	6.3				9.5	
5: semiskilled	15.9	20.3	28.1	13.5	15.6	7.7	14.3	8.3	19.0	
6: unskilled	6.5	8.7	15.6	2.7	3.1				4.8	
7: students	10.3	8.7	6.3	10.8	9.4	15.4	14.3	16.7	4.8	25.0
8: housewives	20.6	15.9	6.3	24.3	18.8	38.5	28.6	25.0	19.0	50.0
(N=)	(107)	(69)	(32)	(37)	(32)	(13)	(7)	(12)	(21)	(4)
(N in V=)	(74)	(52)	(28)	(24)	(23)	(6)	(4)	(7)	(16)	(1)

2 PRODUCTION: HIGH-BURRERS

High-burrers tend to be, relatively speaking, somewhat older people from the village or from the region (exclusively) who have lived in the village for a long time and who have gone to the ordinary kind of school (table 1). They tend to belong to lower-to-middle social class ranges and be employed, typically, in agricultural and manual occupations (in that order). In terms of status, there are no intermediate white-collars amongst the high-burrers. In terms of class, only the highest and the lowest classes (but not the middle) are represented in the non-manual and agricultural sections, whereas all classes are represented in the manual section.

2.1 Stickers

In initial position *stickers* show a very stable behaviour (burr-index = 99.8%)[7]: most stickers (84%) have only back realisations, and those who also have a front realisation have only one or two front /r/ each (burr-index = 98.6%) and only one in any one class. A few words (10%) were affected by front /r/: (I:1=) *rapine*, *reticle*; (I:2=) *wrought*, *rude*; (I:3=) *rain*, *rye*, *road* (for the test-word[8] *reticle*, the observation 'after stumbling' was made).

Only tonic-(r) was affected: all instances of pretonic-(r) (=21% of all word items in this position) were preserved as back /R/ (cf the findings for low-burrers below, where pretonic-(r) will be seen to be an important operant acting as a restraint on the linguistic change in progress, thus preserving back /R/). A tendency for front realisations to go with back vowels[9] may be observed (table 2) (cf the findings for low-burrers below, where front V will be seen to be an operant interacting with stress as a restraint on the ongoing change, thus preserving back /R/). Thus, indications seem to exist that both stress (tonic/pretonic) and vowel quality (front/back) may be operants in dialect space on (r) with regard to the tension present for this variable between a back (or marked) realisation and a front (or unmarked) realisation.

Table 2. Vowel quality after /r/ - stickers with (r)-1: percentages for items with (r)-1

	Over all	Aver. here	I:1		I:2		I:3	
			here	av.	here	av.	here	av.
Front V	69	57	100	87	-	41	66	68
Back V	31	43	-	13	100	59	33	32

These few stickers differ significantly from the rest of the stickers in initial position both in terms of social characteristics and in terms of linguistic attitudes. With one exception (cf below), they are all older than the rest (over 45), and they are all employed in various kinds of service occupations, mostly low-status (60%) manual or non-manual, or manual if higher-status. They belong to the lowest non-manual, or to the lowest-but-one or the middle manual, social classes. Interestingly enough, half of them had a school background in a selective kind of school (as against only 12.5 per cent for high-burrers generally; v. table 1). Two illustrating additional observations can be made: the only person in the non-manual section here is a sticker in initial and intervocalic positions, but becomes a middler (that is, has more front /r/) in postconsonantal position; and the only young person here (age-group 10-14) produced one instance of (r)-1 after stumbling on the test-word reticle (cf above). The type of school for this child was grammar school (that is, a selective school).

These are largely characteristics that we would intuitively associate with susceptibility, not as absolute evidence of an ongoing change in these speakers but rather as slips indicating how and from where the pressure comes. The adult stickers here all see themselves (rightly[10]) as speaking dialect (table 3), which they claim by and large that they like, and which not one of them has ever changed or modified but which all of them will adjust when talking with others. And they do not particularly like comments from others about their speech. They are clearly in favour of a next-to-national Standard, even if they are not so much in favour of RP, and they have a strong dislike for the accent of their own area and particularly for that of Tyneside, their own conurbation area (table 4): these accents are in fact the only accents which were negatively evaluated by the stickers with some (r)-1.

Table 3. Self-evaluation - stickers with (r)-1: percentages

	Over-all	All here	Adults		Over-all	All here	Adults
I-Characterisation				Adaptation			
1: dialect	62.2	80	100	1: no	34.4		
2: some "	28.9	20		2: yes	65.6	100	100
3: no "	8.9			Comments (reaction)			
II- Sensitivity							
1: positive	59.6	80	75	1: no notice	64.4	40	25
2: indiffer.	21.3	20	25	2: just fun	7.8	20	25
3: negative	19.4			3: negative	21.1	20	25
Modification				4: strongly negative	6.7	20	25
1: no	78.9	80	100				
2: yes	21.1	20					
(N=)	(90)	(5)	(4)				

A few illustrating additional remarks can be made to these evaluations. First, the stickers in the non-manual section volunteered no subjective

Table 4. Subjective evaluation - stickers with (r)-1: percentages

Positive	Over all	All here	Negative	Over all	All here
1. RP	45.0	25	1. RP	3.9	
2. Scottish	26.3	25	2. Scottish	5.2	
3. South-east	6.3	25	3. South-east	5.2	
4. London	6.3		4. London	6.5	
5. North-east	6.3		5. Midlands	16.9	
6. American	5.0	25	6. North-east	19.5	33
7. Midlands	3.8		7. American	20.8	
8. Tyneside	1.3		8. Tyneside	22.1	66
(N=)	(80)	(4)		(77)	(3)

evaluation at all, and the higher-status middle manual social class sticker did not want to state which accent he liked least, whereas the low-status stickers offered both positive and negative evaluations. Secondly, the young sticker here was the one who rated American first, something which may perhaps be due to voice quality[11] or to the status an American accent once had for British pop singers (cf Trudgill 1983:Ch.8) and which it may still have had in this part of Britain at the time of the interviews (1972).

2.2 Middlers

There is only one middler in initial position (diagr. 1): he thus has a behaviour of which both /burr/ and /non-burr/ form part (burr-index = 70.8%). The words affected by front /r/ (29%) are: (I:1 =) rag, rancid, receive, red, remain, respect, wrestle, rigid, run; (I:2 =) recent, reek, regal; (I:3 =) rain, raise, reign, rhyme, ripe, rise, road, rope, round.

Being on our way in dialect space from the high-burrers to the low-burrers, we should expect no straight route. At some point in space the area of influence of high-burrer patterns begins to loose its potency and gives way to low-burrers patterns which instead begin to increase their dominance. Thus, we see that like the stickers above and also like the majority of the low-burrers below (shifters & occasionalists), this middler has relatively speaking most front /r/ before VV (I:3). Unlike the stickers, however, and also unlike the majority of the low-burrers (shifters & occasionalists), he is least affected by front realisations not before short V (I:1) but before long V (I:2), and in this respect he is rather like the irregulars below, who have back /R/ before long V only.

Phonological change may manifest itself gradually and variably in response to internal and external factors, but there is hardly any knowing what exact course this kind of behaviour would take, if projected further in dialect space to a point closer to the low-burrers. At this particular point however, we can notice a tendency for front realisations of the (r) variable to go with front vowels and also that this tendency is associated with the class before long V (table 5) where a front /r/ goes exclusively with front vowels. As categories of speakers, high-burrers do not differ with respect to vowel quality: both categories tend to have front C together with front V in initial position (compared with the distribution of front vs. back V in the word material) (table 6), but different types of speakers who occupy a different position along the route tend to be differentially affected by this operant. Thus, this middler differs from the stickers with instances of (r)-1 above, who instead tend to have front C with back V (cf table 2) as an effect of the 'distinctness' factor which may be hypothetically assumed to account for the variation observed at that point in dialect space. He also differs from the low-burrers generally in having a higher share of front C before front V:

Table 5. Vowel quality after /r/ - middlers: percentages for items with (r)-1

	Over all	Aver. here	I:1		I:2		I:3	
			here	av.	here	av.	here	av.
Front V	69	81	89	87	100	41	66	68
Back V	31	19	11	13	-	59	33	32

Table 6. Relation (r)-1 • FV/BV: percentages for High-burrers (stickers & middlers) & Low-burrers (occasionalists, shifters, & irregulars)

	Over all	High			Low				
		Sti	Mi	Av.	Occ	Shi	Av.	Irr	Av.
Front V	69	57	81	75	67	86	75	41	70
Back V	31	43	19	25	33	14	25	59	30

hence it may be that contiguity in the front sector is a particularly potent factor at a point where value pressures are consciously felt that are conflicting with traditional habits of behaviour and where, in consequence, adjustments in behaviour are made. The figures here make the position of this middler relative to the stickers with instances of (r)-1 comparable to the position ot the shifters relative to the occasionalists in terms of relative behaviour, and further along the route we shall be able to see that this is largely so also in terms of relative attitudes insofar as self-evaluation is concerned.

This middler characterises his own speech as dialect. He claims to like it, and he has never modified or changed it but he will adjust it in front of others (as witnessed by his performance here). He says he takes no notice of comments about his own speech from others, but this may perhaps be mere pretension on his part however, for he reports himself as using (r)-1, that is front /r/. He is obviously an over-reporter: his burr-index score (v.above) shows that he used 71 per cent /R/, whereas he reported that he normally used /r/. We thus have a clear case of inaccuracy in self report. In terms of overt prestige, traditional dialect patterns may perhaps have some positive value for this speaker (since he says that he likes his dialect), but they certainly have no such value with respect to the burr: this is evidently a variable which is involved in change with this middler. On this point he is obviously dissatisfied with the way he speaks, and would prefer to be able to use a form which is less marked. Characteristically enough, his social background is in the middle manual social range.

With the stickers above, all front realisations affected tonic-(r) only. It may be assumed that this is because of the greater saliency which a stressed position involves. Given the variation observed in the population for prevocalic (r), and particularly on the assumption of an ongoing change, it would then seem reasonable to assume that pretonic-(r) would also become affected at some point in space. This is such a point. Here, pretonic-(r) also has front realisations. Such instances are found before short V only (table 7), and since all pretonic-(r) before short V go with front V in the material (cf table 11), these instances of pretonic-(r) are found before front V. The share of such instances here is lower than the overall average for pretonic-(r). Insofar as the operant stress is concerned, the route thus appears to be straight.

Table 7. Tonic-(r) & pretonic-(r) - middlers: percentages for items with (r)-1

	Overall	I:1	I:2	I:3	Aver.
Tonic-(r)	79	66	100	100	86
Pretonic-(r)	21	33	-	-	14

In sum, rather than being an area to be designated no-man's-land, this area in dialect space is to be seen as an area of conflicting interests.

This middler remains a middler in all three pre-vocalic positions and in their various classes. His linguistic profile for the (r) variable over the five positions (pre-vocalic & post-vocalic) is even (the occurrence of (r)-2 was similar in the five positions involved), which is a behavioural profile suggesting "fairly strong tensions and a kind of hesitancy" (Påhlsson 1982: 396) on the part of the speakers, who appear to find themselves in a rootless position in the community and to be involved in a search for a new place and a new security. These speakers also have a tendency to over-report their use (r)-1 which is rather strong (table 8).

The sensitivity of this middler is demonstrated in like manner by the distribution of the relative proportion of (r)-1 vs. (r)-2 (that is, front /r/ vs. back /R/) over the reading-list, divided into three equal parts (101 words each): in the first part one (r) in two was a front /r/, in the second part one in three, and in the final part one in seven was a front /r/. In the beginning, his awareness of its marked value made him attempt an obvious suppression of the burr, whereas later, as the reading proceeded, he gradually slid back into the dialect patterns (the distribution in the other two prevocalic positions shows, however, that this kind of modification cannot be seen as symmetrical: it is rather to be seen as a filter through which the differential effect and weight of the linguistic operants are channelled). No such tendency applies to the stickers with some (r)-1 above.

Table 8. Self-report of (r) by behavioural profiles: high-burrers & low-burrers

Profiles	(r) used		Percentage reported	
	High	Low		
	(r)-2	(r)-1	(r)-2	(r)-1
I even	40	60	20	80
II falling	40	60	40	60
III double falling	29	71	14	86
IV falling w. reversal	67	33	54	46
V reversed	48	52	19	81

3 PRODUCTION: LOW-BURRERS

Low-burrers tend to be, relatively seen, younger people from the region or Tyneside who have moved in over the years and who have gone to the ordinary kind of school but who may also have been through further education (table 1). They tend to belong to higher-to-middle social class ranges or to be housewives. Furthermore, the upper-middle and middle non-manual social classes have only low-burrers, and so does the clerical status group.

Diagram 2 shows that the pull away from the burr is operative on the low-burrers as an effect of vowel quantity: the higher the quantity, the higher the number of non-burr realisations. The pull is seen most before diphthongs (I:3), somewhat less before long vowels (I:2), and much less before short vowels (I:1). Back realisations and vowel length have thus a negative correlation: the longer the vowel segment, the lower the number of back realisations, and the shorter the vowel segment, the higher the number of back /R/ (cf below, however).

Low-burrers are thus affected in different ways here. Before short vowels (I:1) there is a pull towards /burr/ (v. the shift towards the right in the diagram): this pull of back realisations applies equally to both high-burrers and low-burrers. Before long vowels (I:2) and before diphtongs (I:3) there is instead a pull towards /non-burr/ (v. the shift towards the left in the diagram): this pull of front realisations applies equally to both high-burrers and low-burrers. Thus, the difference in distribution points to vowel quantity having a differential effect on the behaviour of the speakers in the perspective of the ongoing change: front realisations are more easily released before long vowels (diphthongs), whereas back realisations are more easily preserved before short vowels. In other words, a following short vowel acts as a restraint upon the change in progress.

The patterns observed here, with a major difference between /r/ before short vowels on the one hand and /r/ before long vowels and diphthongs on the other, was to be expected from the point of view of the dialect: in the dialect, Standard English diphthongs tend to be pronounced as long monophthongs. Two main categories thus obtain in word initial position: /r/ before short V (short vowels, = I:1) and /r/ before long V (long vowels & diphthongs, = I:2 & I:3).

Other potential operants besides vowel quantity are the quality of the following vowel (front/back) and stress (tonic/pretonic). The three classes differ as regards the quality of the following vowel (table 9): in view of the distribution of front realisations observed for these classes (cf diagram 2), the difference in behaviour between the classes can hardly be an effect of the following vowel alone, however (should that have been the case, the pattern registered for (r) before long vowels and diphthongs would no doubt have been different). The classes also differ as regards stress (table 10): here, an effect on the result cannot be ruled out, for the figures correspond too neatly to the distribution of (r)-1 over these three classes (v.

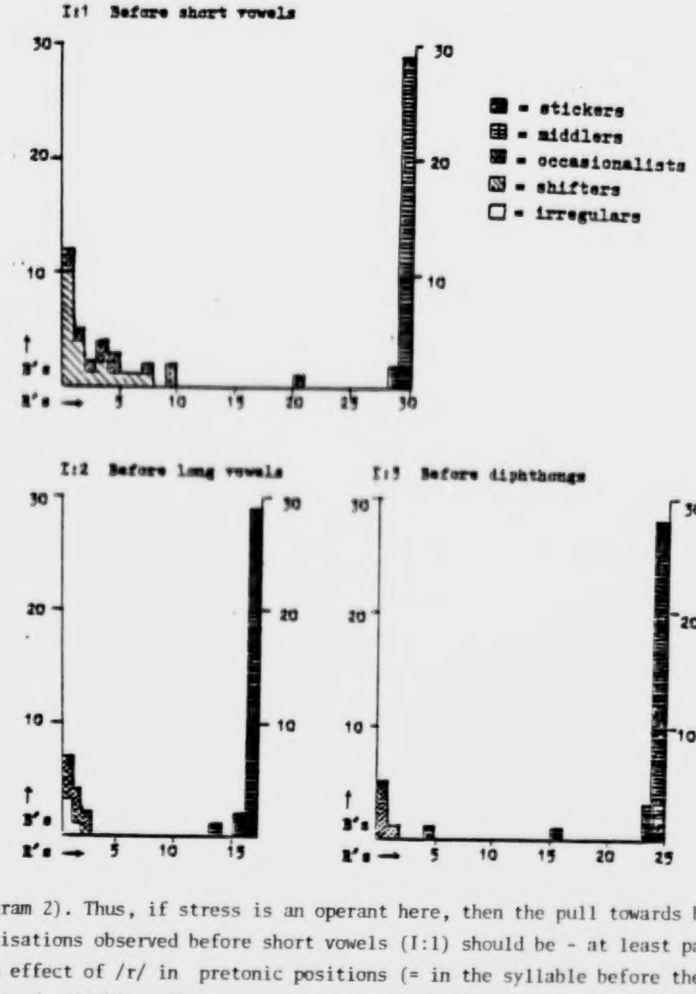
Table 9. /rV/ - the quality of the vowel after /r/: percentages

	I:1	I:2	I:3	Aver.
Front V	87	41	68	69
Back V	13	59	32	31

Table 10. Tonic-(r) & pretonic-(r): percentages

	I:1	I:2	I:3	Aver.
Tonic-(r)	60	88	96	79
Pretonic-(r)	40	12	4	21

Diagram 2. Phonic environments and types of speakers in word initial position



I:1 Before short vowels

I:2 Before long vowels

I:3 Before diphthongs

diagram 2). Thus, if stress is an operant here, then the pull towards back realisations observed before short vowels (I:1) should be - at least partly - an effect of /r/ in pretonic positions (= in the syllable before the stressed syllable). The assumption seems plausible, as pretonic-(r) involves a position which carries less saliency compared to tonic-(r) positions (stressed syllables). In pretonic positions the burr stands out less strongly as a marked form: thus it would not in the same degree become the object of subconscious or conscious attempts at modification on the part of the speaker. The assumption in fact tallies with the observations made for high-burrers above: both stickers and the middler there showed relatively speaking more front /r/ in cases where (r) is found in the stressed syllable, that is to say where (r) is tonic.

The way in which these potential operants combine when examined together is shown in table 11:

Table 11. Potential operants before short (I:1) & long (I:2) vowels and before diphthongs (I:3) - stress & vowel quality: percentages

	I:1		I:2		I:3		
	FV	BV	FV	BV	FV	BV	Aver.
Tonic-(r)	58	100	86	90	94	100	79
Pretonic-(r)	42	-	14	10	6	-	21

Let us finally consider the relationship between the instrument used and the behaviour observed. We do that by dividing the reading-list into three equal parts of 101 words each, and by comparing the relative distribution of these potential operants as represented in the word items of each part and the instances of (r)-2 across the reading-list so divided: table 12 shows the figures for all low-burrers. Three circumstances stand out. First, the factors vowel quantity (length) and vowel quality (front/back) are operants conditioning the behaviour in some degree. Secondly, the most potent operant on predominantly (r)-1 users in word initial position is seen to be stress, however, and this seems to be so particularly in unstressed syllables before short vowels: it is in such phonic contexts of low saliency that (r)-2 is best retained with the low-burrers. Thirdly, the table shows rather conclusively that there is no reason to assume a general modification of more 'natural behaviour' in the beginning of the reading-list which would act to suppress the burr as compared

Table 12. Relative distribution of (r)-2 across the reading-list in three parts: low-burrers

		I:1				I:2				I:3			
		Tonic		Pret.		Tonic		Pret.		Tonic		Pret.	
		FV	BV	FV	BV	FV	BV	FV	BV	FV	BV	FV	BV
1	Words	3	2	6	-	4	2	-	-	7	3	2	-
	(r)-2	3	1	15	-	4	0	-	-	4	1	0	-
2	Words	6	-	3	-	2	2	2	-	10	4	-	-
	(r)-2	5	-	7	-	0	0	2	-	2	2	-	-
3	Words	11	3	9	-	3	10	-	2	6	4	-	-
	(r)-2	12	1	33	-	4	6	-	0	2	0	-	-

with the behaviour towards the end of the list: a tendency rather in the opposite direction is seen for vowel quality in stressed syllables with more (r)-1 towards the end, whereas the most potent factor, stress, brings out (r)-2 more strongly towards the end of the reading-list.

3.1 Types of speakers

In word initial position the low-burrers' normal pattern of behaviour is to have back realisations in one class only (67.6%): either before short V or before long V (= long vowels, as all low-burrers before diphthongs also have /R/ in one or both of the other classes). Occasionalists are speakers who have /R/ in more than one class (N=12). Shifters are speakers who have /R/ before short vowels only (N = 21). Irregulars are speakers who have /R/ before long vowels only (N = 4).

Before short vowels (I:1), there are two types of speakers: occasionalists (N = 11) and shifters (N = 21). Before long vowels (I:2), there are also two types of speakers: occasionalists (N = 9) and irregulars (N = 4). Before diphthongs (I:3), there is only one type of speaker: occasionalists (N = 7). (Cf diagram 2).

Occasionalists, as being least affected amongst the low-burrers by the ongoing change (burr-index = 9.4), are or may be affected by the pull of the burr in all classes: before short and long vowels, and before diphthongs. Their burr-indices (table 13) show that the extent to which they are or may be affected by back realisations is inversely related to vowel length (quantity): the longer the vowel segment, the lesser the influence of (r)-2. In fact, occasionalists constitute the only type of speaker here who represents what appears to be the general pattern in word initial position (v. diagram 2). What we find here is that not only is the effect of the pull of the burr felt in a decreasing degree over the three classes, but the effect may also disappear

Table 13. Burr-indices: occasionalists, shifters & irregulars

	I	I:1		I:2	I:3
	Over all	Tonic /r/	Pretonic /r/		
Occasionalists	9.4	15.8		10.5	6.9
		(8.6)	(27.3)		
Shifters	3.6	8.7		-	-
		(2.9)	(17.5)		
Irregulars	1.7	-		7.4	-

altogether so that some occasionalists have no back realisations at all in for example class I:3, viz. before diphthongs. The indices also show that the inverse relation is mainly due to the influence of one particular operant, however, viz. stress (this is so not only before short vowels, as is evident from table 13, but also in the other two classes, for which, however, no figures are supplied because of the low numbers of pretonic-(r) generally in these classes; cf table 12).

Shifters, as being more affected amongst the low-burrers by the ongoing change (burr-index = 3.6), no longer experience any pull of the burr before long V (long vowels & diphthongs). The pull is still felt before short V, however, (I:1). As with the occasionalists, that pull is again very much related to stress. In fact, the shifters have a bigger relative difference between the indices for tonic-(r) and for pretonic-(r) than the occasionalists, something which suggests that stress is the ultimate operant before regularity dissolves into irregularity in dialect space, that is to say into more asymmetrical occurrences of (r)-2.

Irregulars, as being most affected amongst the low-burrers by the ongoing change (burr-index = 1.7), have back realisations before long vowels only (I:2). In this they are unique. Although their burr-index is relatively high in this class (= 7.4) - and in this connexion the striking regularity of these burr-indices is worth observing (v. table 13) -, it is lower than the corresponding burr-index of the occasionalists, who are also represented in this class. The irregulars appear to have left the dialect domains where some symmetry may still prevail: as we shall see below, there is no indication either that stress is an active operant with the irregulars.

3.2 Social and self-evaluative characteristics

Occasionalists tend to be somewhat younger villagers who may have somewhat higher education and who very clearly tend to belong to the middle manual social class, or be school-children (table 1). Relatively speaking, at some point in time they have modified their way of speaking which they now tend to see less as dialect and which they tend not to adjust to the speech of the interlocutor (table 14). They in fact take no notice of comments from others, or else they think such comments are just fun. Some sensitivity is attested, however.

They may be somewhat negatively disposed towards their own speech (table

Table 14. Self-evaluation - occasionalists, shifters & irregulars: percentages

	Over all	Occ	Shi	Irr		Over	Occ	Shi	Irr
I-Characterisation					Adaptation				
1: dialect	62.2	50	65	50	1: no	34.4	50	41	75
2: some dialect	28.9	40	29	25	2: yes	65.5	50	59	25
3: no dialect	8.9	10	6	25	Comments (reaction)				
II-Sensitivity					1: no notice	64.4	80	82	50
1: positive	59.6	50	53	50	2: just fun	7.8	20		
2: indifferent	21.3	20	29	25	3: negative	21.1		12	50
3: negative	19.4	30	18	25	4: strongly neg.	6.7		6	
Modification									
1: no	78.9	40	76	50					
2: yes	21.1	60	24	50					

14), and they may, at the same time, have somewhat positive attitudes towards the accent of their own area (table 15), but this sensitivity certainly does not work in favour of RP, towards which they in fact have mixed feelings: instead, they appear to have an orientation towards something which is less 'posh', something which stands closer to their own intermediate position (v. table 15 and the ratings for South-East).

Shifters tend to be younger villagers or fairly recent inmigrators, who have the ordinary kind of school background and who tend to have non-manual jobs and be higher on social class but lower on status. These shifters characterise themselves much more as speaking dialect, which they have not really ever changed but which they will adjust to the speech of others. They may be somewhat indifferent themselves and although some may not like comments from others about their language, the great majority take no notice. Their esteem of RP is indeed high, and they do not like the accent of their own neighbouring conurbation area, from which, it will be noted, one in four of these shifters hail.

Table 15. Subjective evaluation - occasionalists, shifters & irregulars: percentages

	Over all	Occ	Shi	Irr		Over all	Occ	Shi	Irr
Positive					Negative				
1. RP	45.0	20	63	66	1. RP	3.9	20		
2. Scottish	26.3	10	25	33	2. Scottish	5.2		6	
3. South-East	6.3	30	6		3. South-East	5.2			33
4. London	6.3	10			4. London	6.5		13	
5. North-East	6.3	10			5. Midlands	16.9	20	13	33
6. American	5.0	10			6. North-East	19.5	20	19	
7. Midlands	3.8		6		7. American	20.8	30	19	
8. Tyneside	1.3	10			8. Tyneside	22.1	10	31	33
(N=)	(80)	(10)	(16)	(3)		(77)	(10)	(16)	(3)

Irregulars are recent in-migrators and are either housewives or school-children from the burr-area, having a non-selective school background, or, if economically active, from Tyneside, having been through further education and belonging to the non-manual middle social class and having a supervisory status (table 1). In fact, irregulars are all females. They tend to have modified their own way of speaking, which they now tend not to call dialect and which they will not really adjust to the speech of the person they talk to (table 14). They may be somewhat negatively disposed towards their own speech and they certainly do not like comments from others. Sensitivity is thus revealed. Also, they rate RP very high, and they are critical of the Tyneside accent (table 15).

Most occasionalists, shifters, and irregulars, that is to say most low-burrers, take a positive view of their own way of speaking or are indifferent to it. But irregulars are particularly sensitive to comments from others.

At first sight, it may perhaps surprise us that shifters should consider themselves more as dialect speakers than occasionalists do. However, this difference does not necessarily imply that they also do speak more dialect than occasionalists, and need not be interpreted so either: the subjective facts may not necessarily correspond to the objective facts. Instead, age and particularly the social position of the shifters and the occasionalists can give us the reason for this seeming aberration. Occasionalists are (younger) villagers in the middle manual social range: in such an environment, if you have changed or modified your speech habits away from the dialect patterns at some point in time, as they say they have done, it makes sense to claim, as they do, that your language is not so much dialect, especially since you are not too sensitive to prestige but may accept, as they do, also more localised accents as part of your subjective evaluative patterns in some degree. In a relative perspective, these occasionalists are both logical and right. Shifters are (younger) villagers or in-migrators in the non-manual range who tend to be high on class but low on status: in this environment it would seem to make sense that your language may appear to you to be rather dialectal, especially since you are more sensitive to comments from others and since you very clearly have a high regard for RP or modified accents, as these shifters have. In a relative perspective, the shifters too are both logical and right.

Logically, irregulars 'should' have claimed more dialect. That they have not done. They instead claimed less dialect. In this they may be right, but it certainly is how they want to see themselves. This image prevents them from admitting to any need for modifications in front of others, since their speech habits may have been changed or modified already. But their aspirations towards prestigious speech, most notably towards RP, make them nevertheless very sensitive to comments from others. Thus, the irregulars may appear as rather irregular, but in the perspective of their own paradigm they too may be seen as both logical and right: as a result of a difference in tension between pretended appearance and held values, the attitudes of these females are different from those of others and so is their behaviour.

Obviously, low-burring in the three classes recognized for the (r) variable in word initial position involves somewhat different social correlates (table 1). Compared with low-burrers generally here, low-burrers before short V tend to be villagers of middle status, whereas low-burrers before long V tend to represent a steady in-migration over the years: before long vowels somewhat older villagers of higher status or housewives, and before diphthongs younger villagers in middle manual occupations or housewives.

3.3 Internal and external patterns before short vowels

Before short vowels (I:1), the words affected by back /R/ for occasionalists are (in order of frequency): refuse (N = 6), receive, relief, return, rebuke, redan, result, red, ready, redeem, replay, respect, reticle, rickshaw, rigid, rag (N = 1), rancid, rapine, remand, rennet, rest, rich, ring, run, plus refund (pronounced with short /i/). Thus, 24 (+ 1) words were affected (80%), whereas 6 were not (rabbit, remain, wrestle, rocket, wrong, rubbish). The words affected for shifters are (in order of frequency): refuse (N = 11), redeem, receive, respect, reply, relief, rancid, rebuke, redan, rennet, result, rich, rag, (N = 1), rapine, ready, remain, reticle, return, wrong, plus refund (pronounced with short /i/; N = 2). Thus, 19 (+ 1) words were affected (63%), whereas 11 were not (rabbit, red, remand, rest, wrestle, rickshaw, rigid, ring, rocket, rubbish, run).

For both occasionalists and shifters there is a tendency for back realisations to go with front vowels (table 16), but this is mainly because vowel quality and stress go together (table 17). We can clearly see that stress is the

Table 16. Vowel quality after /r/ - occasionalists, shifters & irregulars: percentages for items with (r)-2

	I:1			I:2			I:3	
	Occ	Shi	Av.	Occ	Irr	Av.	Occ	Av.
Front V	98	98	87	69	40	41	75	68
Back V	2	2	13	31	60	59	25	32

Table 17. Tonic-(r) & pretonic-(r) - occasionalists, shifters & irregulars: percentages for items with (r)-2

	I:1			I:2			I:3	
	Occ	Shi	Av.	Occ	Irr	Av.	Occ.	Av.
Tonic-(r)	32	20	60	87	100	88	83	96
Pretonic-(r)	68	80	40	13	-	12	17	4

deciding operant here: thus, the relation between tonic-(r) and pretonic-(r) is more than reversed for occasionalists and is much more than reversed for shifters. Now, if shifters are to be seen as further advanced than occasionalists in the ongoing change, that is to say as more affected by front realisations, then more pretonic back /R/ should be found with the shifters. This is also the case: relatively seen, shifters are noticeably more affected by (r)-2 in cases where /r/ is pretonic, that is to say in unstressed syllables. Hence, in the perspective of a change in progress, stress appears as the ultimate restraint acting to preserve burring in word initial position.

3.4 Internal and external patterns before long vowels

Before long vowels (I:2), the words affected by back /R/ for occasionalists are (in order of frequency): region (N = 5), raucous, refund, regal, rather (N = 1), read, reap, roof, rude. Thus, 9 words were affected (53%), whereas 8 were not (recent, reek, rood, room, rouge, wrought, routine, rule). The words affected for irregulars are (in order of frequency): rood (N = 2), read (N = 1), regal, rude. Thus, 4 words were affected (24%), whereas 13 were not.

For occasionalists there is a tendency for back realisations to go with front vowels (table 16), but this is again mainly due to vowel quality and stress going together (table 17). Since irregulars have no pretonic back /R/, there is no such tendency with them. Instead, irregulars have back realisations in stressed syllables only: this is an exceptional pattern, but irregulars, as their name implies, also represent a more exceptional, or irregular, pattern of behaviour (cf also above).

Occasionalists here are somewhat older villagers who rather tend to have a somewhat higher social position than occasionalists generally, or be housewives. In a comparison, irregulars can almost be called the 'shifters' of this class: not only do they have (r)-2 in one class only, but relative to the occasionalists here they also have a social profile which is not altogether dissimilar from that of the shifters relative to the occasionalists before short vowels (I:1): irregulars are all rather recent in-migrators, however, and they are all females. In terms of attitudes, the main differences that these occasionalists show here, compared to occasionalists generally, are that the majority see themselves as speaking 'some dialect' only and that they are less critically disposed towards RP (cf tables 14,15). Thus, we observe even on this point a certain parallelism between occasionalists and irregulars here, on the one hand, and occasionalists and shifters above, on the other.

3.5 Internal and external patterns before diphthongs

Before diphthongs (I:3), the words affected by back /R/ for *occasionalists* are (in order of frequency): *regime* (N = 2), *rival*, *rage* (N = 1), *rate*, *rhyme*, *right*, *ripe*, *rope*, *roup*, *royal*. Thus, 10 words were affected (40%), whereas 15 were not (*railing*, *rain*, *raise*, *rape*, *razor*, *reign*, *rifle*, *rise*, *write*, *road*, *roan*, *rose*, *round*, *rowan*, *rye*).

There is a tendency for back realisations to go with front vowels (table 16), but again this is because vowel quality and stress go together (table 17).

In this class only occasionalists are found, and only occasionalists are affected. Amongst occasionalists, they are the younger adult in-migrators in low non-manual (clerical) and middle manual occupations. Relatively seen, occasionalists here are different in their attitudes from occasionalists generally only in regard to the characterisation of their own speech, which the majority here claim to be 'some dialect' only, and in regard to RP, of which they are more critical (cf tables 14&15). The higher prestigious value observed for RP with the occasionalists before long vowels above (I:2) may be accounted for as an effect of the social factor and the sex factor: there, occasionalists either have a higher social rank or are housewives, whereas here, they have a lower social rank. Thus, higher up the social scale RP may have a greater prestigious value, whereas lower down the scale that may not necessarily be the case, at least not in the same degree. Also, as we have seen, RP has a high prestige value amongst women. There is, however, also a difference in age between these two groups of occasionalists: those in class I:2 (before long vowels) are on average older than those here. Whether this difference in age has any significance for the different prestige value noticed for RP here is impossible to say. Should that difference have some general significance, the implication would be that RP, in the eyes of younger generations, may have lost some of its former high prestige.

3.6 Low-burrers: final general remarks

In the production of some few low-burrers front /r/ was observed to be realised in a rather meticulous and forced way as an effect of attempts at adjusting the pronunciation to the patterns of the innovation: this was so particularly with occasionalists and shifters, in which cases (r)-1 often was a roll or a tap, or a retroflex, and this realisation tended to occur in such phonic contexts as are otherwise likely to produce (r)-2. No general tendency was observed with the low-burrers for (r)-2 to be more likely to appear towards the end of the reading-list.

4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The synchronic situation of the (r) variable in word initial position is characterised by variability on all of the parameters examined in dialect space: temporal, spatial, social, sexual, and phonic. The evidence points incontestably to an ongoing change in the village, a change which stands out as being both socially and phonetically conditioned, with stress as the underlying internal factor: the route of the innovation is set by (r) in stressed syllables as opposed to (r) in unstressed syllables where instead (r)-2 is more likely to be retained. The linguistic situation of (r) involves a shift from high-burring to low-burring, from what may historically have been a use of back /R/ for all or most inhabitants in the village (Defoe 1724-27, vol. iii, p. 232-233. Heslop 1903:16) to the use of front /r/ as the only variant or of front /r/ in free variation with back /R/. Insofar as a diachronic inference can be made on the basis of the evidence, this sound change appears to proceed gradually through the population. Its rate of change is not uniform but describes a kind of diffusion of the S-curve type. The change also appears as lexically gradual.[12] Table 18 shows not only that some lexical items are affected whereas are not, but also that different items are affected to different extents by the innovation (this should be obvious if the table is read 'backwards'). What we observe is obviously a case of lexical diffusion, a phonological change which is lexically gradual and not regular.[13]

Although the change is by and large phonetically discontinuous, there is some evidence in the material that it may also be phonetically gradual to some extent. Stickers tended to have a more prominent uvular pronunciation on average, particularly older and lower-class (r)-2 users, whereas the young stickers had a more prominent velar (that is, fronted) pronunciation. Also, a tendency was observed for some burrers, both high- and low-burrers, who had a more velar-like pronunciation to also have lip-rounding in a varying degree: in such cases lip-rounding can be seen as bridging the discontinuity which exists between back /R/ and front /r/ in regard to place of articulation.

Table 18. Low-burrers: percentage of (r)-2 in the lexical items in word initial position

Before short V		Before long V		Before diphthong	
refuse	46	region	14	regime	5
receive	24	regal	8	rival	5
redeem	22	raucous	5	rage	3
relief	19	read	5	rate	3
respect	19	refund	5	right	3
reply	16	rood	5	ripe	3
rebuke	14	rude	5	rhyme	3
redan	14	rather	3	rope	3
result	14	reap	3	roup	3
return	14	roof	3	royal	3
rancid	8				
ready	8	recent	0	railing	0
rennet	8	reek	0	rain	0
reticle	8	room	0	raise	0
rich	8	rouge	0	rape	0
rag	5	wrought	0	razor	0
rapine	5	routine	0	reign	0
red	5	rude	0	rifle	0
rickshaw	5			rise	0
rigid	5			write	0
remain	3			road	0
remand	3			roan	0
rest	3			rose	0
ring	3			round	0
wrong	3			rowan	0
run	3			rye	0
rabbit	0				
wrestle	0				
rocket	0				
rubbish	0				

The route of the change observed for the (r) variable in Thropton may not be completely straight but it is not random: there is a social matrix in which the change is embedded as well as a linguistic matrix conditioning its course.

FOOTNOTES

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1 The report is based upon material from two separate investigations, one into linguistic behaviour carried out in 1969 (Påhlsson 1972) and one into linguistic attitudes carried out in 1972 (Påhlsson 1973, 1982).

2 It can be noted that just over half of all in-migrators (52.1%) had moved in from various parts of the burr-area outside Tyneside conurbation.

3 Hardly affecting whole life residence, the in-migration from Tyneside had taken place mainly during the last 15-20 years before the time of the investigation (i.e. before 1969) - that is to say, it is basically a postwar feature. Most of these in-migrators were adults, aged over 45 in particular and especially over 65. If they were not housewives, most of them were or had been employed in non-manual occupations (with a minority found in the middle manual social class) and they tended to be high on social class with half of them located in the upper middle non-manual class (= the Register General's II-non-manual), making up exactly one third of all informants of that particular class (for details on the statistics, v. Påhlsson 1972:235).

4 This is far from saying that the physical phonetic qualities of each utterance of a speaker, of each instance of /r/, have no significance in this respect. Indeed, the importance of the concrete level of phonetic substance, namely of the articulatory and perceptual apparatus, for why a sound system changes the way it does has been argued at great length by for example Chen & Wang (1975).

5 The fact that linguistic performance tends to vary with different types of circumstances or situations has been demonstrated beyond doubt by modern linguistic research. Channel cues, such as change in tempo or pitch-range (which can be used to identify less formal types of speach; v. Labov 1972:94ff), and other observations did not point to any perceptible differences in the use of the (r) variable across the various situations during the interviews here, however. Given that no investigator can ever hope to get at the most intimate and casual performance of his informants, I want to posit that what is recorded here is part of the normal and genuine speech habits of these informants. Their performance, be it called by whatever label, should not be seen as the kind of "formal speech /which/ may be quite far removed from casual or everyday speech" (Chambers & Trudgill 1980:71).

6 The existence of changes and pressures for (r) in Thropton has been clearly attested (v. Påhlsson 1972:216f & 1982). The change from above the level of conciousness, i.e. in prevocalic positions, was found to be associated with middle and lower social ranges in its initial stage and with middle ranges in its later stage, whereas the change from below that level, i.e. in post-vocalic positions, was found to be associated with non-manual and manual upper or middle ranges in particular. Hence, there is every reason not to equate above/below the level of consciousness with class, so that a change above the level of consciousness should automatically be seen as a change from upper social groups and vice versa (something which has often been done): the question posed by Romaine (1982:267) whether these must necessarily be equated can thus be answered in the negative.

7 This index gives the percentage for the actual number of instances of (r)-2 over the total number of possible occurrences.

8 Generally speaking, no perceptibly differential realisation was observed for such words (Påhlsson 1972:61f).

9 The central vowel /ə/ was counted as back, something which is justifiable from the point of view of the dialect, and so were diphthongs of which this vowel is part. Also, /ai/ was counted as front, and /au/ as back.

10 This is so when their behaviour in general is taken into account.

11 For the eight accents, eight different voices were used. In general, with the exception of the American (Canadian) voice, these voices showed a reasonable similarity on factors such as pitch, energy etc., and all were male voices (for the text and voices used, v. Påhlsson 1982:383f).

12 The implication here is then that these synchronic findings would point to a diachronic sound change spreading gradually through the lexicon, rather than affecting all the relevant words at the same time and to the same extent.

13 For recent discussions of the Neogrammarian dogma (i.e. that sound change is always gradual, always regular, affecting all words at the same time) see for example Chen & Wang 1975, Labov 1981, Janson 1983. See also Bailey 1973, Romaine 1982:253ff.

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GO TO AND WILL IN SPOKEN ENGLISH

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to investigate the semantic factors determining the choice of go to and will in some varieties of spoken English as represented in the London-Lund Corpus of Spoken English. (See Appendix.)

There are many problems involving future forms. One problem is that the form used to refer to the future has many meanings. Furthermore there is considerable overlap between the different meanings allowing 'an almost imperceptible passage from one (meaning) to another' (Fleischman 1982:19). There is for instance no fixed borderline between an imminent event and an event in the near future. Diachronically these 'meanings' represent different stages of semantic change. It is also noteworthy that several meanings can occur at the same time in a form: go to can be associated both with Certainty and Imminence.

When a form has many meanings it is common to look for a 'Gesamtbedeutung' (a sort of lowest common denominator uniting all the uses of the form). The search for a Gesamtbedeutung for the go to construction has led to a lot of fruitless discussion however. It is always possible to find examples which show that a proposed distinction does not have a 100% validity and thus cannot be used to establish a contrast between will and go to.

The typical situation is instead as follows: there are a large number of distinctions which can be made by a particular form. Some of these distinctions tend to occur together. 'A considerable part of the difficulties (in accounting for tense, mood and aspect categories) we think are due to the fact that one has to deal with a large number of closely related distinctions which tend to merge with each other in complex combinations' (Dahl 1980:18). Following Greenberg 1963 and Dahl 1980 I have found it useful to refer to factors which occur together as harmonizing. Certain factors (combinations of factors) are typical, frequent and normal and represent a prototype. Other combinations of properties are less typical or do not occur at all. The factors conditioning the choice of a certain form may be more or less strong.By this I mean that a factor can be present in both will and go to but with different force. If a factor is always present when a form is used, this does not mean that it is meaningful to identify it with its meaning however. Many investigators have for instance described go to as having Present Relevance. This factor (to be discussed below) is present whenever we use go to. Present Relevance distinguishes between will and go to but it does not indicate which go to contexts are prototypical.

The prototype or prototypical combination of factors is particularly important in language acquisition. When the child learns a new form he first learns how it is used in a typical context of use and then its meaning. He does not learn a semantic label applicable to all the uses of the form. Diachronically a prototypical use of the form can be expected to correspond to a meaning which is earlier in time than a none-prototypical use and serves as the focus from which its other uses can be derived.

There are two ways in which we can refer to the time of an event. We can look at time 'from the outside' in which case the temporal event has objective existence. The alternative is that the event exists in the mind of the speaker. In the philosophy of time a distinction is made between 'external' (abstract, static) time and 'internal' (experience, dynamic) time (Fleischman 1982:28f). It is typical of forms in the language referring to the future that they describe a future event as existing within the mind of the speaker and as representing 'internal' or experienced time. The future event is intended, wished, hoped for or feared by the speaker. There are other ways in which an utterance about the future can be influenced by the speaker. It can be determinted by what he knows about the future, his control of the outcome of the future event and by how clearly he can perceive the future.

2. Semantic Factors Determining the Choice of Go to

In the following section I try to answer the following questions. What factors influence the choice of go to? If there are several factors, which of these are harmonizing?

2.1 Intentionality and Premeditation

Actions spring out of intentions. The intention to act can be preceded by planning and a decision to act (Premeditation)[1]. An intention which is the result of planning and a decision to act can be expressed by go to.

(1) I'm going to explore there's a bus you can get all the way (S 7 1 a 2850)

The speaker's intention to explore has been planned beforehand. It is the result of the information 'there's a bus you can get all the way'.

(2) I've left the keys behind

B how are you going to get in

Even if the intention referred to in the go to clause is placed in the present, the decision itself (and planning) must have taken place prior to the moment of speech. B's utterance can be paraphrased as 'how had you arranged to get in'. Go to implies that an event in the past (planning for the future) has consequences for the present (the intention to act) and for the future (the actualization of the future action).

Intention requires a human subject, often the speaker himself who is involved in the future action. One device showing the speaker's involvement in the future event is the use of a first person subject. Speaker-Involvement harmonizes with Intention.

Both will and go to can have the meanings Intention (Premeditation and Speaker-Involvement). The proportions of the various factors are not the same in the two forms however. Literally (I) will refers to the speaker's wish, readiness and willingness to carry out an action. The speaker's will to act gives rise to an intention and to the action itself. The three factors Intention, Premeditation and Speaker-Involvement are represented in

(3) Anyway I'll do what I can to ask the other people however (S 1.2 1206)

(4) Have you got a pen I'll leave a message (S1 8360)

(5) and after that I shall have another week pretty hard about say the seventh to the fourteenth of August - I'll be doing the Burgos award from twentieth to the twenty-fifth but really I've got about three weeks less than that ... the rest of the time I'll have plenty of time to deal with them. (S 1 8 148)

Less typically will occurs with a third person subject expressing the notions Intention and Premeditation.

(6) I did get a postcard from him saying that the thing is now ready and that he will send it by the end of June (S 1 1 79)

When will has the meaning Intention (and Premeditation) it can be exchanged for go to. Will is less typically associated with Premeditation than go to as is illustrated by the following examples.

(7) I'll see you this afternoon then (S 7 2b 1270)

(8) I'll be out at the Salad Street entrance then (S 7 2 d 2360)

(9) Well we'll see you at eight (S 7 a b 6590)

(10) and I'll post off Rita's parcel shall I (S 7 2b 1000)

Will does not presuppose that the speaker has made earlier plans. The speaker makes a proposal that he should do something to which the addressee is asked to consent.

If *go to* is substituted for *will* in the examples above, the meaning is changed. So for instance in (11).

(11) Well we are going to meet you at eight

Furthermore it is the speaker who decides what is going to happen. His mind will not be changed if the hearer has a different opinion. As a result *go to* often sounds more emphatic and certain than *will*.[2]

Summing up the previous discussion we could say that the difference between *will* and *go to* has to do with the degree to which a factor conditions the choice of a certain form rather than with the type of factor involved. *Will* can combine the factors Speaker-Involvement, Intention and Premeditation. The factor Premeditation is less common in *will* than in *go to* however.

Prototypical contexts of use for a form are of special interest to pinpoint. I shall discuss contexts where *go to* is maximally distinct from *will*.

Intentionality and Premeditation must be expressed by *go to* if the intention took place in past time.

(12) I was going to pop in you know (S 1 3 1051)

As a preliminary to discussing other examples where *go to* is obligatory, it is useful to think about how a human action comes about. We can look upon the various stages of an action as a movement from its planning to its realization by the speaker in the future. An action which is the result of planning has a purpose. The purpose of the action refers to the desired, planned, outcome of the action. It functions as the reason for the action (causes an action). When we speak about a purpose and its result it is necessary to use *go to* rather than *will*. Consider

(13) I must go down to the bank you see and catch this twenth-eight I'm going to have a new gear-box in my car and I'm going to collect it tomorrow. (S1 1 4271)

(cf the similar example in Close 1977:148 'I must get my tennis racket, I'm going to play with Dick this afternoon)

In (12) the purpose of the action is the speaker's prior decision to have a new gear-box in his car. This is the reason for his present need to go to the bank.[3]

The relation Purpose-Result is also found in conditional sentences (Haegeman 1977). This explains that go to cannot be substituted for will in

(14) If you're going to have a picture - if you're going to confer a picture into your room it's got to be well painted (S 1 8 109)

(15) I must have this if I'm going to write this booklet (S 1 3 173)

(16) but if you're going to provide anything at all useful about the language it can't be limited by the time factor (S 1 5 603)

Go to refers to the (purpose) of the action in the main clause. Consider for instance the first example. The addressee's desire is to decorate his room by means of a picture. This purpose can be fulfilled if one has a picture which is well painted. The addressee must therefore have a picture which is well painted if this purpose is to be achieved.

The second pronoun you can be the generalized 'you' and the time referred to generic.

(17) If you're going to boil eggs communally they must be hard (S 1 3 798)
(Whenever you wish to ...)

2.2 Imminence, Observation, Presence on the Scene of Action, Certainty

Go to can convey that the action is about to happen (Imminent action).

(18) he's going to bowl to Barrington (S 10 1 4080)

(19) Miteff dropping his left hand very low - as if he's going to start slinging into the body (S 10 3 899740)

(20) Look. The boy is going to make a landing (LOB)

An imminent action like any other future action is only hypothetical. It is always possible that it will be prevented from coming about by unforeseen circumstances. Speakers do now however remain neutral concerning the realization or non-realization of the future event. If the event is imminent, the speaker is certain that it will happen and has a clear image of its taking place in the future. The future event is so to speak already taking place in the speaker's consciousness.

The speaker's location on the scene of action when he makes an utterance about the future also influences the choice of future form. Consider the examples above and the following examples from the Sports Commentary:

(21) and he's going to get four runs (S 10 1 830)

(22) It's going to be taken by Trevor Hockey (S 10 2 25) (also quoted by Palmer 1979)

The place where the speaker is at the moment of speech is non-distinct from the place where the future action is expected to take place. The speaker/sportscaster is observing a current activity which has the future action as its ending-point. This is another factor influencing the choice of *go to*.

These examples also illustrate another distinction, namely Certainty. In (21) the cricketer has almost completed his four runs and (from the speaker's point of view) there is no possibility that the future event will take place. The future event is therefore certain.

All the factors mentioned in this section are harmonizing distinctions: Imminence, Observation (of an ongoing activity preceding the future action), Presence on the Scene of Action and (Objective) Certainty. These describe the situation that the speaker 'looks into the future' . It is almost as if he participates himself in the future event. When these factors are present we can expect *go to* to be used. If *will* is used, it is untypical and infrequent:

(23) Princess Anne will just pass out of the entrance now (S 6 b 62 2690)

2.3 Inference and Observation

Sometimes go to refers to what the speaker infers. It is clear that there are present circumstances leading to the future event, but the envisaged future event is not close enough in time to be Imminent.

(24) I think there is going to be a storm (LOB)

(25) It looked as though the old man Archie was going to fight his way back (S 10 4 c 950)

(26) and she's always feeling she is going to be thrown out of the staff dining room (S 1 3 1196)

(27) and there/is/going to be three three (S10 9910)

(28) and now they're sitting down to race in real earnest but it's going to be a seven furlong race (S 10 4 a 7600)

In (28) the speaker observes signs of the approaching storm. Example (26) illustrates that the speaker infers something from a physical sensation in the presence. The notion inference is gradable in its application. It is expressed by will in

(29) so it looks as if he'll be able to do it (S 10 4c 17)

2.4 Knowledge and Certainty

Go to is also used when it has neither the meaning Intention nor Imminence among its influencing factors. Go to conveys that the speaker knows that the future event will take place. When the speaker conveys that he knows something the question of evidence is relevant. It must have been established in the present that the future event will take place. On the other hand when the speaker uses will he only expresses his conviction or opinion that something will take place. The question concerning present circumstances does not arise. In many examples it is difficult to say if the speaker knows something or only holds an opinion. The folloiwng pair of examples is therefore of interest because it shows that go to and will contrast along this dimension.

(30) Mary is going to get married

(31) Mary will get married

One cannot normally know in advance that another person will get married. To be certain the speaker must know what the girl intends to do. (30) seems to imply that the speaker has been told that Mary intends to marry John. The will future can only tell us that the speaker thinks she will get married.

A prototypical context of use for go to expressing knowledge is also illustrated by

(32) How can one tell one's fifteen-year-old daughter that she is going to be blind (from the TV serial 'The Little House on the Prairie')

The speaker knows that the girl will be blind because he has been told that the girl's present illness will (inevitably) lead to blindness at some time in the future. The will future would sound strange in this context. It is pointless to assume that somebody will be blind without evidence.

We cannot normally know what is going to happen to another person unless we 'control'[4] the outcome of the future event.

(33) This isn't going to hurt you. You're going to have a nice, long sleep (LOB)

The patient is going to be given an injection. The doctor/nurse knows that it won't hurt because of his/her medical expertise. Will cannot be substituted for go to; it would refer to what the speaker thinks will happen, not to what he 'knows'.

If the speaker himself determines whether the action will take place he also knows what is going to happen. Consider

(34) You're going to die Elliot and the girl can go with you (LOB)

The speaker knows that the future event will take place within the foreseeable future. If will is used in the example above, the implication is that the speaker is not personally involved in E's death. The future event is located at a temporally remote time and the speaker does not foresee when this will be.

Another way in which one can exert control of the future is by a decision to do something (e g to make a certain footwear shade popular):

(35) as in one of the new Ardingtons shown in the rich dark brown which is going to be one of the autumn's footwear shades for men

The fashion makers have decided to make dark brown popular.

An event that the speaker 'controls' because he is determined to do it or because he knows for some reason that it will take place are typically certain or inevitable. The future event is also certain if it is about to happen (cf p). On the basis of this correlation we can say that Certainty correlates with Imminence and Speaker's Knowledge.

2.5 Present Relevance and Immediacy of Action

It is characteristic of go to that the future is not regarded in the context in which it happens but as associated with the present. The grammatical distinction corresponding to this psychological association between present and future has to do with aspect rather than with tense. Fleischman refers to it as Present Relevance. It is defined as 'an aspectual notion signaling the establishment of a connection between "now" and "not-now"'. (1982:19).

The relationship between the present and the future is causative. The future action is seen as the result of a present decision, a purpose, a present tendency, symptoms in the present or present knowledge. If a future event is associated with the present (Present Relevance) it tends to be located in the immediate future.

Immediate future also harmonizes with Presence on the Scene (and Observation). This means that if the future event is located at the place where the speaker is at the moment of speech, it is likely that it will refer to the immediate future (or something imminent).

Another factor which harmonizes with Immediate future is Speaker-Involvement (and Intentionality).

(36) (blackboard scribbling) we're going to analyse this mathematically see what type of wave motion results (S 10 7c 100 70)

(37) I'm going to hold the key down and this has the effect of releasing the damper (S 10 8 b 9330)

(38) now I'm going to play three higher notes and we'll just listen to them (S 10 8 b)

Untypical cases are not uncommon however:

(39) we're going to change that next year (S 10 10233)

3. Children's Acquisition of Future Forms

As we have seen there are a number of ways of referring to future time events, some of which are more prototypical than others. Children's acquisition of future forms can show which ways of categorising a future event are the most prototypical ones. What we know about how children refer to the future can therefore confirm the results arrived at in the previous part of this paper. When children first refer to the future they talk about something which will take place in the immediate future and which is certain to occur (Harner 1976). Immediacy of action and the modal dimension Certainty come before the 'purely' temporal meaning (reference to future time without any association with the present). The auxiliary most frequently used by children (from 3 to 8 years) in describing immediate future events was go to in an investigation by Harner.

4. The Diachronic Development of Future Forms

The future forms of language can be looked upon as strategies by means of which one can refer to future time in different ways. (Cf Fleischman 1982) Such strategies change over time. Diachronically the categories used to refer to future time in English were at one stage closely related to the present. The reference to future time severed from the present is a later development.

In the earliest examples of the go to, go is a verb of motion governing an adverbial infinitive of purpose. The notion of spatial advance (motion towards) undergoes a change to the notion 'temporal advance' (motion from the present to the future). We can look upon the change as taking place in the following manner.

The speaker can include within the present a moment from the imminent fugure (King 1983). The present describes the speaker's internal (or experienced) time. When the action refers to the future (rather than to something imminent), the future event is regarded as 'connected' with the present rather than included within it. The first example showing that the change has taken place attested by OED comes from 1482 (quoted by Wekker 1976:29).

> Thys unhappy soule....was goying to be brought into helle for the synne and onleful lustys of her body (Monk of Evesham (Arb)43)

Go to refers to an intended future action.

The meaning Intention is present in contexts permitting this interpretation: there is a human subject capable of premeditation. Another factor which is present is Immediacy of action. My documentation comes from Harada (1958:322): 'the fundamental meaning of be + going + to infinitive seems to be intention, and near future was inseparably blended with it at the earliest stage of its development'. (The source of the quotation is Wekker 1976.) (Cf also Scheffer 1975).

The factor originally associated with go to defines a prototypical context. New meanings can be extended from the original prototype according to certain principles.

Will starts out as a modal auxiliary with the meaning Volition. We distinguish two consecutive developments depending on whether the subject is the first or the third person. With a first person subject will acquires the meaning Intention (Volition > (Willingness) > Intention). In the third person will develops the meaning future reference. When will loses its meaning Volition (with an inanimate subject) it refers to the concrete manifestations that we associate with Volition (Björkstam 1919:214). The change can be illustrated by the example 'the house will fall'. The earliest interpretation is that the house shows signs that it is going to fall in the immediate future.

The future interpretation of will depends on the speaker's certainty that something will take place (in the near future). It is not a fact based on present circumstances.

In present-day English will and go to have distinct (prototypical) meanings. This can be explained in a diachronic perspective. The original dynamic meaning implying movement from present to future[5] in go to is for instance preserved as the grammatical notion Present Relevance which distinguishes between go to and will.

5. Conclusion

Go to is associated with a speaker perspective on the future event. The speaker's knowledge and intentions at the present time, where he is, what he can observe and his involvement in the future action play a role for the choice of go to.

The distinctions which have been discussed as characterizing the use of go to are:

a. the speaker intends to carry out the future action (Intention)
b. the speaker has planned or made arrangements for the future event
(Premeditation)

c. the future event is about to take place (Imminence)
d. the speaker is present on the scene where the future action is expected to take place (Presence on the Scene)
e. the speaker observes some current activity which has the future event as its ending-point (Observation)
f. the future event is located in the immediate future (Immediate Future)
g. the speaker knows for some reason that the future event will take place (Knowledge)
h. the future event can be inferred from the speaker's present sensations (Inference)
i. it is certain that the future event will take place (Certainty)
j. the future time is connected with the present (Present Relevance)
k. the speaker is involved in the future event (Speaker-Involvement)

The following sets of harmonizing distinctions were seen to be relevant to the choice of *go to*:

Intention, Premeditation, Speaker-Involvement, Immediate Future, Present Relevance
Imminence (Immediate Future), Presence on the Scene, Observation, Certainty Present Relevance
Inference, Present Relevance
Knowledge, Certainty, Present Relevance

In between the meanings defined by these sets of harmonizing distinctions there are areas of vagueness. The speaker can choose either *go to* or *will* to convey the intended message. The choice is determined by the particular perspective chosen by the speaker in the communication situation rather than by semantic factors inherent in a particular form. *Go to* conveys a subjective perspective on the event while *will* conveys that the future is more objective or psychologically detached (Fleischman 1982:96).

NOTES

1. Many investigators have discussed the factor 'Premeditation' in connection with go to. See e g Fleischman 1982:89).
2. Bouma 1975:328 discusses the difference between 'I'm going to the library' and 'I'll go to the library. About the go to construction he says that 'the event is presented as a future fact (factual assertion rather than relative assertion) leaving no room for further hedging or consideration of an alternative proposal by the addressee.'
3. At the garage however it is more natural to say 'I'll have a new gear-box in my car, please'.
4. The notion (speaker) control which I have found useful in my analysis of go to has earlier been used by C Platzack to describe kommer att/go to in Swedish (Platzack 1976).
5. According to Fleischman 1982:79 the go to future reflects instead a 'moving ego' perspective (it is not time which moves but 'man moves to meet time, the latter viewed as static').

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APPENDIX

The texts examined consist of transcriptions of spontaneious conversation (surreptitious recording of conversation between educated British speakers; texts S1.1-S1.9, 40 000 words) surreptitious telephone conversation between personal friends (S7 c 15 000 words), spontaneous commentary (sport and non-sport, S10 40 000 words). All the texts were taken from the London-Lund Corpus of Spoken English.

Distribution of go to and will

In all the texts examined will is the predominant form.

A Spontaneous Telephone Conversation

Number of examples:

go to	will
49/196 (25%)	147/196 (75%)

B Commentary

Number of examples:

go to	will
36/97 (37%)	61/97 (63%)

C Spontaneous Conversation

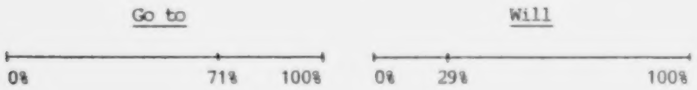
Number of examples:

go to	will
72/219 (32%)	147/219 (68%)

Total number: 157 (go to)   355 (will)

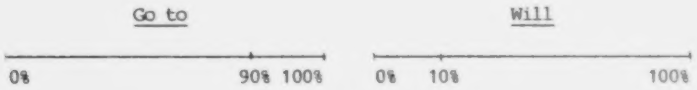
It is often difficult to say whether a certain factor is present in an example. The following quantitative investigation of the factors conditioning go to and will is therefore only tentative and heats only some factors. In particular I do not investigate how harmonizing factors affect the choice of go to and will.

INTENTION



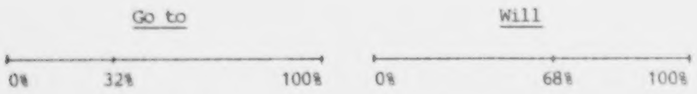
Total number of examples with the meaning Intention: 112
Number of examples with go to: 80/112 (71%)
Number of examples with will: 32/112 (29%)

PREMEDITATION



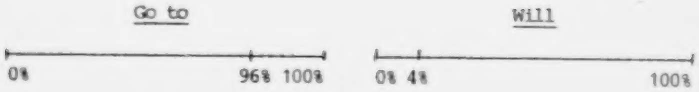
Total number of examples with the meaning Premeditation: 89
Number of examples with go to: 80/89 (90%)
Number of examples with will: 9/89 (10%)

SPEAKER-INVOLVEMENT



Total number of examples with the meaning Speaker-Involvement: 175
Number of examples with go to: 56/175 (32%)
Number of examples with will: 119/175 (68%)

IMMINENCE

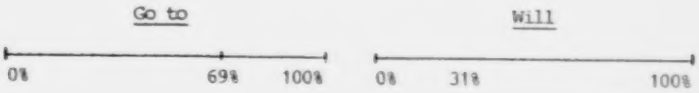


Total number of examples with the meaning Imminence: 24

Number of examples with go to: 23/24 (96%)

Number of examples with will: 1/24 (4%)

PRESENCE ON THE SCENE (AND OBSERVATION)

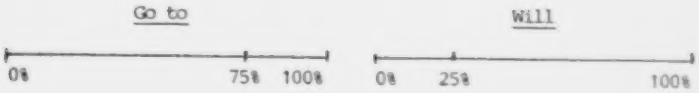


Total number of examples with the meaning Presence on the Scene (and Observation): 13

Number of examples with go to: 9/13 (69%)

Number of examples with will: 4/13 (31%)

INFERENCE



Total number of examples with the meaning Inference: 12

Number of examples with go to: 9/12 (75%)

Number of examples with will: 3/12 (25%)

I wish to thank Mette Cathrine Jahr for help with extracting the examples from the London-Lund Corpus of Spoken English. Thanks are furthermore due to Lars-Gunnar Andersson, Östen Dahl and Göran Kjellmer for commenting on an earlier version of the manuscript.

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THE PRETERITE AND THE PERFECT IN BBC NEWS BULLETINS:
THE CASE FOR A TEXT LINGUISTIC APPROACH

In this paper I shall report and comment on some results from a more extensive study of the preterite and the perfect in English. I shall take as my starting point the view that the essential meanings of the (simple) preterite (henceforth referred to as 'PRET') and the (simple) present perfect (henceforth 'PERF') are definable in terms of temporal reference.[1] PRET is used to refer to a verbal situation which is located relative to a past reference point, or 'anchor', as I prefer to call it. In the most straightforward cases such anchors are established by temporal adverbials, but there are many other, direct and indirect, ways in which anchors can be established. For a PRET verb form to be acceptable, an anchor of one kind or another is required. A sentence like

(1) John was drunk.

must be classified as unacceptable unless the linguistic or non-linguistic context offers some clue as to when it was that John is claimed to have been drunk. The sentence

(2) John was drunk last night.

contains such an anchor and is therefore fully acceptable by itself.

By contrast, PERF verb forms, far from requiring past-time anchors, are incompatible with such anchors, because what a PERF verb form does is to refer to a verbal situation which can be located anywhere within a period extending all the way up to the moment of utterance. Hence the sentence

(3) John has been drunk.

without any temporal specification, is fully acceptable by itself. However, in cases where the verbal situation is not only located within a period which extends up to the moment of utterance but itself extends up to this moment, PERF normally does require specification: the most likely meaning of

(4) John has been drunk since early this afternoon.

cannot usually be expressed by an unspecified PERF form.

On the view I have just outlined the difference in the way the temporal reference is expressed is the only essential difference between PRET and PERF. All other meanings which have been claimed to distinguish PERF from PRET - such as current relevance, resultativeness, what have you? - are secondary and non-essential.

Of course, this does not tell the whole truth about PRET and PERF, because the obvious next question is 'What conditions the choice of specifier?'. I think the best starting point is to view verb form and specifier as expressing time together, without assuming a priori that either is primary relative to the other. In many cases a past-time anchor can be regarded as given, for instance because it has been referred to in the preceding context. PRET will then be the expected verb form. In cases where no anchor is previously given, there are in principle two possibilities, provided the reference is to time located wholly in the past: a PRET verb form may be used, accompanied by appropriate specification, or PERF may be used.

In this paper we shall look at the use of PRET and PERF from this point of view in a corpus made up of BBC news bulletins. This type of language is interesting not least because in several respects it is on the borderline between speech and writing.

One feature which the language of radio news bulletins shares with ordinary spoken language is that the moment of utterance, the deictic zero-point (henceforth referred to as 'ZERO'), is easily identifiable. This can be expected to have consequences for the choice of verb forms and other temporal deictics. Another feature typical of spoken language is a high degree of structural simplicity, conditioned by the intended oral delivery, because structural simplicity evidently facilitates comprehension. It makes the linguist's job easier too, although he needs to be aware that many other language varieties may have a more complex structure.

A feature which the language of radio news bulletins can be expected to share with written language is a close correspondence between what in Chomskyan terms would be called competence and performance: anacolutha and slips of various other kinds do not normally occur, since the announcer is reading from a script. On the assumption that it is competence we really want to investigate, this gives a special interest to the corpus compared with most kinds of ordinary spoken language. Furthermore, as in the case of written language, there will not be any interference from non-linguistic factors such as facial expression, gestures, etc., which are difficult to integrate into a linguistic analysis.

The language of radio news bulletins thus exhibits a rare combination of characteristically spoken and characteristically written features. In addition, the use of such a corpus could be expected to be rewarding in a study of the PERF/PRET opposition, because, as in the case of news reports printed in newspapers, for example, a large proportion of the verb forms will normally refer to past time, and, especially with radio news, often to the immediate past, where PERF and PRET can be assumed frequently to be in competition. A final point is that the news bulletins I examined consist of small, self-contained passages, each devoted to one major item of news. Cross-references between such passages do not occur. Of course, this again facilitates the linguistic analysis at levels above the sentence.

My corpus comprises a total of twelve news bulletins, each lasting five minutes and consisting of about 800 words, so that the size of the whole corpus is approximately 10,000 words. The bulletins were broadcast at 9 a.m., one in the summer, the rest in the autumn, of 1982.[2]

Each bulletin begins with an opening section of 'news headlines', usually three in number. Most of these headlines are confined to a single sentence. Then follows a more detailed treatment of the same plus a few additional items. The detailed treatment of each news item will henceforth be referred to as a 'paragraph'. Each bulletin is read from the studio by a single announcer, but in some cases the studio presentation is interspersed with correspondents' reports, which give the impression of being scripted, and in a couple of cases also with excerpts from unscripted interviews or sports commentaries.

In the twelve bulletins were recorded a total of 580 verb phrases containing at least one of the features preterite tense/perfectness, perfectness defined as the combination of a form of the auxiliary HAVE and the preterite participle of the next verb. In this number are included all the correspondents' reports but not the unscripted interviews and sports commentaries. Co-ordinate verb phrases were counted as separate constructions provided they each contained a separate main verb. The distribution of the 580 verb phrases over verb forms and clause types is set out in Table 1.

Table 1 Distribution of perfect/preterite verb forms in BBC news bulletins according to clause type. Horizontal percentages.

Verb / Clause	Present perfect	Preterite	Preterite perfect	Other	SUM
Main	114 32.3%	204 57.8%	19 5.4%	16 4.5%	353 100.0%
Object	9 14.3%	25 39.7%	13 20.6%	16 25.4%	63 100.0%
Restrictive relative	8 25.0%	16 50.0%	4 12.5%	4 12.5%	32 100.0%
Non-restr. relative	3 13.6%	13 59.1%	3 13.6%	3 13.6%	22 99.9%
Temporal	1 2.5%	31 77.5%	4 10.0%	4 10.0%	40 100.0%
Other	7 10.0%	32 45.7%	12 17.1%	19 27.1%	70 99.9%
SUM	142 24.5%	321 55.3%	55 9.5%	62 10.7%	580 100.0%

It can be seen that the distribution over the various verb forms varies a great deal from clause type to clause type, PERF being distinctly more common in main clauses than in the various types of subordinate clauses. Among all clause types put together PERF and PRET between them account for 80% of the recorded verb phrases, while the corresponding percentage in respect of main clauses alone is as high as 90. In this paper we shall have to concentrate on the occurrences of PERF and PRET recorded in main clauses. Occurrences in subordinate clauses will not be considered, nor will combinations with for instance modals or progressive aspect.

The distinction between given and new time reference could be expected to be important for the PERF/PRET distribution, since if the time reference is given, i.e. if the same or a closely related point or period of time has also been referred to by a preceding verb phrase, this previous mention will normally constitute a past-time anchor, and PRET will be the expected verb form. On the other hand, if the time has not been referred to before, a new anchor, expressed or implied, will be required by a PRET verb form, while PERF is not supposed to refer to time linked with past-time anchors and hence could be assumed to be more common to refer to new than to given time located wholly in the past.

In the case of each news bulletin the introductory headlines should therefore be treated separately, since these obviously refer to new time. In each of the following paragraphs of the bulletin the first verb phrase referring to past time also invariably expresses new time reference (no difference in the PERF/PRET distribution was detectable depending on whether the paragraph deals with a news item also mentioned in the introductory headlines). Subsequent verb phrases referring to past time in each paragraph may again express reference to new time, but more commonly they express what I classify as given time reference. Although there will sometimes be borderline cases, where the distinction between given and new time is difficult, the following tables give the PERF/PRET distributions separately for non-paragraph-initial constructions according as they express what has been classified as given or new time reference. In addition the textual divisions outlined above are included.

Table 2 Distribution of present perfect and preterite verb forms in main clauses of BBC news bulletins according to textual division. Co-ordinate constructions and correspondents' reports excluded. Horizontal percentages.

Verb / Textual div.	Present perfect	Preterite	SUM
Headlines	24 92.3%	2 7.7%	26 100.0%
First past-time ref. in each paragraph	54 72.0%	21 28.0%	75 100.0%
Other reference to new time	20 37.7%	33 62.3%	53 100.0%
Reference to given time	4 3.8%	100 96.2%	104 100.0%
SUM	102 39.5%	156 60.5%	258 100.0%

Table 2 shows that the PERF/PRET distribution varies remarkably according to these distinctions, from a strong predominance of PERF among the headlines to an even stronger predominance of PRET among the verb phrases which refer to given time.

Evidently, the recorded variation is partly due to the distinction between given and new time reference. However, a lot of the variation is still unaccounted for, since even if one confines oneself to the verb phrases which express new time reference - the first three rows in Table 2 - the proportion of PERF varies from close to complete predominance - 92.3% - among headlines to little more than a third - 37.7% - among verb phrases which are not the first to refer to past time in their respective paragraphs.

In Table 3 the figures are broken down further. The choice of verb form is compared with the presence or absence of adverbial or other specifiers, and whether the time referred to extends up to ZERO or is located wholly in the past.

As regards specifiers, they are not all adverbial, nor do they all primarily express temporal reference, although a clear majority of the recorded specifiers are straightforward instances of temporal adverbials. However, two of the specifiers occur in noun phrases:

(5) Last night's World Cup semi-final produced victory for the West Germans.

(6) Judy Oakes of England won the women's shotput.

The specifier last night in (5) is of the type classified as 'Deictic/time-wholly-in-past'. The object specifier in (6), the women's shotput, belongs under the label 'Other', where we find a decidedly mixed bag of specifiers. (6) occurs in a paragraph about the Commonwealth Games. Although the object noun phrase does not express temporal reference in the usual sense, there can be little doubt that it helps to locate the associated verbal situation in time.

The specifier referred to in the first row of Table 3, 'Deictic/ZERO', is in all four cases identical with the adverb now, exemplified by

(7) Details of the legislation have now been made known to Western journalists ... .

This adverb can hardly be said to refer to the temporal location of the respective verbal situations, for example the time at which the details of

Table 3 Distribution of present perfect (PERF) and preterite (PRET) verb forms in main clauses of BBC news bulletins according to textual division, reference time and specification. Co-ordinate constructions and correspondents' reports excluded. Vertical percentages.

Textual division	Headlines			Initial in para			Non-initial in para/new time ref.			Non-initial in para/given time ref.			SUM		
Reference time	Up to ZERO	Wholly in the past		Up to ZERO	Wholly in the past		Up to ZERO	Wholly in the past		Up to ZERO	Wholly in the past		Up to ZERO	Wholly in the past	
Specifier \ Verb	PERF	PERF	PRET	PERF	PERF	PRET	PERF	PERF	PRET	PERF	PERF	PRET	PERF	PERF	PRET
Deictic/ZERO	-	-	-	-	1 2.0%	-	-	3 20.0%	-	-	-	-	-	4 4.5%	-
Deictic/time-up-to-ZERO	1 33.3%	-	-	4 80.0%	-	-	2 40.0%	-	-	-	-	-	7 53.8%	-	-
Deictic/past-including-ZERO	-	-	-	-	2 4.1%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 2.2%	-
Deictic/time-wholly-in-past	-	-	1 50.0%	-	-	16 76.2%	-	-	11 33.3%	-	-	9 9.0%	-	-	37 23.7%
Clock-and-calendar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 6.1%	-	-	1 1.0%	-	-	3 1.9%
Temporal clause	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 3.0%	-	-	8 8.0%	-	-	9 5.8%
Other	-	1 4.8%	1 50.0%	-	1 2.0%	3 14.3%	-	1 6.7%	9 27.3%	-	-	9 9.0%	-	3 3.4%	22 14.1%
None	2 66.7%	20 95.2%	-	1 20.0%	45 91.8%	2 9.5%	3 60.0%	11 73.3%	10 30.3%	-	4 100.0%	73 73.0%	6 46.2%	80 89.9%	85 54.5%
SUM	3 100.0%	21 100.0%	2 100.0%	5 100.0%	49 99.9%	21 100.0%	5 100.0%	15 100.0%	33 100.0%	-	4 100.0%	100 100.0%	13 100.0%	89 100.0%	156 100.0%

the legislation were made known. It rather serves to emphasise the present implications of the past situation, i.e. it labels PERF explicitly as a resultative PERF.

In the category of 'Deictic/time-up-to-ZERO' we find adverbials of the set so far, since then, up to now, still, which are typical PERF adverbials.

The two instances of 'Deictic/past-including-ZERO' both consist of the adverbial this morning. Since they occur in news bulletins broadcast at 9 o'clock in the morning, it is clear that they do not indicate any separation from ZERO, although the associated verbal situations both belong unequivocally to the past. One of the two constructions is

(8) The bodies of 64 of those who died in the Falklands fighting ... have been brought home this morning.

The nine temporal clauses of course help to fix the temporal location of the verbal situations of the respective main clauses, but in some cases a more important function seems to be to denote cause or circumstance, as in

(9) The attack happened when a car drew up and the two men in it opened fire.

Some of the recorded combinations of verb form and specifier, or lack of specifier, may seem odd in view of the general assumption that PRET verb forms depend on past-time anchors, while PERF forms do not allow such anchors but usually require specification if referring to time-up-to-ZERO.

For instance, Table 3 shows that six of the thirteen PERF forms referring to time-up-to-ZERO take zero specification, in spite of the fact that none of those reference times have been given before. This apparent oddity simply demonstrates that the language offers many devices for indicating temporal relations other than through the use of what can with any reason be called temporal specifiers. As illustrated by (10), a negated PERF normally refers to time-up-to-ZERO even without specification:

(10) In spite of a widespread search no trace of her has been found, but the police say they'll keep on looking.

In other cases the context may make it clear that the verbal situation may or will be reiterated, in which case the reference time was classified as extending up to ZERO. One example is

> (11) Eight other districts have voted to continue to permit drinking on Sundays. ... The counting of votes in two remaining districts will begin this morning.

In both (10) and (11) an adverbial like *so far* or *up to now* could easily be added without significantly altering the meaning.

The use of PRET without temporal specification to refer to new time, in a total of twelve of the recorded constructions, also calls for a comment. Again this illustrates the fact that temporal relations may be indicated by other means than the use of overt specifiers. (12) exemplifies the use of PRET to refer to unique past time:

> (12) Miss Merchant established her reputation in the plays of Harold Pinter ... .

As regards the 27 PRET constructions which occur *with* temporal specifiers to refer to *given* time, the explanation is in most cases that those times were first referred to by unspecified PERF forms, as exemplified by

> (13) But differences of opinion inside the Conservative Party ... have been highlighted by remarks by the former Prime Minister, Mr Edward Heath. Interviewed on BBC television last night, he criticised the leadership ... .

The sequence of unspecified PERF followed by specified PRET was very common to introduce new past time. However, the sequence of unspecified PERF plus *un*specified PRET, with PERF establishing the sole anchor for PRET, was even more frequent. (14) is an example of such a sequence:

> (14) In Northern Ireland the father of a so-called IRA super-grass has been kidnapped. Mr Patrick Gilmour, who's 61, was taken from his home in Londonderry by three masked men ... .

One comment finally on the four constructions in which PERF verb forms, all of them unspecified, are used to refer to given time-wholly-in-past. In these cases a PRET verb might have been expected instead, as in (14).

In all four cases the first (and only preceding) reference to the same time is by an unspecified PERF. What characterises these constructions is that the initial PERF is very strongly resultative, so that the attention is focused more on the present result than on the past situation bringing about that result. Two of these constructions are

(15) A strike by American train drivers ...
has been postponed .... President Reagan
has used his special powers to order 40,000
men to continue work for 60 days ... .

and

(16) The Labour MP for the London constituency of Newham
Northwest, Mr Arthur Lewis, has been rejected by his
local party as its candidate for the next general
election. He's been replaced by Mr Tony Banks ... .

It seems that in both (15) and (16) the situations denoted by the initial verbs - POSTPONE and REJECT, respectively - are less closely associated with specific reference to the past than is the case with most other PERF verbs, and that this accounts for the use of another PERF verb form.

As regards the question of resultativeness more generally, this factor did not appear to play any important part in the choice of verb form in the recorded news bulletins. It stands to reason that potentially all past situations leave traces which can be viewed as results from a present standpoint. Concerning the language of radio news bulletins more specifically, one would not expect a past situation to be considered worthy of a mention in such a bulletin unless it was thought to have some bearing on the present. In discussions of PERF, however, the term 'resultativeness' is normally used in a more precise sense, to refer to a present state resulting from a past situation, the past situation often being denoted by a telic predicate. There are some but not many straightforward instances of such resultativeness in my BBC corpus, and PERF is not used in all of them. In (17), which is from a paragraph dealing with Brezhnev's funeral, PERF and PRET occur in a parallel construction, both of them with clear implications of present result:

(17) Red Square has been sealed off with crush barriers,
and during the night hundreds of foreigners staying
in central Moscow were moved in buses to other hotels,
a sign that nothing is being left to chance.

As might be predicted, PRET occurs with the adverbial specification of past time, although the situation denoted by that verb is just as resultative as that denoted by the PERF verb: Red Square is now sealed off, the foreigners are now out of central Moscow.

Considered as a factor conditioning the choice between PERF and PRET, resultativeness can thus be seen to be secondary to the temporal specification. PRET is used in cases where there is a past-time anchor, PERF in cases where the verbal situation is located within a period of time extending up to ZERO. We have seen, however, that past-time anchors may be established in a variety of indirect ways, besides the straightforward use of temporal adverbials.

In cases where the same or a closely related point or period of time has been referred to by a preceding verb phrase, that time has been regarded as given, and as expected PRET is used in a vast majority of these cases. More interesting from our point of view are the cases where the reference is to what has been classified as new time. If the reference is to time-wholly-in-past, there are then two main possibilities: one may have an unspecified PERF construction, or a PRET construction with some kind of past-time specification, direct or indirect, expressed or implied. We have seen that among the constructions expressing new time reference there is a very strong predominance of PERF in the introductory headlines, the proportion of PERF forms decreasing gradually as one moves via the verb phrases expressing the first past-time reference in each paragraph, where there is still a majority of PERF forms, to the verb phrases expressing what has been classified as new time reference later on in a paragraph, where there is a majority of PRET forms.

The use of PERF is thus conditioned not only by reference to new time, but by the introduction of new information more generally. This can be explained from the fact that an obvious objective underlying the composition of radio news bulletins is to make the information to be conveyed as easily accessible as possible. This is an important consideration, because of the spoken delivery. For this reason it may be thought desirable to introduce the information gradually, adding detail step by step. As regards temporal information, the advantage of PERF from this point of view is that it makes it possible to refer to past time without specifying the temporal location any further.

In this respect there is an obvious difference between radio news bulletins and printed news reports, for instance in newspapers, where there is no similar need for gradual introduction of new information, since the reader is free to take the time he requires to absorb the information. Preliminary investigations of the PERF/PRET distribution in for example newspapers support this assumption: textual position has not been found to affect the PERF/PRET distribution in printed news reports.

This difference in the use of PERF and PRET may further be related to an important difference between the language of radio news bulletins and that of printed news reports in respect of verb forms and other variables depending on temporal deixis: in printed news reports there is an obvious gap between the reader's ZERO and that of the people writing the reports. From the reader's point of view, therefore, a reported situation is not capable of being located at any or all time up to ZERO, because it cannot be located during the time that has elapsed since the newspaper was printed. At the beginning of this paper the possibility that a past situation may be located at any time up to ZERO was said to be the defining characteristic of PERF. On the assumption that verb forms are chosen so as to anticipate the reader's point of view, this may explain why PERF verb forms are less common in the news reports printed in newspapers.

With radio news bulletins there is no similar gap during which the reported situations cannot be located. That makes PERF freely available. We have seen that the language uses this freedom to ease the introduction of new past-time information.

NOTES

1. Some other works defining the essential PERF/PRET opposition in terms of temporal reference are Bryan (1936), Hall Partee (1973), Inoue (1979), McCawley (1971), McCoard (1978), Reichenbach (1947), and Tichý (1980). A detailed account of my own view of PERF and PRET is given in Elsness (1983).
2. I am grateful to the BBC for permission to use their news bulletins for this study.

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ARE TERMINOLOGIES SEMANTICALLY UNINTERESTING?

One of the chief proponents of structural lexo-semantics is Eugenio Coseriu, and the work he has done in this area is certainly admirable. However, some of the things he has said have met with opposition. For example, in describing his model of lexical fields he insists that everything belonging to terminology should be eliminated at the outset in structural lexicology. His argument is that it is essential to make a distinction between what belongs to linguistic meaning and what belongs to a knowledge of extralinguistic reality, and he then (in Coseriu and Geckeler 1974:140-42) continues as follows:

> The matter of technical vocabulary, of terminology, belongs in this framework. Technical vocabulary is simply a nomenclature and as such not structured on the basis of language but rather on the basis of extralinguistic reality, on the basis of the objects of the discipline in question. Terminology thus presents an objective classification constructed on logical, i.e. exclusive, distinctions: A/ Not-A; e.g. acid / base in chemistry. Linguistic oppositions, on the other hand, are very often inclusive:
>
> $\boxed{\boxed{\text{A}}\quad\text{Not-A}}$, e.g. $\boxed{\boxed{\text{Night}}\quad\text{Day}}$
>
> Since in technical usage the words are really the representatives of the 'objects', signification and designation coincide in this case whereas in the domain of the 'natural' language they must necessarily be separated....[1]

Another semanticist, Kurt Baldinger (1980:38) claims that what Coseriu is writing about represents an ideal which scientists and other users of terms try but often fail to uphold. In reality, he says, terminologies make use of ordinary language and many times cannot avoid its implication of polysemy, homonymy, etc.

Which one of these two semanticists is right? Is terminology, like ordinary vocabulary, semantically interesting or is it not? The aim of this paper is to show on the basis of a study of various terminologies (see References) that Baldinger is right and that Coseriu's statements in the above quotation are too sweeping. In fact, he establishes a boundary between terminology and ordinary vocabulary that does not exist in reality. What we have is rather a continuum (see fig. 1), where terminologies tend to be nearer to the left pole and ordinary language nearer to the right pole. Actually even Coseriu admits that a certain difference can be made between strict and popular terminologies. However, he explicitly (1973:17) excludes both types in his program for the structural investigation of vocabulary.

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[1] Coseriu's terms 'signification' and 'designation' correspond to Lyons' terms 'sense' and 'reference'.

Lexemes based strictly on extralinguistic reality
Lexemes based on purely linguistic structuring

Fig. 1. A continuum of lexemes.

I will now discuss the various points in the above quotation from Coseriu and Geckeler 1974 and in that connection also take up the semantic phenomena mentioned by Baldinger, i.e. polysemy, homonymy, etc.

Inclusive distinctions of the type where day can include night, as in I stayed three days in London, are usually called instances of distributional markedness since a particular form can be used both in a specific, marked, sense and in a more general, unmarked, sense (cf. Lyons 1977:305ff). Although such instances are more common in ordinary language, they are often found also in terminologies, especially such as are generally used by a large number of people. For example, in sports the term 'slalom' covers both 'slalom' in a narrow sense and 'giant slalom'. In my special investigation of the terminology of Scouting and Guiding (Jacobson, forthcoming) I have found a large number of such cases, as exemplified by the following list, where the underlined superordinate term to the left of the colon is unmarked in relation to one of the hyponyms enumerated to the right.

Unit: Pack, Troop, Unit
Post: Post, Ship
Guide: Brownie Guide, Guide, Ranger Guide.
Leader: Leader, Assistant Leader
Instructor: Instructor, Occasional Instructor
Den Chief: Den Chief, Webelos Den Chief

A specially complex case of markedness is shown by the term 'Scout' in the British Scout Association. See fig. 2.

Sometimes this type of markedness leads to confusion and has to be clarified by expressions like Den Chiefs (incl. Webelos Den Chiefs) or by printing the unmarked term in italics. However, it can also have the advantage of saving space, as when some American Scout books contain a note saying that in order to avoid needless repetition the term 'Post' includes 'Ship'.

Markedness is an arbitrary phenomenon, and we must not assume on the basis

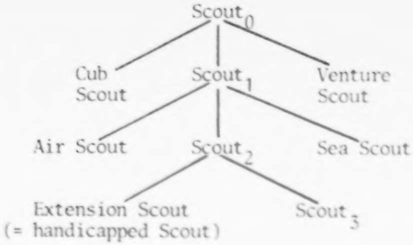

Fig. 2. Three levels at which the British term 'Scout' is used in a marked sense: at the age-group level Scout$_1$ is marked in relation to Scout$_0$, at the spatial program-type level Scout$_2$ is marked in relation to Scout$_1$, and at the physical and/or mental program-type level Scout$_3$ is marked in relation to Scout$_2$.

of the above list, according to which an Assistant Leader is a Leader, that an Assistant Den Chief is also a Den Chief, for this is not the case. Nor is, as will be further discussed later on, a Local Officer in the Salvation Army an Officer.

In the terminology of linguistics markedness is also very common, as illustrated by the following list:

Antonymy: antonymy, complementarity, converseness

Bilingualism: bilingualism, multilingualism

Syntax: syntax, morphology

Generative grammar: generative grammar (in the sense of the more explicit synonym 'Transformational generative grammar'), finite-state grammar, phrase-structure grammar

Lexical field: lexical field, terminological field

Lyons (1981:154-55) finds it difficult to give a straightforward account of oppositeness of sense because of the varying coverage of the key term 'antonymy', which can be both more general (it can also include non-binary contrast and more specific (as in Ljung 1974:84) than in the marked and unmarked senses given above. Lyons himself, however, explicitly creates a case of markedness when he says (1981:281), "henceforth I will use 'bilingualism' to cover multilingualism as well". Trampe-Viberg 1972 includes on p. 102 morphology within 'syntax' but nevertheless speaks on p. 136 of syntax and morphology as different levels of description.

In psychology, sociology, and philosophy there are cases of markedness like

Dextrality: dextrality, sinistrality

Libido: libido (= sexual impulse), other vital impulse

Polygamy: polygamy (synonymous with 'polygyny'), polyandry

Metaphysics: metaphysics (synonymous with 'ontology'), epistemology.

The unmarked term 'dextrality' is commented on as follows by Drever 1964: "sometimes used more generally for sidedness and even inclusive of sinistrality." This use can be due to ignorance of the etymology of the terms. The markedness of 'polygamy' is pointed out both by Mitchell 1968 and NID3.

When Coseriu gives *day* as an example showing that words can be inclusive in ordinary language but not in science, he has chosen an unfortunate case, for in meteorology a 'rain day' is defined as a period of 24 hours in which at least 0.2 mm rain is recorded, and in astronomy a 'solar day' also comprises 24 hours. Moreover, each of the two terms 'acid' and 'base' that he adduces to show that scientific lexemes are exclusive can be used in both an unmarked and a marked sense. In their unmarked sense 'acid' and 'base' cover both compound molecules and ions. In their marked sense the terms refer only to compound molecules.

In physics 'electron' denotes a negatively charged particle but Collocott-Dobson 1974 says that "the term electron is sometimes used generically to cover both electrons and positrons". In the ISO Nuclear Energy Glossary 1972 (International Standard 921) a similar statement is made. Since this markedness can lead to confusion, the term 'negatron' has been introduced as a synonym of 'electron' in the marked sense. In engineering a 'ball race' denotes the inner or outer steel ring of a ball-bearing. However, it is often used in an unmarked sense for the whole ball-bearing. In statistics 'average' is usually synonymous with 'arithmetic mean' but is sometimes used in an unmarked sense to cover also 'mode' and 'median'. Finally, in medicine 'cortex' has an unmarked sense where it refers to the outer layer of any organ and a marked sense where it is used only about the outer layer of grey matter of the brain.

Markedness is in some cases due to different opinions as to whether two terms are synonymous or whether one is a hyponym of the other. For example, the semantic term 'antonymy' is in the unmarked sense in the list given above a synonym of 'oppositeness of sense' but a hyponym of the latter in the marked sense. Markedness can also be a way of avoiding a lexical gap. For example, a terminological field is a type of lexical field since it consists of lexemes. However, there is no special term for a lexical field consisting of ordinary lexemes, and to cover this meaning 'lexical field' is used in a marked sense, e.g. by Coseriu, who recognizes that terminological fields could be set up but excludes them in his own lexicology (Coseriu and Geckeler 1974:151). A lexical gap can also be filled by a term in an unmarked sense. This is, for example, the case when Lyons introduces the superordinate term 'bilingualism' to cover both bilingualism and multilingualism.

Distributional markedness (as opposed to formal markedness in the form of modifiers or affixes) only occurs where the context clearly shows the meaning and is therefore avoided in cases where the marked and unmarked terms co-occur. Here instead it is common to insert temporary modifiers like *other* and *ordinary*, as in the combination *terminological fields and other lexical fields*. It should be noted that *other lexical fields* is not a term since it is not conventionalized and therefore does not occur as a dictionary entry. An example of a missing superordinate term not filled by an unmarked term occurs in the Salvation Army where there is no single term which covers both 'Officer' and 'Local Officer'. Instead the two terms are usually coordinated, as in Barnes 1981:14. This is also the normal way of treating the absence of a superordinate term for, for example, 'bilingualism' and 'multilingualism'.

Coseriu also claims in the quotation at the beginning of this paper that in technical usage the words are really the representatives of objects and that therefore sense and reference coincide. First of all it must here be pointed out that terms are not always secondary in relation to objects since terms can create objects. For example, J. Larochette (in Coseriu 1973:82-83) claims that every new definition of a phoneme creates a new object. Secondly, Coseriu forgets or ignores the fact that many terms have synonyms and that the relation between synonyms is one of sense not of reference, i.e. we have here cases of purely linguistic structuring. See fig. 3, which depicts the relationship between a particular machine and the two synonymous terms 'whizzer' and 'hydroextractor' used for it in engineering.

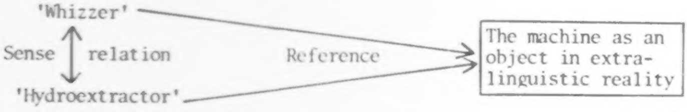

Fig. 3. Relations of sense and reference

Like other synonymous terms 'whizzer' and 'hydroextractor' have the same descriptive (or cognitive) meaning, but besides this 'whizzer' has an expressive meaning which is not present in its synonym. Moreover, if we use an intensional approach and list the set of essential properties that determine the applicability of the terms (cf. Lyons 1977:158-59), it appears that 'whizzer' explicitly mentions only an inessential property, while all the others, especially the property of extracting water, are left implicit.

Synonyms can also differ in other ways as regards explicit description of the properties of the referent. For example, both of the two linguistic synonyms 'stop' and 'plosive' refer to a particular group of phonemes, but each of them describes only part of the articulatory process by which this group is formed. 'Stop' explicitly mentions only the first phase when the air-stream is blocked and 'plosive' only the second when it is released in a way resembling an explosion.

This type of intensional approach to synonymy has been given very little attention by semanticists. Its resemblance to the stylistic phenomenon called 'synechdoche' (= part for whole, e.g. *sail* = "ship") is obvious. Here are some further examples of synonymous terms mentioning different parts or aspects of a whole.

(1) Scouting	
(a) Scout Leader (b) Troop Leader	Both (a) and (b) refer to a leader of a *Troop* of *Scouts*.
(2) Psychology	
(a) 'wabbit' phenomenon (b) 'fis' phenomenon	Both (a) and (b) refer to a child's refusal to accept an adult's imitation of its own mispronunciation, which is exemplified by an attempt to say *rabbit* in (a) and *fish* in (b).
(3) Linguistics	
(a) Phrase-structure rule (b) Rewrite rule (c) Base rule	(a) describes *what* the rule applies to, (b) *how* it is performed, and (c) *where* it is applied.
(4) Commerce	
(a) Landing officer (b) Land(ing) waiter (c) Searcher	The reference is to a Customs official. While (a) and (b) together describe him as an officer attending to the landing of goods, (c) describes him as one who examines carefully.
(5) Electrical engineering	
(a) Contact breaker (b) Circuit breaker	When as (a) describes the contact is broken, then what (b) says follows, namely that the circuit is broken.
(6) Printing	
(a) Hectographic printing (b) Gelatin printing	While (a) says that 100 copies may be expected, (b) mentions the material used.
(7) Building	
(a) hip iron (c) hip hook	While (a) mentions the material, (b) describes the form.

(8) Physics

(a) E-layer
(b) Heaviside layer

(a) describes the layer as electric, while
(b) names one of its discoverers.

An interesting difference is exhibited by the synonyms 'column binary' and 'Chinese binary' in computer terminology. What the former says in a direct way, the latter says indirectly since Chinese symbols are read in columns.

Variation also occurs in the degrees of synonymy shown by terms. Lyons 1981:148-49 distinguishes between

(a) absolute synonymy (the same distribution and the same descriptive, expressive, and social meaning in all contexts),

(b) complete synonymy (the same descriptive, expressive, and social meaning in certain contexts),

(c) descriptive synonymy (the same descriptive meaning in certain contexts).

The first two of these types are more often to be found in terminologies than in ordinary language. Since the line between absolute and complete synonymy can hardly be drawn without comprehensive investigations of texts, the following examples are given without making a distinction between the two types: in sciences like linguistics 'cline' and 'continuum', in psychology 'biopsychics' and 'psychobiology', in nuclear engineering 'rheotron' and 'betatron' for a type of accelerator, in mathematics 'adjoint' and 'adjugate' for a square matrix where each element is replaced by its cofactor, and in medicine 'monozygotic' and 'uniovular' twins for what are called 'identical' twins in ordinary language.

Some synonyms have a transparent, others an opaque sense (cf. Ullmann 1964, Ch. 4). For example, while it is quite clear what 'nightblindedness' and 'dayblindedness' mean, the synonymous, more "learned", terms 'nyctalopia' and 'hemeralopia' are often confused with each other, even in encyclopedias, e.g. Eysenck et al. 1972.

In some cases opinions vary as to whether two terms are synonymous or cohyponyms differing in sense. For example, the mathematical terms 'regular function' and 'analytic function' can both refer to a function of a complex variable differentiable at all points, but 'analytic function' is sometimes used to refer to a function of a complex variable differentiable in all except a finite number of points. Similarly, 'ice-cap' is regarded by some geographers as synonymous with 'ice sheet' and by others considered to apply only to smaller masses of ice and snow.

Markedness and synonymy are not the only areas in which interesting things can be said about the semantic relations of terms. The same term can refer to different objects or events in extralinguistic reality and we then speak of homonymy or polysemy. The difference between homonymous and polysemous terms is that the former have unrelated and the latter related meanings. Homonymous terms are rare, one example being 'temporal', which can refer either to time or to location at the temples (sides of the brow). Since these homonyms are used in different sciences, they are hardly likely to cause confusion. Unlike homonymous terms, polysemous terms are very frequent. The most common type of polysemy is when the same term is used in specific senses in different terminologies. For example, 'assimilation' has developed specific senses in sociology, physiology, psychology, and phonetics. Similarly, 'activator' has specific senses in bacteriology, biochemistry, mineral processing, physics, and zoology. Polysemy in the same field may be exemplified by 'active materials', which is ambiguous in the science of electricity and electronics between "essential materials required for the functioning of a device" and "all types of radioactive materials".

In the terminology of Scouting some interesting cases of structural ambiguity in compound terms can be found. Thus 'Boy Scout Leader' can denote either a Scout Leader who is a boy or a leader of Boy Scouts. Here disambiguation takes place in the pronunciation since in the first case one says "Boy Scoutleader", in the second "Boyscout Leader". However, the term 'Explorer Leader' is pronounced the same way whether it means "a leader who is an Explorer" or " a leader of Explorers".

One difference between terms and ordinary lexemes is that a very large percentage of all terms are phrasal. Lyons 1977:545ff discusses some cases where in ordinary language the meaning of the modifier or the head of a phrasal lexeme has no influence on the meaning of the whole. For instance, in British English 'public school' actually refers to a private school, and 'public house' is not a hyponym of 'house'. Similar cases can be found in terminologies. For example, the term 'Boy Scout' is easily taken by outsiders to apply to all the boys who are members of the Boy Scouts of America. However, this is wrong for it only applies to one age-group and not, for example, to younger members like the Cub Scouts, although these are also boys. This illogicality can be explained on historical grounds. Originally the Boy Scouts of America had only the age-group now called 'Boy Scouts' and when other age-groups were added it simply retained its name. Moreover, the term 'Senior Patrol Leader' is misleading since the boy who holds the position it denotes is not a patrol leader but the key junior leader at the troop level. This term, again, has an historical explanation. In the early days of Scouting one of the older patrol leaders was chosen for this position and for a time combined his work at the troop level with that of being a patrol leader. Retention of an originally appropriate term also explains why theatres and concert-halls can have a 'greenroom' that is not painted green. In mineralogy the term 'black opal' includes all opals of dark taint, even the fine Australian 'black opal', which is actually blue. Similarly, in metereology what is called 'black frost' is seldom really black since it is simply an air frost with no deposit of hoar frost. The wood that in forestry is called 'Cuban mahogany' comes not only from the West Indies but also from Florida and the cotton that in the textile industry is termed 'China Cotton' is not grown only in China but also in Thailand. In chemistry the term 'dry ice' does not refer to ice but to frozen carbon dioxide, and though the materials called 'plastics' are only plastic under heat and pressure, they retain their name also in other cases.

What is included under a superordinate term is sometimes arbitrary, depending totally on definition. For example, in the Salvation Army a Corps Officer is an officer, i.e. one who is employed in full-time service, but a Local Officer is not an officer since he or she is an unpaid volunteer (Salvation Army Year Book 1981:32-33). Moreover, if we had expected terminologies to render part-whole relations explicitly, then British Scouting would have used the terms 'Patrol Leader', 'Troop Leader', and 'Group Leader' for the leaders in charge of various units since a patrol is part of a troop and a troop is part of a group. However, the actual terms are 'Patrol Leader', 'Scout Leader', and 'Group Scout Leader'.

According to other statements by Coseriu ordinary language does not only choose distinctions which coincide with boundaries or relations in extralinguistic reality but also establishes boundaries and relations which do not exist there, i.e. human interpretation of reality imposes, via language, its own structuring on reality (Coseriu and Geckeler 1974:142). Though this is less common in terminologies, examples can certainly be found there too. For example, we can set up a continuum of such objects as 'boulder' - 'cobble' - 'pebble'. In ordinary language people give each of these a prototypical sense, i.e. they have a good conception of what is a typical boulder, cobble, or pebble, but hesitate as regards borderline cases (cf. Lyons 1981: 316). In geology the vagueness has been replaced by specification of diameters. However, the linguistic nature of this specification appears from the fact that one system of classification distinguishes only between boulders and pebbles and sets the line at 100 mm, whereas another recognizes boulders, cobbles, and pebbles and sets the lines at, respectively, 256 mm and 64 mm (Collocott-Dobson 1974). Lower down the same continuum 'gravel', 'sand', 'silt', and 'clay' are distinguished, and here too, the borderlines differ. For instance, what is called 'sand' in one system is partly covered by what is called 'coarse silt' in the other. This may be compared with the different ways into which the colour spectrum is divided up by different languages. In child psychology, there is no agreement as regards the line between the main periods into which childhood can be divided. The first period is called 'infancy' and the second 'childhood proper' or 'childhood' (in a marked sense). This second period is said by some to begin with the onset of speech about the age of 1, by others with the beginning of the first defiance period at the age of 3 to 4 (Eysenck et al. 1972). Drever 1964 refers to no such change in a child's development, i.e. in extralinguistic reality, but simply states that infancy is "usually taken to cover the first two years of life".

Relationships like big/little, which according to Coseriu do not as such exist in extralinguistic reality, are established not only in ordinary language but also to some extent in terminologies. This may be exemplified by the following prefix pairs, which also illustrate that not only synonyms but also antonyms are frequent in terminologies:

macro-/micro- (= big/little), e.g. 'macrocosmos', 'microcosmos';
eu-/dys- (= good/bad), e.g. 'euphoria', 'dysphoria';
poly-/oligo- (= many/few), e.g. 'polypod', 'oligopod';
neo-/paleo- (= new/old), e.g. 'neolithic', 'paleolithic';
hyper-/hypo- (= too much/too little), e.g. 'hyperacidity', 'hypoacidity'.

I hope that this paper has shown that terminologies are far from semantically uninteresting but offer the linguist many noteworthy phenomena to analyze and classify. It is very essential in my opinion that linguists are invited to take an active part in discussions on the introduction or change of terms in various areas of science and culture. A prerequisite for that is of course that linguists do not by self-imposed restrictions cut themselves off from research within this important sector of vocabulary.

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`A WHOLLY BREATH-TAKING CHANGE OF SUBSTANCE EFFECTED BY A FORM OF WORDS´: AN ANATOMY OF SECULAR, DOCTRINAL AND SUPERNATURAL ILLOCUTIONARY ACTS.

1. INTRODUCTION.

In this paper I will examine the class of Declarations in Searle´s (1976) system for classification of illocutionary acts. In particular, I will argue that some of the acts which Searle includes in this class do not really fit the definition of the class but have to be reclassified, some as Representatives within Searle´s classification system, others as Spells, a new class of illocutionary acts which I find it necessary to introduce. I will endeavour to justify the introduction of this class by showing that it is needed for a correct analysis of certain uses of language in religious rituals as well as in certain types of literature. I will conclude by examining a few illocutionary acts in some detail, acts which were either ignored or incorrectly analysed by Searle.

2. DECLARATIONS AND REPRESENTATIVES.

Searle´s (1976:8) criticism of Austin´s system for classification of illocutionary acts on the grounds of `a great deal of heterogeneity within some of the categories´ is equally applicable to his own class of Declarations. According to Searle (1976: 15, 20), (1) - (6) are examples of Declarations.

(1) I now pronounce you man and wife.
(2) I declare the meeting adjourned.
(3) I resign.
(4) I excommunicate you.
(5) You´re fired.
(6) Let there be light. (uttered by God)

These examples are all classified by Searle as Declarations because they `bring about some alternation in the status or condition of the referred-to object or objects solely by virtue of the fact that the declaration has been successfully performed´ (1976:14). Additional examples of the same type are (7) - (9):

(7) I divorce you. (uttered by a Moslem)

(8) This is my body. (i.e. the body of Christ; uttered by a priest consecrating the Host)

(9) The paper is now open for discussion. (uttered by a chairman at a linguistics conference)

However, a brief consideration of the nature of Declarations will show that not all of the examples given above will pass muster as members of this class. A Declaration is an illocutionary act, the successful performance of which brings about a transition (t) from one state of affairs (s_1) to another (s_2). For example, the utterance of (3) as a successful Declaration brings about a transition from the state of employment to the state of non-employment; similarly, (7), used as a successful Declaration, brings about a transition from the state of being married to the state of not being married. But, as Searle points out (1976:14), the typical Declaration is performed within the framework of an extralinguistic (social) institution, such as the Church, the Law, a capitalist employment system, etc. This means that s_1 and s_2 have the status of facts only within the framework of the relevant institution; they are, in other words, institutional facts, as opposed to brute facts (Searle 1969:53-4). Someone who does not acknowledge the existence of the institution will not recognise them as facts.

The successful performance of a Declaration thus changes one institutional fact into a different institutional fact. It is not possible to use a Declaration for alchemical purposes to change the brute fact of lead into the brute fact of gold. Note that even the acts of naming, defining, etc., which according to Searle (1976:14-15) require no extralinguistic institutions, are still concerned with institutional facts: naming does not change brute facts in the real world, as Juliet realised (10).

(10) What´s in a name? That which we call a rose
By any other name would smell as sweet. (*Romeo and Juliet* II.ii.43-4;
Shakespeare 1980:129)

We can recognise two different expression types used in utterances for the performance of Declarations. In the first type there is a verb which in its meaning encapsulates both s_1 and s_2, as well as the transition between them, such as *excommunicate*, *divorce*, or *resign*. In the second type the verb, e.g. *pronounce* or *declare*, denotes only the act of performing the Declaration, which brings about the transition; s_2 is referred to by the complement(s) of the verb, as in (1) and (2).

Examples like (5), (8), and (9), however, should be analysed not as Declarations, but as Representatives referring to the state of affairs following the transition (s_2). Nevertheless, (5) can be used to bring about a transition from the state of employment to the state of non-employment, just like (3). I would suggest that this pragmatic function of the Representative arises as a conversational implicature: in a situation where s_1 has so far been current, where the speaker is recognised as being in a position to bring about the transition from s_1 to s_2, and where all other conditions governing this particular transition are satisfied, a hearer must recognise the transition as taking place in order to make his interpretation of the utterance (in which the speaker, after all, claims that s_2 is the current state of affairs) consistent with his expectation that the speaker observes Grice´s first maxim in the category of Quality (`Do not say what you believe to be false´; Grice 1975:46).

The approach I suggest here would account for the different possible functions of utterances of this type. If (9) is uttered by the chairman at a linguistics conference after a speaker has just finished the presentation of his paper, then the hearers will immediately regard it as bringing about a transition to the state of affairs referred to in the utterance, since the chairman is the right person to bring about the transition, the moment is right, etc. In a situation like this, the Declaration implicature is one that does not have to be calculated by the hearers - to use Morgan´s term (1978:274), it is short-circuited.

If, on the other hand, Professor A a few seconds later whispers (9) to Professor B, who has been nodding for the last couple of minutes, then the utterance will function only as a Representative with no additional Declaration implicature, since Professor B knows that Professor A, not being the chairman of the session, is not in a position to bring about the transition: Professor B has to accept the fact that the moment of transition has gone by, unheeded by him.

Representatives with short-circuited Declaration implicatures are used by children from an early age in games of make-believe, as in (11), where *this* refers to the sofa that speaker and addressee are sitting on.

(11) This is the train to Stockholm.

The utterance will be regarded as functioning pragmatically as a Declaration only by someone who accepts the extralinguistic institution of the game; the institutional fact that is changed is the participants' categorisation of the referent of *this*. To anyone who does not enter into the spirit of the game, (11) will just be an untrue Representative.

The same kind of exploitation of Representatives can be found in the performance of plays; (12), from *Twelfth Night*, is a good example of this.

(12) Viola: - What country, friends, is this?
Captain: This is Illyria, lady. (1.ii.1-2; Shakespeare 1975:8)

On one level - in the fictional discourse between the characters in the play - the captain's answer to Viola's question is a Representative and no more. On another level, however - in the communication between actors and audience - the Representative carries a Declaration implicature. Within the framework of the social institution of the theatre performance this implicature makes the audience accept the identification of the stage with Illyria; it can thus be used instead of elaborate stage property, as pointed out by Frykman and Kjellmer (1969:56).

Example (8), uttered by a priest with reference to the bread used for the Eucharist, can be regarded as an example of the same type. By anyone who does not believe in the doctrine of transubstantiation the utterance will be seen as not changing the brute fact of 'breadness', but only the institutional fact of the congregation's categorisation of the referent of *this*: instead of categorising it as 'bread' (although they know that it still is bread, just like the sofa in (11) is a sofa and the stage in (12) is a stage), they will categorise it as 'the body of Christ'. In other words, the bread will be regarded as a SYMBOL of the body of Christ; this was actually the position taken by Zwingli, the Swiss reformer (Koch and Munk Plum 1943:286). For a Catholic, who believes in the doctrine of transubstantiation (Koch and Munk Plum 1943:286), the utterance will carry a different implicature: the change will be seen as one of brute facts (changing the substance of the bread, although not its appearance), and the utterance will function as a Spell (see section 3 below).

The analysis proposed here brings out the correspondence between syntactic form and illocutionary act more clearly than does Searle´s. Thus (5), (8), (9), (11), and (12) are always analysed as Representatives, regardless when and by whom they are uttered; only if the circumstances are right will the Declaration function arise as a conversational implicature.

3. SPELLS.

As was suggested in section 2 above, it is necessary to make a distinction between such illocutionary acts as bring about a change in institutional facts, Declarations, and such illocutionary acts as bring about a change in brute facts, Spells. To a sceptical mind it may seem objectionable to treat Spells as a reality, but it cannot be denied that they play a vital role in certain religious contexts. The importance attached to them throughout the centuries, by adherents as well as by opponents, is borne out by the persecution of heretics and the many wars fought over such matters as the doctrine of transubstantiation. A recognition of Declarations and Spells as different classes of illocutionary acts will thus be essential to an understanding of some important issues in European history; it will also provide a useful tool for the analysis of certain works of literature, as will be shown below.

Many utterances which function situationally as Spells are strictly speaking Representatives which carry a Spell implicature if the circumstances are right; in this respect Spells are no different from Declarations. In this section only the function of the utterances will be taken into account, since the distinction between Spells and Representatives with Spell function is not relevant to a discussion of the differences between Spells and Declarations. In a complete analysis of Spells that distinction will have to taken into account, of course.

As was pointed out above, example (8) is seen as functioning as a Spell in the Catholic Church. According to the doctrine of transubstantiation, as formulated by Radbertus Paschasius (d. 865), `the substance of the Bread and Wine is efficaciously changed interiorly into the Flesh and Blood of Christ´ (*Enc. Brit.* 22.416). Only the outward appearance of bread and wine remain, partly not to frighten the worshippers, partly to test their faith (Koch and Munk Plum 1943:285). According to the author of the *Ancrene Riwle* the change of substance is real, but the appearance of bread is retained since the eyes of the communicants could not endure the sight of the Lord: `... eueriche deie he cumeð forð. ⁊ scheaweð him to ou flesliche ⁊ licamliche iðe messe. biwrien þauh in oðres likeˀ under breades heouwe. vor in his owune heowe. vre eien ne muhten nout ðe brihte sihðeˀ iþo-lien.´ (Cotton MS. Nero A.xiv f. 70^{V}; Day 1952:117/21-4). The change is thus seen as one of brute facts, and not of institutional facts: the utterance functions as a Spell.

It must be noted here that the classification of (8) depends on the particular religious doctrine one adheres to: to a Catholic it is a Spell, to a Protestant, on the other hand, it is a Declaration. I will therefore use the term Doctrinal Spell (DoS) to refer to this type of Spell.

The ambivalence in the status of (8) plays a central part in some of George Mackay Brown´s works. In the short story *A Treading of Grapes* he contrasts the Catholic position, as expressed in a sermon on the wedding at Cana preached by Father Halcrow, a 16th-century priest in Stromness (13), with the non-committal Presbyterian attitude, as expressed in a sermon on the same text preached by Father Halcrow´s 18th-century successor, the Rev. Dr. Thomas Fortheringhame (14).

(13) *What wedding?* you ask, *we know of no wedding.* I answer, *the marriage of Christ with His Church. And where will this marriage be?* you ask. *Everywhere*, I answer, *but in particular, lords and princes, in this small kirk beside the sea where you sit. And when is it to be, this wedding?* you ask me. *Always*, I answer, *but in particular within this hour, now, at the very moment when I bow over this bread of your offering, the food, princes and lords, that you have won with such hard toil from the furrows, at once when I utter upon it five words* HIC EST ENIM CORPUS MEUM. Then is Christ the King come once again to his people, as truly as he was present at the marriage in Cana, ... (Brown 1969:74)

(14) `This is my body,´ he said, and then, `This is my blood´ - a most strange and mystifying comparison indeed, that the papists would have us believe to be a literal and real and wholly breath-taking change of substance effected by a form of words. Whatever it means, brethren - and our General Assembly has not and doubtless will not bind you to any infallible conclusions as to the significance of these utterances - whatever it means, it teaches us a terrible reverence for the things we put in our mouths to nourish us, whether it is the laird´s grouse and claret or the limpets that Sam of the Shore eats with cold water out of the well in the lean days of March. (Brown 1969:68-9)

In a different story (*Master Halcrow, Priest*) Father Halcrow is shown to be aware of the difference between the Catholic doctrine and the Protestant point of view at the time of the Scottish reformation:

(15) What might such men do to the Bread of Heaven, seeing that for them now it was no longer the Body of Our Lord but mortal bread over which five invalid words had been uttered? (Brown 1967:133)

Two other Spells (according to Catholic doctrine) are the consecration of bishops and the ordination of priests: `Consecration ... effects an intimate transformation in the essence of the object, and ... is permanent and can be neither revoked nor repeated.´ (*Enc. Brit.* 6.376); `Roman Catholic theology accounts ordination a sacrament essential to the church and the bestowal of an unrepeatable, indelible character upon the persons ordained.´ (*Enc. Brit.* 16.869). In the eyes of the Scottish reformers, on the other hand, consecration and ordination were on a par with the appointment of secretaries and sheriffs - in other words, they were Declarations, which only affected institutional facts and thus could be revoked. It is the clash between these points of view that leaves Father Halcrow perplexed; the bishop, for his part, is enough of a pragmatist to transfer his allegiance to the new church:

(16) `The priesthood abolished?´ I said. `This is droll talk. I was told at the time of my first becoming a priest that I was a priest forever in the stream of the apostolic succession, and can any men of the temporality take this title from me? This was never told me before, your grace, either by you or by your predecessor that ordained me, may God keep his soul in peace.´

The bishop´s face was a total flush from brow to chin. `You must not call me "your grace" any more,´ he said in a low voice. `I am no more a bishop. Things are thus in Scotland now. We cannot alter it. They are powerful and angry men that rule in the land.´

There was silence between us then for a little while.

....

I then asked the bishop what he himself would do, now that the wolf was in the sheepfold and the ravening had begun.

`I am not brave enough to be a martyr,´ he said curtly. `Tell me, Master Halcrow, what will you do?´

I said that I did not know. Here I was and here like enough I would sit until God´s will in the matter was made plain.

(Brown 1967:128-9)

A second category of Spells, apart from the doctrinal ones discussed above, may be termed Supernatural Spells (SuS). A good example is (6) above, about which Searle says (1976:15), `When God says "Let there be light" that is a declaration.´ But the darkness preceding, and the light following, God´s utterance can only be regarded as brute facts, and not as institutional facts. Thus the utterance functions as a Spell, and not as a Declaration.

Spells of this kind abound in the literary genre known as Fantasy, in works such as Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*, Donaldson's Thomas Covenant trilogy, and LeGuin's Earthsea trilogy, to mention but a few of the best known. In such works the authors depict worlds in which physical laws can be suspended and manipulated at will by specially gifted men and women (wizards, witches, etc.); speech acts can there bring about indisputable changes of brute facts. A few examples from *The Lord of the Rings* and *A Wizard of Earthsea* will suffice to illustrate this kind of Spell.

(17) He raised his hand, and spoke slowly in a clear cold voice. 'Saruman, your staff is broken.' There was a crack, and the staff split asunder in Saruman's hand, and the head of it fell down at Gandalf's feet. (Tolkien 1968:607)

(18) The young dragon made no answer. ... Straight at Ged in the small rocking boat he came, opening his long, toothed jaws as he slid down arrowy from the air: so that all that Ged had to do was bind his wings and limbs stiff with one sharp spell and send him thus hurtling aside into the sea like a stone falling. And the grey sea closed over him. (LeGuin 1977:87)

(19) '... I am the Lord of the Stone, and this I do to the disloyal wife: *Ekavroe ai oelwantar* -' It was a spell of Changing, and Benderesk's long hands were raised to shape the cowering woman into some hideous thing, swine or dog or drivelling hag. Ged stepped forward and struck the lord's hands down with his own, saying as he did so only one short word. And though he had no staff, and stood on alien ground and evil ground, the domain of a dark power, yet his will prevailed. Benderesk stood still, his clouded eyes fixed hateful and unseeing upon Serret.

....

Seizing Ged's hand Serret ran with him through the passages and halls, down the long twisted stairs. They came out into the courtyard where a last silvery daylight still hung above the soiled, trodden snow. Three of the castle-servants barred their way, sullen and questioning, as if they had been suspecting some plot of these two against their master. 'It grows dark, Lady,' one said, and another, 'You cannot ride out now.'

'Out of my way, filth!' Serret cried, and spoke in the sibilant Osskilian speech. The men fell back from her and crouched down on the ground, writhing, and one of them cried aloud.

....

She tugged at his hand, yet he hesitated. 'What spell did you set on them?'

'I ran hot lead in the marrow of their bones, they will die of it. Quick, I tell you he will loose the Servants of the Stone, and I cannot find the gate - there is a great charm set on it. Quick!'

....

'Change yourself! Change yourself, they are coming!' Serret shrieked, seizing his arm and pointing to the tower that stood behind them like a tall white tooth in the dusk. From slit windows near its base dark creatures were creeping forth, flapping long wings, slowly beating and circling up over the wall towards Ged and Serret where they stood on the hillside, unprotected. ...

Anger welled up in Ged's heart, a hot rage against all the cruel

> deathly things that tricked him, trapped him, hunted him down. `Change yourself!´ Serret screamed at him, and she with a quick-gasped spell shrank into a grey gull, and flew. But Ged stooped and plucked a blade of wild grass that poked up dry and frail out of the snow where the otak had lain dead. This blade he held up, and as he spoke aloud to it in the True Speech it lengthened, and thickened, and when he was done he held a great staff, a wizard´s staff, in his hand. (LeGuin 1977:120-2)

Spell upon Spell in rapid succession - these passages certainly make lively reading (if you care for that type of literature), but they also show clearly the difference between Doctrinal and Supernatural Spells. In Middle-earth and in Earthsea the effects of the utterances are not a matter of belief or opinion: Saruman´s staff actually breaks in two, the dragon actually falls into the sea, the servants actually die of the hot lead in the marrow of their bones, the witch actually turns into a gull and the blade of grass into a great staff.

It should be obvious by now that an extension of speech act theory to the analysis of the language of religious rituals and the magical use of speech in works of Fantasy requires the recognition of Spells as a separate class of illocutionary acts, distinct from Declarations. In the following section a few illocutionary acts will be discussed in the light of this distinction.

4. THREE ACTS ANATOMISED.

4.1. Confess.

Confess is a Representative: the speaker represents her/himself as having done something which (s)he should not have done. What the speaker has done is something shameful, immoral, illegal, or, in religious confession, a sin. As is the case with other Representatives, *confess* does not require that the speaker should have some special status: anyone can confess. The sincerity condition of Representatives - belief in the truth of the asserted proposition - leads to the possibility of false confession, something which spiritual guidebooks such as the *Ancrene Riwle* warn against: `Schrift ouh forte beon soð. ne lih þu nout oþi sulf. vor ase seint austin seið. Qui causa humilitatis men-titur. fit quod prius ipse non fuit. id est peccator. þe þet lihð on him sulf þuruh to muchel edmodnesse. he is i maked sunful: þauh he er nere.´ (Cotton MS. Nero A.xiv f. 92; Day 1952:152/16-20). In other words, an exaggerated account of your sins is just as bad as an incomplete account.

The illocutionary act *confess* can be represented formally as

$$\vdash\downarrow B(\text{S has done A; A is a sin}).$$

4.2. Excommunicate.

Excommunicate is correctly classified by Searle as a Declaration, but he errs in his account of the resulting state of affairs (s_2). Example (4) is analysed by Searle (1976:21) as \`I declare + Your membership in the church is terminated´. As a matter of fact, excommunication \`is defined by canon law as "a censure by which someone is excluded from the communion of the faithful" but not from membership in the church as such.´ (*Enc. Brit.* 8.948).

The character of Declaration is apparent in several ways:

a) the act takes place in a special non-linguistic framework: only members of the Catholic Church can be excommunicated;

b) the act can be successfully performed only by a specially appointed speaker;

c) unlike Spells, such as the ordination of priests and the consecration of bishops, the act can be revoked: \`If an excommunicated person confesses his sin and undergoes penance for it, he is absolved´ (*Enc. Brit.* 8.949), i.e. he is readmitted to the communion of the faithful.

The illocutionary act *excommunicate* can be represented formally as

$$D\updownarrow\emptyset(s_2\text{: H is excluded from the communion of the faithful}).$$

4.3. Forgive.

Forgive is, curiously enough, not mentioned at all by Searle. Like *warn*, which can be either a Representative or a Directive (Searle 1976:22), and *swear*, which can be either a Representative or a Commissive (Searle 1976: 7, 10), *forgive* can be shown to belong to different classes of illocutionary acts. A primary distinction can be made between religious forgiving (*forgive*$_{\text{rel}}$), which is synonymous with *absolve* (20 a-d), and secular forgiving (*forgive*$_{\text{sec}}$), as in (21 a-b).

(20) a. I forgive you all your sins. (Anglican/Lutheran; *Enc. Brit.* 1.51)
b. I forgive thee thy sins in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. Amen. Go in peace. (Early Lutheran; *Enc. Brit.* 6.291)
c. I absolve thee from thy sins in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. (Roman Catholic; *Enc. Brit.* 1.51)
d. I absolve thee from all thy sins, In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. (Anglican; *The Book of Common Prayer* 1842, The order for the Visitation of the Sick)

(21) a. I lent you that £2.50 a month ago; I forgive you the 50p, but I want my £2 back.
b. \`You're too impatient. Let's just be engaged for a few months.'
...
\`No. That's not enough. You know it too, but I forgive you because you don't realise what it means to me. We must be married, Mollie.' (LOB P13 99; for further information, see Johansson 1978)

Religious forgiving and absolution release the sinner from the guilt of sin, i.e. bring about a transition from the state of sinfulness (s_1) to the state of freedom from sin (s_2). By the believer these acts are seen as Doctrinal Spells, since they affect not only the sinner's relations with the Church (institutional facts), but also his relations with God (brute facts), according to Math. xviii.18; \`Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' Like other Doctrinal Spells, such as ordination and consecration, the acts of religious forgiving and absolution are irrevocable; although the absolved sinner can commit new sins and thus again enter into the the state of sinfulness, he can never again be made guilty of the particular sins he has been absolved from. A non-believer, by contrast, will regard *forgive*$_{rel}$ and *absolve* as Declarations, which affect only institutional facts, viz. the sinner's relations with the Church.

Forgive$_{sec}$ can be either a Declaration or a Commissive: if I forgive someone's debt to me, as in (21 a), I perform an illocutionary act which cancels the debt, i.e. a Declaration. If, on the other hand, I forgive someone for her/his reprehensible conduct, as in (21 b), the act is a Commissive: I commit myself to harbouring no further resentment for what (s)he has done. In its use as a Commissive, secular forgiving is as prone to insincerity as is promising: if I say \`I forgive you' but nevertheless do not intend to bury my resentment, then I am being insincere. Non-fulfilment, one of Austin's (1975:18) infelicities, is also possible: if I am sincere at the time I perform the act of forgiving but later on resurrect my resentment, then the act suffers from non-fulfilment.

The different kinds of forgiving can be represented formally thus:

forgive$_{\text{rel}}$: D↕ø(s_2: H is free from the guilt of sin)
or DoS↕ø(s_2: H is free from the guilt of sin)

forgive$_{\text{sec}}$: D↕ø(s_2: H's debt to S is cancelled)
or C↑I(S will not resent past act A done by H).

5. CONCLUSION.

I have argued in this paper for a reclassification of some acts in Searle's class of Declarations as well as for the introduction of a new class of illocutionary acts, viz. Spells. As figure 1 shows, four different types of overlap are possible between the classes of Declarations, Representatives, and Spells:

1. Illocutionary acts which are either Declarations or Doctrinal Spells, such as (20 a-d);
2. Representatives with D/DoS function, such as (8);
3. Representatives with D function, such as (9);
4. Representatives with SuS function, such as (17).

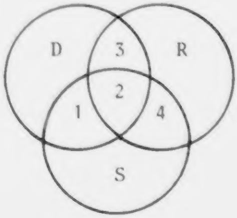

Figure 1. The relationship between Declarations, Representatives, and Spells.

It is my contention that only if we recognise these three classes of illocutionary acts, and the interrelations between them, can we use speech act theory to make an adequate analysis of liturgical language and the use of language in works of Fantasy.

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COHESION AND COHERENCE IN SHORT EXPOSITORY ESSAYS

The title refers to a larger investigation of which the following report is only a very small part. As the report is on work in progress it raises questions rather than suggests solutions, though I hope to present some approaches that may turn out useful in due course.

AIMS

The piece of research I am going to describe was inspired by frustation with the poor quality of English essays written by students on the tertiary level, the lack of comprehensive models for diagnosing their problems, and the shortcomings of present methods of remedial teaching. What we need is a model for spotting and describing difficulties students have with text structuring, and especially with cohesion and coherence. Most of these difficulties can be detected fairly quickly by intuition, but it is far more complicated to pinpoint the reasons for these intuitions, and to make them explicit. This is where the text-linguistic approach should become useful, because one of the basic tasks of text-linguistics is to define criteria of textual well-formedness above sentence level for different text types. A major problem is, however, that researchers have only recently started looking at deviant texts, as student writings frequently are. The field is largely unexplored, though some studies have been published (Enkvist 1978, Lieber 1980, Sørensen 1981) and others are under way (Björk and Wikborg, forthcoming).

The aim of the present study is to find some patterns of cohesion that distinguish good essays from weak essays. In connexion with this I also endeavour to find out how good essays differ from weak essays as regards rhetorical structure, as the force of cohesive ties seems closely bound up with the functions of the cohesive items in developing the topic.

The purpose of the investigation is, ideally, to find means of describing to students where they go wrong, and why. In other words, to sensitize them to devices for connecting sentences and stretches of sentences, and to what the effects of failures in connectivity are on the reader.

MATERIAL

The material of the present exploratory study consists of ten student essays ranging in length from ca 170 to 300 words. The title is Describe some of the differences between a British and a Finnish general election. The essays were written as part of the final exam in English for 1st-year students at the Swedish School of Economics in Helsinki. They were graded by a native speaker of English. In order to find as striking differences as possible, five good essays (graded 8-10 out of 10) were compared with five weak essays (graded a charitable 6-6.5).

METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

The first difficulty was how to delimit the units between which the cohesive ties were to be identified. Halliday and Hasan (1976) use the typographical sentence, Enkvist (1974) and Källgren (1979) use the clause, but the problem is that student sentence structure is so frequently erratic. To overcome this problem Lieber uses the concept functional unit (F-unit for short) in her analysis of student essays (Lieber 1980) and this has been adopted in the present study. F-units are clauses and clause equivalents that serve an identifiable rhetorical function (e.g. ASSERT, EXEMPLIFY, CONTRAST), to be distinguished from those that only fill essential syntactic slots (such as e.g. subject of a sentence) within a matrix clause. (Lieber 1980:58)

The next task was to find categories for the cohesive ties. Källgren's list of categories seemed the most exhaustive one, and also covers the content aspect of the essays more fully than Halliday and Hasan's system, which pays very little attention to lexical cohesion. According to Lieber, ESL students rely most heavily on lexical cohesion, so an investigation of shortcomings in this area would seem to be one fruitful approach. The structure of lexical cohesion in an essay also reflects content and the development of topic, and thus has far-reaching consequences on quality. I have adopted Källgren's categories, although with modifications that will be mentioned in context. However, as both Källgren and Lieber point out, there is often room for subjective variation in finding cohesive ties, and even in classifying them, depending on the background knowledge and the involvement of the reader. Any figures that are offered here are therefore highly tentative, and may be seen as showing tendencies rather than clearcut characteristics. It should also be kept in mind that the sample is very limited. However, it may show directions for investigating larger corpora.

Another difficulty arose in delimiting the size of the cohesive item itself. Here there was frequently an overlap between different cohesive chains (a series of references to the same semantic field). The solution I tried was to look for the role of the cohesive item in deciding the functional role (F-role for short) of the F-unit, i.e. the rhetorical function of the F-unit in relation to a preceding or a following F-unit. The classification of F-roles is mainly based on Lieber (1980). Here is an example of the delimitation strategy:

5 The way of counting the votes also differs in the two countries.
6 In Finland there is a proportional way of counting them.
7 That is to say that the sum of votes a party has got will be given to the one in the party who got the most of the votes.
7b and the one after him gets half of the total sum and so on.

If we look atomistically at the pattern of lexical cohesion we might get a chain like the following: the votes - them-the sum of votes-the most of the votes-half the total sum, with the following cohesive ties: PRONOMINALISATION-ANTECEDENT - SPECIFICATION - COSPECIFICATION (cf. Källgren 1979:72 ff). This, however, does not reflect the development of the topic at all. Therefore I have coded each chunk of underlined words as one cohesive item, which gives the following ties: HYPONYMY - SPECIFICATION - COSPECIFICATION with additional ties between Finland and the two countries (SPECIFICATION), the restating (explanatory) relation signalled by the sentence connector That is to say between 7 and 6, and the additive relation between 7b and 7 signalled by and. (In other words, ties between the chunks - but not separate ties within the chunks - have been counted.) This strategy yields the following F-roles: 5.ASSERT 6. SPECIFY (5) 7. EXPLAIN^1 (6) b.EXPLAIN^2 (6)

In addition to the frequency of certain types of cohesive ties the cohesive pattern of an essay is affected by the distance between the cohesive items. For the sake of consistency only the tie to the nearest antecedent was taken into consideration, though this is somewhat misleading as there may be simultaneous long-distance ties.

One vexing problem in an analysis of authentic student essays is the question of relevancy. Many of the weak essays cross over into irrelevancies in their contents. The problem for the analyst is what attitude to adopt towards such irrelevant information, which in itself may be at least in parts perfectly cohesive and coherent. A break in coherence must of course be recorded, e.g. when the shift in generality is great and the cohesive tie very weak, like a weak INFERENCE. (cf Enkvist 1978:116f.) Because of the frequently fuzzy borderline between irrelevancy and relevancy no material has been left out in the present analysis, though I shall later suggest a possible approach to excluding irrelevant material.

FINDINGS

The essays investigated seem to support the hypothesis that cohesive tightness is to be considered a sign of quality. The good essays show an average of 2.1 cohesive ties per F-unit while the weak essays show 1.7 ties per F-unit, though I would like to emphasize that the figures are to be taken as approximate.

As the differences in overall figures do not seem all that remarkable, it might be more interesting to see in which specific types of ties the two sets of essays show a more marked difference. In the category of HYPONYMY/HYPERONYMY and SPECIFICATION/GENERALIZATION, which have here been lumped together, the good essays have approximately one third of the cohesive ties (not counting those only signalled by sentence connectors) in this group (51/169), while the weak essays have only one tenth (17/162). These are interesting figures in the sense that they provide concrete proof of the view frequently brought out by teachers of composition, namely that weaker students seem to have difficulties in moving from one level of generality to another (cf. Shaughnessy 1977:240f., Lieber 1980:196).

Other types of lexical ties which showed a marked difference in averages between the two sets of essays were IDENTITY (repetition) and ELLIPSIS. The good essays used IDENTITY in about 10% of the cases (18/169) and ELLIPSIS about 6% of the cases (11/169), while the weak essays show roughly double the number in both cases: about 19% IDENTITY (31/162) and about 13% ELLIPSIS (21/162). According to Källgren (p.81) IDENTITY is the type of tie that brings the least content to a text, and ELLIPSIS is a subcategory of IDENTITY.

One of the characteristics of written expository prose such as academic text is that the logic of reasoning should be sufficiently signalled. For example, if no sentence connector is there, the reader may assume an additive or a cause-effect relation. (Cf. Källgren 1979:87) There was quite a difference in the use made of sentence connectors: the good essays signalled cohesive relations in about 45% of the cases (47/102 F-units) while the weak essays did so in about 29% of the cases (34/117 F-units). The cohesive relation most frequently signalled in both sets was the ADDITIVE relation (14/47 vs. 15/34) though in the good essays it accounts for only a third of all relations whereas in the weak essays it accounts for almost half. Another interesting difference is the ADVERSATIVE (or CONTRASTIVE) relation which forms another third of the ties signalled by sentence connectors in the good essays (14/47) while only a fifth in the weak essays (7/34). This is especially noteworthy as the title given explicitly asks for some differences.(Cf.p.2) A striking characteristic of the weak essays was in fact the tendency to set up "false expectations" in the sense that facts were given for the one country, but not the corresponding, and in this case contrasting, facts about the other country. If more attention had been paid to the cohesive and rhetorical pattern involved, this type of error might have been avoided.

The sample is too small for any specific patterns of error to emerge in the use of sentence connectors, or cohesive devices in general. Suffice it to say that both sets show instances ef errors discussed by Lieber, like misleading sentence connectors, ambiguous reference, zero-referent items, extraction, and interlingual idioms.

APPLICATION OF FINDINGS

From the considerable difference shown by the two sets of essays in the use of the cohesive ties of HYPONYMY/HYPERONYMY and SPECIFICATION/GENERALIZATION an interesting further approach suggested itself. Would it be possible, with the help of cohesive ties and F-roles, to analyse essays as regards levels of generality, and the development of the topic, in a more satisfactory manner than that suggested by Christensen (Christensen 1967)? If viable, the method could be an aid to help students see what connects one F-unit to another, what the functional role of each unit is, and at least roughly what level of generality the current unit has. It would be especially activated when problems arise, but a higher awareness of this way of looking at text might be helpful in correcting the student assumption brought up by Lieber among others:"the idea that writing a composition in a language class merely requires setting down a collection of ideas, related to some broad, inclusive topic--a metatopic--but not necessarily to each other; the only important factor is that the sentences should be as grammatically correct as possible. (----) This approach does not generally preclude the use of cohesion, particularly lexical devices, and so the disjointed nature of the essay taken as a whole is often not readily apparent. (Lieber 1980:282f.) My hypothesis is that if the cohesive analysis and functional-role analysis are complemented by an analysis of the levels of generality and the functional relations between the F-units, we should get a much clearer picture of how coherence works, or more important, how it does not work.

In the following I shall give two brief examples of the method, one when applied to a good essay, and one when applied to a weak essay. As the method has not been fully worked out yet, I have no figures to offer. However, even at this point it is obvious that the weaker essays show a much higher frequency of the functional role ASSERT, the function of which is to "make a major assertion about the subject of a following sequence; introduce a new topic or an aspect of a topic which is not covered by a previously started generalization." (Lieber 1980:310). In other words it is a statement that is not connected, or very loosely connected, to what has gone before. At this point I follow the F-roles as defined by Lieber, though I prefer to call her category ANALYZE by the name of SPECIFY (at this point including EXEMPLIFY), as this label gives a better idea of the function of the category.

Text A DESCRIBE SOME OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN A BRITISH AND A FINNISH GENERAL ELECTION

1. During this year both Britain and Finland have had general elections.

SC SYN. INF

2. Although both countries are western democracies,

CONTR. SPECIF

b. there is a surprisingly big difference between the ways general elections are held in both countries.

SPECIF.

3. One of the most striking differences is the number of political parties.

SPECIF. SPECIF.

4. In Britain there are very few parties which have any hope of ever getting a seat in Parliament.

SC SPECIF

5. This is mainly due to the fact that the political scene is dominated by two parties in Britain

SPECIF SPECIF

6. The Conservative Party and the Labour Party together hold some 95% of all seats in Parliament.

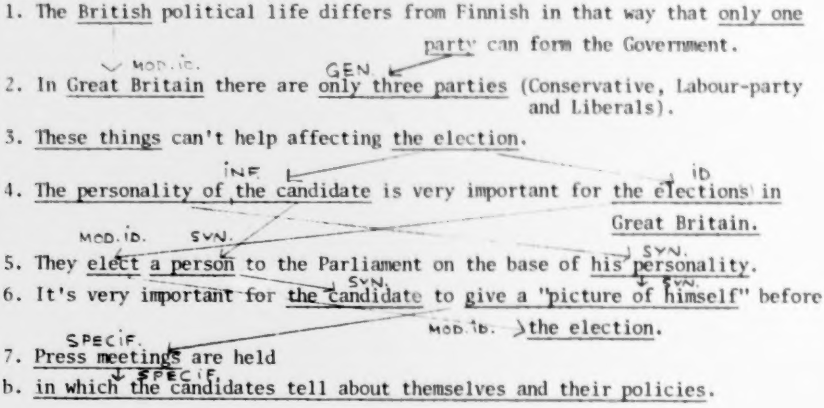
FUNCTIONAL ROLES AND LEVELS OF GENERALITY (Highest level on the left)

1. ASSERT
2. ASSERT
   b. CONTRAST (2)
      3.SPECIFY(2b)
         4.SPECIFY(3)
            5.CAUSE(4)
               6.SPECIFY(5)

INF=inference
SC= sentence connector
SPECIF= specification or hyponym (included/subordinate item)
SYN= synonym or near-synonym

Text A is a well-organized and tightly woven essay, as can be seen from the brief excerpt above. It also shows a neat descent in levels of generalisation, without any large jumps in semantic distance. F-unit 1 is a very general statement and thus on the top level of generalization. Unit 2 shows two ties to the previous unit: SYNONYMY and INFERENCE and is on the same level, whereas 2b contains a SPECIFICATION (although the more immediate tie is a CONTRAST) and is thus placed one step lower. F-unit 3 starts a new paragraph and picks up a surprisingly big difference (which should really correctly be surprisingly big differences) in the previous unit by way of a SPECIFICATION: One of the most striking differences. Unit 3 thus moves one step lower again in the hierarchy. So, whenever the cohesive ties involve a more specific (included or subordinate) item, the F-unit is classified as one step lower (or more) in the hierarchy. The F-role may vary, however, as in 2b and 5, where sentence connectors signal the functional roles. There are other factors that affect the levels of generality, but at this point I have not studied them fully yet. Information dynamics is one important aspect to be looked into.

Text K



1. The British political life differs from Finnish in that way that only one party can form the Government.
2. In Great Britain there are only three parties (Conservative, Labour-party and Liberals).
3. These things can't help affecting the election.
4. The personality of the candidate is very important for the elections in Great Britain.
5. They elect a person to the Parliament on the base of his personality.
6. It's very important for the candidate to give a "picture of himself" before the election.
7. Press meetings are held
b. in which the candidates tell about themselves and their policies.

FUNCTIONAL ROLES AND LEVELS OF GENERALIZATION

1. ASSERT
2. ASSERT
3. ASSERT
-
-
4. ASSERT
5. CAUSE (4)
6. RESULT (5)
7. SPECIFY (6)
b. CAUSE (7)

GEN. = generalization
ID = identity
MOD. ID. = modified identity
PRON. = pronominalisation
SYN. = synonymy

Text K is crisscrossed by cohesive ties of one kind and another, but its coherence is nevertheless not good (Cf. Enkvist 1978 on 'pseudo-coherence' and the quotation from Lieber on p. 5 in this paper). The essay starts with a fairly particular statement, and then ascends in generality, but the functional relations between the first three units are impossible to establish. 2 picks up only a part of the information-carrying element ('rheme') and does not develop it, although presumably CAUSE is weakly implied. F-unit 3 attempts a RESULT, but as long as it is unclear exactly what These things refers to, the F-role has to be coded as another ASSERT. A few loosely connected ASSERTS may be in order, if they are summed up or explained at some point, but These things is never picked up or enlarged upon in what follows.

An ASSERT is by definition quite correct as the first F-unit in a paragraph, but the trouble with 4 is the great jump in levels of generalization. I have tentatively put the steps as two, but there might be many more between election and the personality of the candidate, if they could be reconstructed. I have here only included the first 7 sentences (for reasons of space), but as the essay later on moves down another three steps in the hierarchy, this raises the question of relevancy. In short essays like these, would it not be possible to delimit the number of steps beyond which the material becomes too detailed, and thus irrelevant for the immediate task? Compare with text A, where F-unit 6 shows the lowest level reached in that essay. Text A thus has approximately 6 levels, while Text K shows at least 9, even if the abovementioned jump of two were not included. Also, F-unit 3 shows the highest level ever reached by text K, which is hardly high enough for the task in hand.

The excerpt from text K shows no use at all of sentence connectors. For pragmatic reasons we know that F-unit 5 is the CAUSE of F-unit 4, and F-unit 6 is the RESULT of 5, but no doubt the relations had been easier to see, if 5 had been linked to 6 by because preceded by a comma, and 6 linked to 5 by therefore.

When these two brief excerpts are compared, the most outstanding differences seem to owe to the sequencing of functional roles, to shifts between levels of generality, and to some extent to the use of explicit connectors. As these ideas are being further developed, it should also be possible to devise a simpler terminology for explaining to students why certain segments of text fall apart.

As I said at the beginning of my report I have not yet been able to find answers to many of the questions I have faced during my investigation. However, even formulating the problems has been instructive. I am fully aware of the need to develop my approach and to check it for consistency. I intend to do this by going on to other types of expository essay, as the pattern of comparison/contrast is just one variety, although one that is very common in essay questions. With a larger corpus it will also be possible to find a taxonomy of errors in cohesion and coherence. I also hope to conduct an experiment where all the necessary facts and terminology are given to the students, so that the analysis can concentrate on the students' strategies in constructing the texts.

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PRONOMINAL CHAINS IN ENGLISH CONVERSATION

INTRODUCTION

Working with a corpus of spoken English such as the London-Lund corpus is rewarding in many ways. It makes one realize that spoken language differs from written language in more respects than one may have foreseen. It makes one perceive concepts and problems which one expected, and also which one did not expect. It may, for instance, also reveal that certain linguistic patterns have functions in conversation that are important not only for the cohesion and coherence of the text, but also for the interaction process. This became obvious to me when I made a study of the use and functions of third-person referential pronouns in face-to-face conversation (Thavenius 1983). Among other patterns, I examined the pronominal chains, that is sequences of two or more coreferential pronouns with no intervening noun.

When studying the chains in the London-Lund corpus, I discovered that they had functions in conversation which would not occur in written production. Halliday (1980:11) argues that text is "a continuous process of semantic choice". This statement is relevant to both written and spoken production. I would, however, like to add that written text may be seen as a continuous process of stylistic choice, whereas conversation (the kind of spoken language I deal with) may be seen as a continuous process of pragmatic choice. It is thus a basic assumption that this difference may be realized as different patterns in conversation and written text.

The aim of the present study is to discuss and examine the functions and the structure of third-person pronominal chains in spontaneous conversation, and then, to some extent, compare them with those in written production. The chains have been restricted to those containing instances of the pronominal groups IT, THEY, HE, and SHE. IT represents in this study not only 'it' (ie the word forms it, its, itself) but also the demonstratives 'this' and 'that' in head function. In this function 'this' and 'that' refer in their own right just like 'it'. As determiners 'this' and 'that' have not been included, as they have no independent referring function. THEY denotes 'they' (*they*, *them*, *their*, *theirs*, and *themselves*) as well as 'these' and 'those' in head function. HE denotes the word forms *he*, *him*, *his*, *himself*; SHE denotes *she*, *her*, *hers*, and *herself*.

It should also be noted that these pronouns are only relevant for this study when their primary function is referential. This means that pronouns in syntactic constructions like extraposition and cleft sentences, tag questions, and expressions concerning time, weather, and distance have been left out.

Pronominal chains have functions which are relevant both to written and spoken production. A chain is produced if there is a reason for referring more than once to something; if pronouns convey the whole meaning of the referent; if there is a wish to avoid repetition; and if there is no wish to vary the words with coreferent nouns. The pronouns then have a *substitute function* and contribute to a meaningful simplicity, which may, however, differ in extent between spoken and written language.

The chains also function on a *semantic* level where they build threads of meaning and form part of the semantic and reference system of the text. The pronouns in a chain contribute both to the cohesion of the text as overt linking signals, and to the coherence by achieving consistency with the situational context. The referent of a chain may be found in the spoken or written text itself; the reference relation is then endophoric. It may also be exophoric, that is there is no mentioned referent in the text and the pronouns refer directly outside the text, either to the physical situation or to the complex of cultural, general and specific knowledge of the world. In Thavenius 1982 and 1983, it was shown that exophoric pronominal reference was, on the whole, very infrequent in conversation (c 10%). In written language, exophoric reference should be still more infrequent, as direct reference to the physical situation can occur very seldom. It should perhaps also be mentioned that the fact that there is an endophoric relation between the pronouns in an exophoric chain has been disregarded in this study. All coreferent pronouns included in a chain refer to the same referent and that is why only the exophoric relation to the original referent has been taken into account.

There are, however, functions which are relevant in conversation but not in written production. A writer has a wish to vary his language. When he refers to the same referent several times, he tries to avoid repetition of the same word, that is he aims at stylistic variation. Not only may he avoid using the same noun several times, but also using too many pronouns.

This stylistic awareness obviously varies between different types of written texts as well as between different writers. I think, however, that there is, on the whole, an intentional attempt at variation, which is typical of written production, and which may function as a constraint on the use of pronominal chains in writing.

In conversation, on the other hand, it seems that pronominal chains play an important part in the communication process. Here, there is no constraint on using many pronouns as long as they convey the right meaning to the listener. The chains are, in fact, also essential to the process of interaction. As a speaker can never attain full knowledge of all the components in another speaker's discourse model, he uses a heuristic technique in order to check that the other speaker understands him. This means that he may go on adding pronouns to a chain either until the other speaker signals that he has not understood the meaning of the pronoun, or, until he himself feels that an elucidation is mandatory to avoid misunderstanding.

Pronominal chains contribute in fact to the cohesion and the coherence of conversation in a special way. When a chain is uttered by one speaker only, the result is a cohesive relation between the pronouns and the textual referent, if there is one. Thus the chain ties the parts of the utterance together and enhances the coherence of the conversation. Moreover, when a chain is produced by two or more speakers, the speakers' utterances or turns are tied together by means of the pronouns that form the chain. The speakers' utterances result in a coherent unity, to a large extent brought about by this kind of discourse cohesion. Discourse cohesion is a structural device of tying utterances together in which pronominal chains play an important part.

Chains may also function as a strengthening factor in the process of interaction. A speaker who initiates a chain gets a very strong response from the other speaker, when the latter adds a pronoun to the chain. In this way, the chain is built up by both speakers and contributes to the interaction. The following is an example of this interweaving process:

A I like that one in the corner• very +much•+
C +/m/•+ - yes• yes that's rather fine
A yes that's very nice•

(Svartvik & Quirk 1980:207)[1]

A introduces the referent, ie that one in the corner, which is referred to by C, and then C's reference is supported by A. It is obvious, however, that the longer a chain is and the more pronouns it contains, the more we can expect several speakers to participate in it. Also, the shorter it is the less we can expect more than one speaker to participate in it.

My hypothesis was that there will be more chains in conversation than in writing, since chains seem to have more functions in spoken interaction than in written production.

The structure of chains can be discussed from two different but related aspects, namely chain length, i e the distance between the first and the last pronoun, and number of pronominal tokens per chain. The number of tokens can vary for many reasons, one of which is in fact length of the chain. A long chain will normally contain more tokens than a short chain. There is of course the occasional case when a very long chain, for some reason, contains only two tokens, but this is presumably exceptional. In Thavenius 1983, it was shown that there was a significant positive correlation between chain length and number of tokens per chain. Kroch & Hindle (1980:248), who made a study of pronominal chains, measured length in number of tokens only; they did not deal with distance at all. We may hypothesize that there will be longer chains in conversation than in writing, since there are so many verbal and non-verbal clues in conversation, contributing to the listener's understanding and to his possibilities of tracing referents, clues which are not present in a written text. Likewise, the chains probably contain more tokens in conversation.

A crucial factor for the frequencies and the structure of the chains is, however, the extra-textual context. There are so many contextual variables which may cooperate in a conversation and thus influence the frequencies and lengths of chains, for instance, that it would be extremely surprising if the chain patterns were not different in conversation and written text. Variables like conversation topic and relationships between the speakers may no doubt be decisive.

To sum up: there were reasons to expect that the chain frequencies are higher in conversation than in written English; that exophoric referents are more frequent for chains in conversation than in written text; that the chains contain more pronouns in conversation than in writing; and finally that the chains are longer in conversation than in writing.

MATERIAL

The chains have first been examined in a corpus of spoken English, and then the results have been compared with a small sample of written English. The corpus of spoken texts I have used is the London-Lund Corpus of Spoken English (LLC). This corpus comprises 'texts' of spoken language ranging from face-to-face conversation, recorded surreptitiously (ie with a hidden microphone), to prepared but unscripted oration. The texts consist of c 5000 words each and have been subject to a prosodic and paralinguistic analysis at the Survey of English Usage, University College London. The material was taken over in 1975 by the Survey of Spoken English at Lund, where it was transferred to magnetic computer tape.[2]

For this study, eight texts were chosen from the category of spontaneous face-to-face conversations, surreptitiously recorded.[3] In all, these eight conversations amount to c 40,000 words. The speakers are all educated British people.

For a comparison with pronominal chains in written text I chose five texts, each of 2000 running words, from the Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen Corpus of British English (LOB).[4] The texts were all chosen from categories of informative prose, the kind of written language one might expect the speakers in the spoken corpus to read and produce. The written material is of limited size, only one fourth of the size of the conversation material, but it may still show whether the use of chains tends to differ between spoken and written language.

RESULTS

To begin with, the frequencies of third-person pronouns were on the whole (ie regardless of chain membership) much higher in the spoken than in the written corpus. Table 1 shows the frequencies in the two corpora per 10,000 words. The size of the spoken corpus is 40,000 words, but for easier comparison with the written corpus the former has also been expressed in number of pronouns per 10,000 words.

Of the pronouns as much as 69% were chain tokens in LLC, and 44% in LOB. This means not only that more pronouns were used in conversation than in writing, but also that the proportion of pronouns in chains was higher in conversation.

Table 1. Frequencies of pronouns per 10,000 words. In brackets the absolute frequencies in LLC, ie per 40,000 words.

	LLC	LOB
Total	591 (2365)	328
In chains	406 (1624) (69%)	143 (44%)

Table 2. Chain frequencies per 10,000 words.

	LLC	%	LOB	%
IT	52 (208)	49.7%	12	23.1%
THEY	26 (104)	24.8%	23	44.2%
HE	19 (78)	18.6%	16	30.8%
SHE	7 (29)	6.9%	1	1.9%
Total	104 (419)	100%	52	100%

Table 2 shows that the chain frequencies were higher in conversation. The total number of chains (per 10,000 words) in LLC was 104, compared with 52 in LOB. There were thus twice as many chains in conversation. In LLC, the IT chains were most common and SHE chains least common. In LOB, THEY chains were most common, and SHE chains least common. Why IT chains were most common in LLC can be explained by the range of functions this pronoun has; but why IT chains were so infrequent in LOB is difficult to explain. One reason might be the informative and strictly topic-determined character of the texts, but an explanation of the low frequency of IT chains in LOB requires a more extensive study.

It was suggested that exophora would be even less frequent in writing than in conversation. To test this hypothesis I studied the chain referents in the two corpora and found (see Table 3) that 89.3% of the chain referents were endophoric and that 10.6% were exophoric in LLC. In LOB, all chain referents were endophoric.

Table 3. Proportions of endophoric (N) and exophoric (X) referents for the chains.

	LLC		LOB	
	N	X	N	X
IT	85.6%	14.4%	100%	-
THEY	84.6%	15.4%	100%	-
HE	94.9%	5.1%	100%	-
SHE	100%	-	100%	-
Total	89.3%	10.6%	100%	-

Even if it might be argued that the written corpus I used was very limited in size, 10,000 words with only 52 chains, there is a clear tendency to predominating endophoric reference in both channels that cannot be denied, and it is in fact stronger in the written texts. It is clear that the current topic in the text, depending on text type, can influence the use of exophoric chains, but there are not many possibilities in writing to refer directly outside the text.

To test the hypothesis that the chains contain more tokens in conversation than in writing, the number of pronouns per chain was counted. In the conversation corpus this was done automatically by computer, since that study was part of a more comprehensive one with all information stored on magnetic tape (cf Thavenius 1983). For the written sample the count was performed manually.

Table 4 shows the mean number of pronouns per chain, and also the range in LLC and LOB, respectively.

Table 4. Number of pronouns per chain. Brackets denote that there was only one SHE chain in LOB.

	LLC	LOB
IT	2.9	2.3
THEY	3.6	2.6
HE	6.4	3.3
SHE	5.1	(2)
Total mean	4.5	2.6
Total range	2-37	2-8

It was found that no chain contained more than eight pronoun tokens in the written corpus, whereas the chains could contain up to 37 pronouns in conversation. It is obviously easier to keep track of pronoun referents in conversation. There was, however, no IT chain in the conversations that contained more than eight pronouns. The word it has many referential functions, and can for instance refer not only to noun phrases but also to the contents of whole text passages, a function which the other third-person pronouns lack; it also has functions which are not primarily referential, and the result is that the speakers in a conversation are exposed to so many instances of the word it that it is more difficult to keep track of referents for IT than for the other pronouns. In both LLC and LOB, HE chains contained more tokens than the other pronominal chains.

Kroch & Hindle (1980) found that pronoun chains in speech may contain up to 32 pronouns, whereas no chain in their written sample contained more than six pronouns. Although their study was made on American English and the sample was even smaller than my written corpus, the tendency is the same; chains in speech contain more pronouns than chains in writing.

As it has already been shown (cf Thavenius 1983) that there is a positive correlation between number of pronouns per chain and chain length, a study of chain length cannot add much to what has been said above. We may, however, wonder how long the chains generally are. As a matter of fact, they are usually fairly short both in conversation and in writing. In the written corpus, chain length was measured in terms of number of words between the first and the last pronoun in the chain. In the conversation corpus the chains were measured in number of tone units, that is the basic unit of analysis for LLC (cf Crystal 1976:207ff). One tone unit contains on the average 5.3 words (cf Quirk et al 1964). To be able to make a rough comparison of chain length in the two corpora, the number of tone units was multiplied by 5.3. The means for chain length are uninteresting, as some of the individual chains were very long and caused a certain skewness. Instead, the range and the proportions of chains that were between two and 20 words long have been supplied.

Table 5. Chain length.

	LLC	LOB
range	2-3990 words (0-753 tone units)	2-73 words
2-20 words	43%	73%

Table 5 shows that the chains in LLC were longer than those in LOB. The longest chain in LLC was 753 tone units long, equalling about 3990 words. The longest chain in LOB was 73 words. Moreover, 43% of the chains in LLC were between two and 20 words long, whereas 73% of the chains in LOB had this length.

It was thus shown that pronominal chains in conversation have a tendency to be longer and contain more pronoun tokens than chains in writing. To a large extent this can be explained by factors in the context of situation, by verbal and non-verbal clues, by intimate relationships between the speakers, and by the extent of shared knowledge between the speakers.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The study of pronominal chains largely confirmed the hypotheses I set up in the introduction. It should, however, be emphasized that the written sample was very small and consisted of informative prose only. Care should thus be taken not to generalize too far. It is also important to remember that this study is in many ways a simplification. No comparison has been made between the individual texts, nor between individual speakers in the conversations.

Still, there are important differences to account for in the conversation corpus both between texts and speakers, due to contextual factors (cf Thavenius 1983). Nonetheless, the tendencies that were shown in this study were interesting. The chain frequencies were much higher in the conversations than in the written texts. There were twice as many chains per 10,000 words in LLC as in LOB, which showed a general tendency to use chains more frequently in conversation than in writing.

It was also shown that, although exophoric chains are uncommon in conversation, they are still more uncommon in writing. In my written material there was in fact not one chain with an exophoric referent. This can be explained by the limited possibilities there are in writing to refer outside the text itself. In conversation it is possible to refer both deictically to the physical situation, and to the abstract context of situation.

The structure of the chains, that is the number of pronouns per chain and the chain length was also studied. The results showed for both corpora that chains containing few tokens were favoured, but that they contained fewer tokens in writing than in conversation. It was also found that chain length was closely related to the number of pronouns per chain, and that the range for chain length was much larger in LLC than in LOB. The proportion of chains that were not longer than 20 words was much higher in LOB (73%) than in LLC (43%). That chains were, on the whole, short, and contained few pronouns, can presumably be related to the fact that each referent is referred to only for a short time. The topic is thus of decisive importance. That chains are longer in conversation than in writing can be explained by factors such as relationship between speakers and the range of their shared knowledge. The context of a conversation also helps to strengthen the chains in supplying clues to the understanding of their meaning.

To sum up: The referential strategy differs between conversation and writing and causes differences in the use of pronominal chains in the two channels. A speaker in a conversation makes pragmatic choices and has no real wish to vary his words. A writer who makes stylistic choices aims at variation in his production, and this in fact acts as a constraint on the use of pronominal chains.

NOTES

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1. ● end of tone unit
   + + simultaneous speech
   For complete prosodic notation see Svartvik & Quirk 1980.
2. For a detailed description of the corpus see Svartvik & Quirk 1980.
3. S.1.1, S.1.3, S.1.4, S.1.5, S.1.6, S.1.8, S.3.3, S.3.4.
4. B03, C13, F27, G36, J26.

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TOWARDS A DESCRIPTION OF ARGUMENTATIVE TEXT STRUCTURE

1. Text types as abstractions

One way of identifying text types is to give a list of isolated linguistic features which mark each type. Werlich (1976) points out five text types: descriptive, narrative, expository, argumentative and instructive, for which he specifies linguistic features. Let us compare some features of these types on the basis of what is listed in table 1.

Text type	Descriptive	Narrative	Expository	Argumentative
Dominant sentence type	Phenomenon-registering sentence, eg. 'There were thousands of glasses on the table.'	Action-recording sentence, eg. 'The passengers landed in NY in the middle of the night.'	Phenomenon-identifying and phenomenon-linking sentences, eg. 'One part of the brain is the cortex'; 'The brain has ten million neurones.'	Quality-attributing sentence, eg. 'The obsession with durability in the arts is not permanent.'
Type of embedding	Non-finite participle clauses, relative clauses, spatial clauses	Temporal clauses, non-finite participle clauses	Restrictive relative clauses, causal clauses	Causal, concessive and nominal that or whether clauses
Sequence type	Spatial	Temporal	Additive, explicatory	Contrastive
Type of text structuring	Spatial	Temporal	Analytical	Inductive, dialectical, deductive
Tense	Past/ Present	Past	Present	Present

Table 1. Examples of text typological markers

Let us compare for instance the dominant sentence types in each of the text types. We can see that the sentence type characteristic of the argumentative text is evaluative, whereas the sentence type characteristic of the expository text is phenomenon-identifying and phenomenon-linking. Let us then compare the sequence types dominant in each of the text types. The term sequence type refers to sequences formed by successive sentences, paragraphs, chapters and so on. As table 1 shows, descriptive texts are characterized by spatial sequences; narrative texts by temporal sequences; expository texts by additive and explicatory sequences and argumentative texts by contrastive sequences.

The features listed in table 1 are merely examples of the kinds of linguistic phenomena that can be identified as markers of specific text types. On the basis of lists like this it is not difficult to point out, say, expository or argumentative passages from a concrete text. What is difficult or impossible, is the identification of a concrete text with a specific text type. Concrete texts turn out to be mixtures of text types. The notion of text type must then be understood as an abstraction.

2. About the typological assessment of concrete texts

For some practical purposes, however, it may be necessary for the reader to be able to say about a concrete text what it ultimately counts as and why. Examples of such practical purposes are the writing of abstracts and summaries, as well as the various pedagogical purposes such as the teaching of reading comprehension and the assessment of the students' written work. Decisions of whether a piece of written work is a legitimate representative of a certain textual category or whether it correctly summarizes a piece of work must in these cases be made intuitively. In textlinguistic literature, too, it is sometimes suggested that texts should be divided into types according to their overall 'illocutionary point' or 'communicative purpose' (cf. Aston 1977:470; Shaugnessy 1977 and Hatim 1983). For instance the difference between exposition and argumentation - according to this criterion - is that the point in exposition is to inform the reader, whereas the point in argumentation is to convince him. The problem is how to tell if the point has or has not been made or if it has been made successfully.

For practical text analysis purposes, then, batteries of isolated typological markers and the notion of abstract text types are not enough. Neither is a merely intuitive assessment of the 'point' or 'purpose' of the text. We need methods for the typological definition of concrete texts. The method should reveal, for instance, whether a concrete text counts as an argumentation or as an exposition. One way of developing the method is to attempt to describe the structure prevailing in such concrete texts as are intuitively attributed to certain textual categories. In this paper an attempt is made to describe the structure of an argumentative text. The concrete examples are taken from the sample text in Appendix 1.

3. The argumentative text as a problem-solution structure

It would be ideal if the description of the argumentative text could be embedded in the description of the argumentation process. Kummer (1972:29) suggests that the process of argumentation can be described as an instance of the cognitive process of problem-solving. According to Kummer's proposal, the argumentative speaker or writer (S) assumes that the hearer or reader (H) has an undesirable 'initial position' to a state of affairs. The S's goal is to change the initial position in the H's mind so that it approaches and ultimately equals S's own view of the state of affairs. S's own view is the desirable position, the 'final position' to be established into H's mind. This goal is reached via a series of sub-goals, the single arguments of the argumentation. When argumentation is seen as a problem-solving process, the initial, undesirable state is the problem and the final, desirable state is the solution. The argumentation is the movement towards the desirable state.

According to Kummer (1972:29) it is typical of the problem-solving process in general that it 'allows changes of sub-goals or strategies within the process of solution and is not bound to a pre-given plan.' Thus it is typical of argumentation that 'the arguments seem to be formed in the process of argumentation; they appear spontaneously and determine the further course of action towards the goal.' Further, 'the directedness of problem-solving seems to work like a magnetic field patterning the material coming within its reach.'

Spoken, spontaneous argumentation can be expected to manifest more traces of the 'original' argumentation process than written argumentative texts. We can assume that much of the spontaneity that characterizes the argumentation process on which the text is based gets deleted in the course of writing and rewriting the text. Still, even written texts have structural features that can be attributed to the original argumentation process. The basic problem-solving pattern can still be seen in the text structure. An argumentative text can be described as a sequence in which the structural units situation, problem, solution and evaluation can be identified. There are specific 'slots' in the text for the initial, undesirable state - the problem - and for the final, desirable state - the solution. The evaluation slot is reserved for the evaluation of the conjectured outcome of the suggested solution. The situation slot is reserved for background material, ie. facts and views intended for the orientation of H to the problem area.

The original argumentation process is also reflected on the written text in that the ultimate solution is not arrived at suddenly but approached gradually, through various intermediate steps. The wavelike and repetitive proceeding towards the solution in a written text gives as it were a stylized picture of the argumentation process itself, which tries out a great number of subgoals and strategies, eliminates some and pursues others until the main goal is considered to have been reached. As a result the end product, the text, is a constellation of miniature texts which all contribute to the ultimate goal, the solution. All the mini texts, however, do not touch upon the solution, ie. they do not have a solution slot at all; they merely illuminate aspects of the problem. Some mini texts, on the other hand, while relating to aspects of the problem, may also give a glimpse to the solution and possibly even its evaluation.

The problem-solution structure of the sample text (cf. Appendix 1) is outlined in figure 1 below.

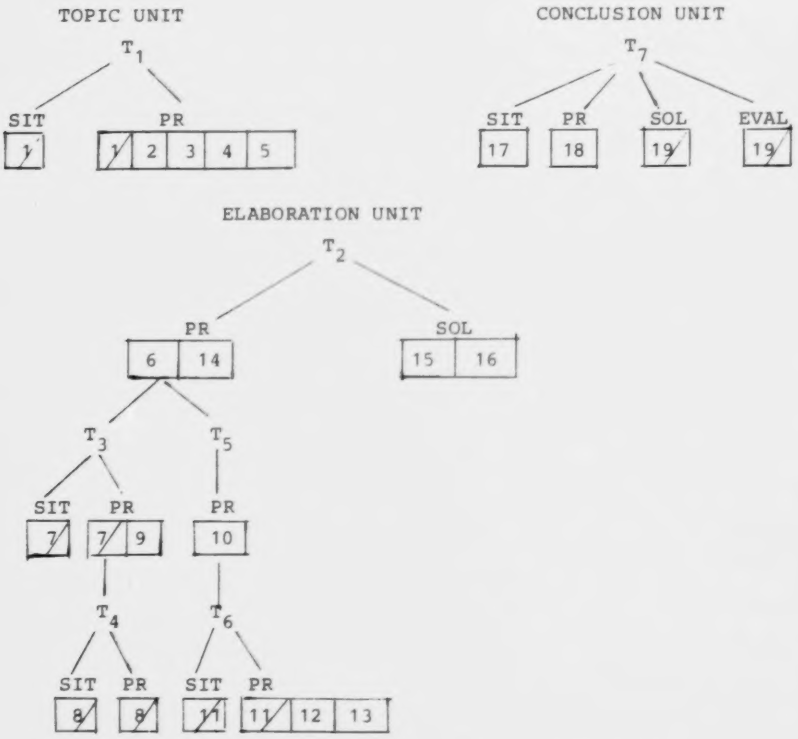
TOPIC UNIT
T1
SIT
PR
1
1
2
3
4
5
CONCLUSION UNIT
T7
SIT
PR
SOL
EVAL
17
18
19
19
ELABORATION UNIT
T2
PR
SOL
6
14
15
16
T3
T5
SIT
PR
PR
7
7
9
10
T4
T6
SIT
PR
SIT
PR
8
8
11
11
12
13

Figure 1. Problem-solution structure in sample text

The numbers in the squares refer to paragraph numbers in the text. A diagonal line across a square marks those instances in which less than a paragraph is devoted to an item. The text is divided into three global units, the topic unit, the elaboration unit and the conclusion unit, each of which consists of one or more mini texts (T_1 - T_7). The horizontal axis represents the linear progression of the text. The vertical axis represents the level of generality/specificity of expression, or levels of macrostructure (cf. Tirkkonen-Condit 1983).

There are differences in the ways in which individual texts proceed towards the solution. In the sample text the solution is approached slowly: it is not touched upon until paragraph 15. The sample text is 'blocklike' in its overall structure. More than half of the text is devoted to aspects of the problem block, then comes the solution block and finally a recapitulation of all the main elements of the text, ie. the conclusion unit with all the items situation, problem, solution and evaluation represented. Some other texts may give glimpses into the solution earlier on; they may have mini texts with solution items scattered throughout their structure. Such texts could be described as 'wavelike' in their overall structure.

The problem-solution structure of the sample text is clearly compatible with Kummer's idea of what argumentation is all about. In the text the problem is a distortion in people's way of thinking, in their attitudes to a state of affairs, as a result of which there is a distortion in the physical reality. The solution suggested is to change these attitudes in order to change the physical reality. The distortion in attitudes is the identification of ecology and conservation with the concept of amenity. The consequence is a continued despoliation of ecological resources. The solution suggested is that amenity criteria be replaced by ecological principles.

It is not the aim of the present paper to seek further connections between the original cognitive process of argumentation and the resulting argumentative text. Nevertheless, Kummer's proposal that argumentation be treated as a specific kind of the problem-solving process is felt to be highly relevant. Kummer's proposal suggests psychological validity to the idea of assigning a problem-solution pattern to the overall structural description of an argumentative text. Argumentation is envisaged as a movement from an undesirable attitudinal position to a desirable attitudinal position - a description which fits the pattern prevalent in the subtype of argumentative texts discussed in the present paper. Although the problem-solution structure can be assigned to other than argumentative texts, as has been shown by Hoey (1979) and by Aston (1977), the particular kind of problem-solution pattern pointed out by Kummer is typical of argumentation and not of exposition for instance. Even the notion of illocutionary point is more easy to handle if it is reviewed in the light of Kummer's proposal. We could accept the view that the illocutionary point of argumentation is to convince. But the essence of convincing seems to be just what Kummer says is the essence of the argumentative process - the attempt to change the hearer's way of thinking about a state of affairs so that it approaches and ultimately equals the speaker's own view. Thus one way of establishing whether the illocutionary point in a text is to convince would be to see whether the text manifests the particular kind of problem-solution structure which marks out argumentation. The sample text bears out the idea that argumentation takes place through several intermediate steps; in this particular text these steps are represented by the seven mini texts.

However, Kummer's proposal refers to the content of the text rather than to its linguistic features. Since the problem-solution structure is not unique to argumentative texts, a global linguistic analysis in which a text is described as a sequence of the structural units situation, problem, solution and evaluation, does not necessarily reveal the text type. We need a more detailed and yet global linguistic analysis.

4. The interactive patterns prevailing in the argumentative text

The interactive analysis suggests itself as a promising method for the typological diagnosis of whole concrete texts. The term interactive is here understood in the following two senses: (1) as referring to the interaction between the author and the addressee, and (2) as referring directly to the relationship between successive speech acts in the text.

When the term interactive is understood as referring to the interaction between the author and the addressee, we look at the text as a dialogue. We can take a sentence or a group of sentences as the exponent of a speech act and imagine that at each speech act boundary the addressee asks the author a question. By filling in these imaginary questions we will find out the function of the speech act in relation to the previous speech act. We will see that in an argumentative passage a typical question is 'On what grounds are you saying this?' In a narrative passage, on the other hand, a typical question is 'What happened next?' One does not normally expect a story-teller to justify what he has said. The question technique shows us that the interaction between the author and the addressee varies according to text type.[1]

The second interpretation of the term interactive was that it refers directly to the relationship between successive speech acts in the text. The text is then treated as a monologue. This is the way Aston (1977) understands the term and also the way in which it is understood in the present paper. In this interpretation, too, the units that constitute speech acts are sentences or groups of sentences. For instance a sequence of two sentences can be described as follows: as a speech act sentence 1 is a claim and sentence 2 a statement. In relation to speech act 1, the claim, speech act 2 functions as a justification. The interactive relation of 2 to 1 is justification.

The interactive structure of the sample text has been described, and parts of the description are shown in the following. As mentioned earlier, the text divides into three global units which are called topic unit (paragraphs 1-5), elaboration unit (paragraphs 6-16) and conclusion unit (paragraphs 17-19). The interactive structure of the elaboration unit is outlined in table 2.

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[1] I am grateful to Liisa Lautamatti for the observation that the term interactive could be understood as referring to the imaginary dialogue between the author and the addressee.

Claim (Assertive) Para 6 Sentences 16-18	Justification Para 7-13 Sentences 19-47		Induction (Assertive) Para 14 Sentences 48-49	Induction (Directive) Para 15-16 Sentences 50-54
	Observation I Para 7-9 Sentences 19-30	Observation II Para 10-13 Sentences 31-47		
Problem				Solution

Table 2. Outline of the interactive structure of elaboration unit

As the sketch in table 2 shows, this text unit is composed of a sequence problem + solution. The problem consists of a sequence claim + justification + induction, and the solution consists of induction alone. The justification of the claim consists of two observations (I and II). Related to the problem-solution structure outlined earlier in figure 1, Observation I corresponds to minitext T_3 and Observation II to minitext T_5. We will next carry out a closer analysis of one part only, namely of Observation I. The interactive structure of Observation I is shown in table 3. As can be seen, we find within Observation I basically the same interactive patterns as in the problem section of the whole text unit set out in table 2. This basic structure is claim + justification + induction. The principle is first to assert a claim, then to introduce observations to justify the claim, and finally to induce, by virtue of the observation, the state of affairs that was originally claimed. Thus the contents

<table>
<tr><td colspan="9">Observation 1</td></tr>
<tr><td>Statement</td><td>Eval. + Claim</td><td colspan="6">Justification</td><td>Induction</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td colspan="6">Observation</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td>Claim</td><td colspan="4">Justification</td><td>Induction</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td colspan="4">Observation</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>Statement</td><td>Eval.+ Claim</td><td colspan="2">Justification</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>Obs.</td><td>Obs.</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>19</td><td>20-21</td><td>22</td><td>23</td><td>24-25</td><td>26</td><td>27</td><td>28</td><td>29-30</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Paragraph 7</td><td colspan="5">Paragraph 8</td><td>Paragr. 9</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>SIT.</td><td colspan="4">PROBLEM</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>SIT.</td><td colspan="8">PROBLEM</td></tr>
</table>

Table 3. Interactive structure of Observation I

of the original claim are as it were presented twice; first time as a claim and the second time as an induction. The states of affairs first claimed and then induced within Observation I are listed in table 4.

State of affairs	Claimed in sentence No.	Induced in Sentence No.
ECOLOGY IS NOT INTEGRATED WITH THE PLANNING PRACTICE	21	30
ECOLOGICAL MATTERS ARE SUBSUMED UNDER THE HEADING OF AMENITY	22	28
PLANNING IS TOO STATIC	22	29

Table 4. States of affairs first claimed and later induced

The claim + justification + induction sequences seem to characterize the problem sections. The solution sections consist of inductions. It is interesting to note that the inductions made in the solution sections are 'independent' in the sense that they are not members of the type of pairs dominant in the problem sections. In other words there are no claims to match the inductions in the solution sections. The essential content in the problem section is to assert that things go wrong, ie. to assert negative evaluations. The illocutionary quality prevalent in the problem section is assertive (evaluative). The essential content of the solution section is to suggest what should be done to prevent things from going wrong. The illocutionary quality prevailing in the solution section is directly or indirectly directive.

I started my paper by criticising the kind of text typological definitions which confined themselves to listing some 'isolated' linguistic features as markers of specific text types. In what respect, if at all, is the interactive sequencing, coupled with the problem-solution analysis, superior in the typological definition of a text? Does not it provide just another linguistic criterion for telling apart text types? Does not it merely answer the question 'what are the typical interactive sequences?' in a text type. The superiority of the interactive description is that it also helps to reveal the hierarchical structure of the text. It helps to identify those speech acts in the text which best represent a section or the text as a whole. In the instance of the problem sections, the sequences at the top of the hierarchical structure turn out to be of the type claim + justification + induction. Embedded in the justification section there may be even long passages which manifest other than argumentative features. Thus the problem sections can be said to be dominated by evaluative, assertive speech acts. The solution sections in turn are dominated by directive speech acts.

It would be interesting to compare the dominant acts and sequences found in the argumentative text to those found in the expository text. It is my hypothesis that the dominant sequences in an expository text are of the type statement + explanation + deduction, or statement + explication. This would mean that the illocutionary quality would be stative. (It can be mentioned in passing that the situation sections of argumentative texts seem to be stative in their illocutionary quality. Since the sample text has very few and very short situation sections, it is not worth pursuing this matter here.) In expository texts directive acts would probably be rare or missing.

Factual prose texts often have summaries at the beginning or at the end of the text. These summaries can be expected to legitimately represent the text as a whole, especially if they are parts of the text and written by the author himself. An interactive and problem-solution analysis of these parts of the text should according to my position turn out a diagnosis of the text type. These summaries can of course also be observed in terms of what I called isolated typological markers. We can expect to find also these markers accumulated in the top material.

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Sample text: Selman, P.H. "Environmental Conservation or Countryside Cosmetics?" The Ecologist 6, 9.

APPENDIX 1

Environmental Conservation or Countryside Cosmetics?

by P. H. Selman

Planners are now accustomed to considering the views of ecologists in developments affecting the countryside, despite the lack of relevant planning legislation. However, official attitudes tend to confuse resource management with the preservation of amenity. This shallow treatment of ecology is reinforced by the incompatibility between the dynamic nature of biosystems and the static representations of planning proposals.

① Environmental protection, ecology and natural resource management are all presently regarded as matters in which planners should rightly intervene. ② At the same time, however, 1 it is generally recognised that the control of biotic resources is only tenuously linked to planning control.

③ Critics of town and country planners would argue that they should not be encouraged to participate in fields excluded from their auspices by the General Development Order[1] for fear that they might meddle amateurishly through lack of training or experience.

④ A fair justification for seeking to extend a greater degree of control to the countryside can nevertheless be made out. ⑤ First, planners command 2 a uniquely good position from which to take an overview of the cumulative results of piecemeal developments, and to weigh up the relative merits of competing claims upon rural resources. ⑥ Second, in the most general sense, planners control "activities" which take place in "habitats": this is of considerable importance for wildlife conservation, especially in regard to the shift of emphasis from species preservation to habitat protection.

⑦ Despite the inclusion of "environmental impacts" on the planner's checklist, however, it would be untrue to suggest that these have been accorded any degree of equality with socio-economic issues in the development process. ⑧ 3 If any likelihood does indeed exist that we are exploiting our renewable resources beyond the point of recovery, there is very little official recognition of the fact, or of its attendant dangers.

⑨ The contention here is that planners espoused the cause of the eco-activist far too lightly, without giving sufficient attention to the implications of what they were taking on. ⑩ 4 The more respectable environmental arguments coincided conveniently with the degree of deferred gratification which a middle-class planning fraternity could afford itself. ⑪ This measure of enlightened concern was, however, only sufficient to ensure that "ecology" was tacked onto the planner's long list of interests, so that some thought could officially be given to the continued despoliation of the face of the earth. ⑫ The fact that ecology could radically alter the whole basis and direction of social and eocnomic planning was hardly considered.

⑬ In this way, ecology and resource management became the new terms which described the traditional concern for the preservation of a visually pleasant countryside; they became equated with the pervasive but shallow concept of amenity, enabling this to be expressed in a new and impressive technical jargon. ⑭ As David Smith[2] has commented about the amenity concept, however:

> ". . . no such idea, however 5 subtle, could hold together a set of activities that extend beyond the control of land use and the provision of physical infrastructures to a wider concern for the social and economic welfare of the urban community through non-physical and even non-spatial policies."

⑮ Similarly, if "ecology" is equated with rural "amenity", it will remain on the fringe of planning interest, and inferior to social welfare and economic growth, rather than providing an overall context for the development of urban systems.

The Restricted Scope of Resource Planning

⑯ There appears to be a wide gulf between even the relatively conservative opinions expressed at the 6 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment[3], and official dogmas as they work out in practice.

⑰Although ecology is readily upheld as being a subject worthy of general attention, it has failed to capture the imagination of the politicians and professionals who govern land use policy. ⑱Even the more limited objective of containing the loss of agricultural land has failed if we are to believe the preliminary findings of the Second Land Utilisation Survey.[4]

⑲Perhaps the most basic objective of planning is to ensure the wise use of limited resources; similarly, if we look at conservation, we find that it is a philosophy directed at the manner and timing of resource use. ⑳Such closely related aims would suggest that planning and conservation should go hand in hand. 7 ㉑The fact that they do not can largely be explained by two observations. ㉒First, the statutory planning system is inherently too static in its nature (even after the introduction of structure planning) to readily accommodate the essentially dynamic behaviour of biosystems; and second, the science of ecology has been subjugated by the planner to conform to his concept of amenity, accompanied as it inevitably is by a well-established preservation ethic.

㉓The planner has two principal tools with which to direct the manner and timing of resource use — development plans and development control. ㉔Although in their updated versions development plans are less static than the 1947 breed, they still effectively treat land resources as fixed and invariant attributes — only economic and social factors are 8 treated in a dynamic manner, and these only to a limited extent. ㉕In development control, the principal criterion for granting planning permission in outline is that of the zoning on the development plan (or in local plans, the policy statement, which in practice will probably prove to be little removed from a colour on a map), thereby perpetuating its fundamentally static nature. ㉖In the granting of detailed planning permission the most significant *planning* consideration (as opposed to highway and drainage conditions and so forth) which can be brought to bear on rural matters is amenity. ㉗Similarly, tree preservation orders — the planner's main means of control over any specific natural resource — must have amenity as their sole criterion. ㉘Thus, "amenity" becomes the heading under which the whole panoply of ecological matters, which may have repercussions on our most vital life-support systems, must be subsumed.

㉙In this manner, the essential nature of the planning process is well suited to the "timeless" image of a serene and unchanging countryside, and is abetted in its superficial treatment of resource dynamics by countryside legislation. ㉚Consequently, ecology cannot conformably be integrated with traditional planning practice: it must 9 merely be grafted onto the periphery and remain a secondary issue and, to many planners, even a frivolous one. ㉛At the same time, ecological arguments have generally failed to be accorded a politically respectable pedigree, and are widely considered to be at variance with perceived social welfare objectives. 10 ㉜The more far-reaching environmental strategies — although not necessarily more radical than ambitious programmes of welfare redistribution — have lacked the same degree of public acceptance. ㉝To understand why, it is necessary to take a bried look at the growth of the environmental movement.

The Historical Basis of Amenity Preservation

㉞Countryside conservation has always been associated in Britain with the supposed benefits of environmental health, pleasantness and civic beauty. 11 ㉟In the 17th and 18th centuries, when enlightened foresters and landscape architects first rallied to its defence, the countryside was largely looked upon as a recreation ground for the better-off. ㊱The later impulse, which sprang in particular from middle-class repulsion of the worst excesses of the Industrial Revolution, formed part of a more widespread reaction to barbarian establishment attitudes towards culture, economics, social responsibility and the environment. ㊲However, as Smith[5] has observed, this led to a view which

> ". . . simultaneously feared and scorned the effects of urbanisation yet all too obviously benefited from its economic and social advantages."

㊳Such an ambivalent attitude was hardly likely to lead to a penetrating diagnosis:

> ㊴"The spatial separation of good and bad in the urban environment and the obvious differences in the appearance of the inner city and outer suburb made it extremely easy for the increasingly influential middle-classes to see the problems primarily in physical terms."

㊵And consequently,

> "The Victorian city believed that the clue to salvation lay in the proper development of sylvan and genteel suburbs within which town and country benefits were to be evenly mixed."

㊶The inevitable outcome was a cosmetic approach to conservation, emphasising the visual amenity of the countryside and playing down its role as a productive but sensitive resource based on photosynthetic growth. 12 ㊷Although there was a superficial concern for nature, it showed as little regard for the underlying ecological implications as did vague philanthropy for deep-rooted social problems.

㊸It could be argued that the present "official" concern for the environment is little more than a direct continuation of this. 13 ㊹Consider, for instance, the aims of the 1967 Countryside (Scotland) Act[6] as expressed in its long title:

> "An act to make provision for the better *enjoyment* of the Scottish countryside . . .",

and again in section 66:

> ". . . every Minister, government department and public body shall have regard to the desirability of conserving the natural *beauty* and *amenity* of the countryside."

㊺Why has this amenity, consumer-oriented approach been perpetuated at government level, and not been supplanted by a widely accepted, rigorous political analysis, as has occurred in sociology and economics? ㊻The answer is obvious: we also all too obviously benefit from the economic and social advantages of despoiling the environment — at least in the short-term. ㊼Any bureaucratic response to environmental lobbying will consequently be in the form of an enlightened and philanthropic reaction to our own barbarian values in economics, and the solution will be a cosmetic one — plant a few trees and forget about the fundamental issues.

Making Ecology a Popular Issue

㊽ If, by the introduction of ecology into planning, we mean simply the provision of a new jargon in which to dress up well-worn amenity arguments, it is easy to understand why ecology has been reduced to an esoteric, socially divisive, and politically unpopular issue. 14 ㊾ If ecological information is to be thus misused, it becomes clear why environmental matters have been submerged in the development process: it is not that the ecological case is inherently weak, but rather that planners have not yet put forward that case with sufficient seriousness.

㊿ In order to improve our present performance, therefore, we must first overcome the basic difficulty of translating ecological information into the planning process. 15 (51) The governmental approach to environmental conservation must change its emphasis from the preservation of amenity to the retention of maximum biological diversity and the rational evaluation and use of natural resources; planning must adapt to a longer-term and less superficial perspective of biotic resources, and even be prepared to let ecologic principles determine the framework of statutory plans.

(52) 16 However, if the ecologist's arguments are to carry political weight, he must be able to demonstrate, using the policies contained in development plans as his evidence, that our present activities are producing an environment which will ultimately become too squalid and unreproductive to provide a decent standard of living. (53) Likewise, economists will only be convinced if it can be shown that the conservation of genetical variety represents economically rational behaviour. (54) It has, for instance, been stated by Barkley and Seckler[5] that:

> ". . . the basic source of error in income accounts is their failure to reflect the changing values of non-market goods. The benefits of growth are apparent, the costs of growth are insidious."

Conclusion

17 (55) Ecology appears to have been grafted onto the periphery of planning, to a large extent simply permitting the well-worn concept of amenity to be couched in a more scientific jargon.

(56) The existence of this amenity bias is a major obstacle in the establishment of a truly effective approach to resource conservation, for many well-intentioned politicians and professionals genuinely remain under the impression that our environment is adequately served by present administrative provisions. 18 (57) It is not generally accepted that, despite the reform of planning law and practice, despite the addition of executive and advisory functions to the Nature Conservancy Council, despite the creation of a Department of the Environment, we have as yet only scratched the surface of the deep-rooted environmental problems which face us.

(58) It is thus the joint onus upon planners and ecologists to persuade politicians that the current approach to resource planning is an oblique and superficial one. (59) Admittedly, the need for the replacement of amenity criteria by ecological principles will be difficult for those responsible to accept, for the consequences may at first appear to have adverse effects upon our economic and social prosperity. (60) Nevertheless, the necessary evidence to counter this view does exist, and politicians are now becoming increasingly adept at convincing the public of the need to make short-term sacrifices in order to secure long-term benefits. 19 (61) If planners are to protect the environment in other than a purely cosmetic fashion, it must become an accepted fact that, in the long term, our economic and social welfare will be directly dependent upon the general condition of the natural environment.

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SIMPLIFIED AND ABRIDGED TEXTS: WHAT HAPPENS TO CONTENT AND SENTENCE STRUCTURE?[1]

1. Introduction

The complexity or simplicity of text can be viewed as a combination of at least three factors: content (propositional structure), the language used to express that content (linguistic and stylistic properties of the surface text), and the listener or reader. Studying the first two factors yields descriptions of texts or accounts of differences between texts and text types. The function of psycholinguistic studies of text processing is to examine whether processing correlates can be found for the content or language parameters, i.e., whether these factors actually explain why some texts are simpler to process than others[2].

The explicit aim of producing a simplified version is to maximise processing ease. Such a text should thus reflect the re-writer's intuitions about, firstly, what elements of content are obligatory, and how propositional content should be organised to increase readability. Secondly, it will reflect the re-writer's intuitions about linguistic factors in the surface text that are likely to facilitate processing. Simplified and abridged texts are thus not without a certain interest, since their special characteristics can provide processing hypotheses to be studied experimentally.

In this paper, unsimplified and simplified text will be compared from the point of view of content and a small selection of linguistic characteristics. After a brief description of the material (section 2), some remarks are given on content structure (section 3) and sentence structure (section 4). Processing considerations are briefly touched upon in section 5.

2. Material and method

The Life, Adventures and Piracies of Captain Singleton by Daniel Defoe[3] was chosen as the original (henceforth, O) text for three reasons: firstly, Defoe's sentence structure is interestingly complex, and the simplifier thus needs to introduce considerable changes; secondly, the text is a straightforward narrative in the first person with little dialogue; and thirdly, a convenient abridgement[3] (henceforth, the S version) exists in a series of graded readers.

In order to look at the development of content structure, a number of O episodes were examined for their content elements and functional relations between these, and similar analyses were carried out on the corresponding S episodes. One possible analysis of one pair of episodes is presented below.

To examine changes in sentence structure, samples of 2500 words were taken from the beginning of O and S. Though small, the samples seemed roughly adequate to bring out basic differences in some frequency distributions. The unit of observation was a clause, defined as in Quirk et al. 1972. The material contained 328 (O) and 394(S) clauses. The data was coded numerically using a 34-variable coding system, which concentrated on the subordination relations between clauses. Analyses were carried out using the BMDP statistical software package.

3. Content

What happens to content in simplification may be looked at in terms of the 'propositions' or 'text atoms' (cf. Enkvist 1975; van Dijk 1980) of the original text, their arrangement into an intermediate macrostructure, and the relation of this content structure with the content of the S version. The formalisation of propositions and the definition of their scope and the functions they realise is a major research topic in text studies (e.g. Mayer 1975; Frederiksen 1977; van Dijk 1979, 1980). For obvious reasons, a formal microlevel analysis (cf. Kintsch 1977) cannot and need not be attempted here.

For the present purpose, some episodes from O and S were taken apart into propositions, defined here as content units expressing a state of affairs, an action, or a thought, and corresponding fairly closely to the FACT representation of van Dijk (1980). Typically, the content of such a proposition tends to be expressed in a syntactic clause (cf. van Dijk 1979).

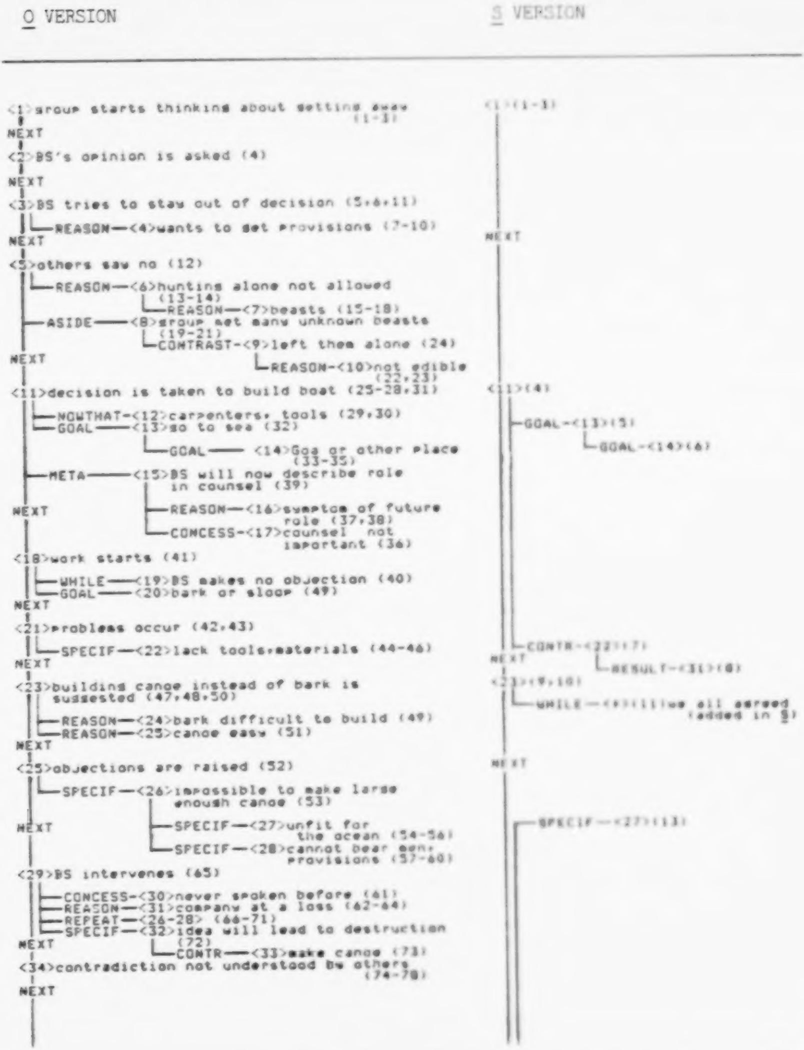
These propositions constitute a 'base list', an informal equivalent of the text base of Kintsch and van Dijk (1978). An intermediate macrostructural representation of the *O* content was constructed from the base list by creating a set of 'macropropositions' or summarising statements, for example by taking all propositions that enumerated the component parts of an action and constructing a more global statement from these. Van Dijk's macrorules (1977, 1980) represent an attempt to capture this process[4]. The associative functional relations between the resulting higher-level content units were determined, and the episode was organised into a temporal succession of macrostatements that carried the narrative forward. Other content units that had a subordinate or supplementary function were connected to these narrative points or nodes with links representing various types of relationship.
The purpose of this enterprise was to attempt a description of the content network underlying the surface text of the *O* episode, in order to see how the simplifier traversed the paths of this network in the process of constructing the abridged version.

In the episode to be examined here (p. 20-23 in the *O*), the protagonist, Bob Singleton, together with other sailors, has been left on a tropical island after an unsuccessful mutiny, and now begins to consider ways of escaping. A total of 149 propositions were extracted; the following is a sample from the base list:

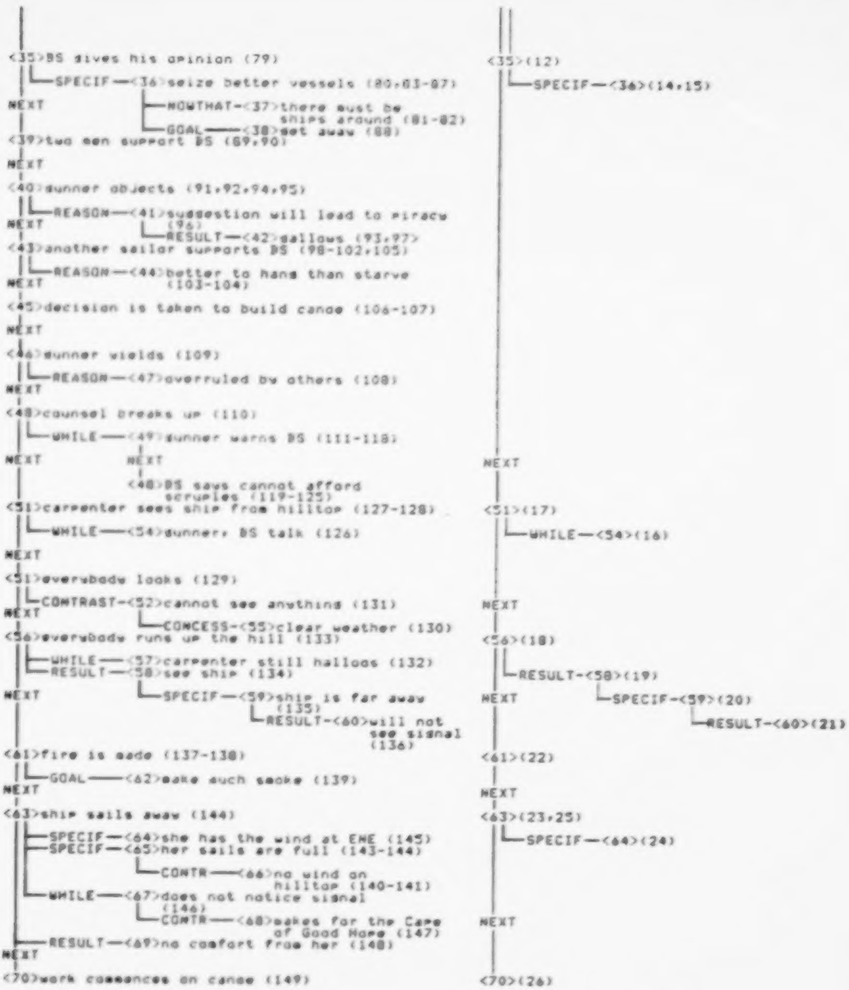
...
24. our consultations concerned the escape from this place
25. we were now upon the consultations
26. as I have said
27. (the consultations) ended in this (=30) only
28. we had two carpenters among us
29. they had tools of almost all sorts with them
30. we should try to build us a boat
31. we should go off to sea with (the boat)
32. then perhaps we might find our way back to Goa
33. we could land on some more proper place
...

Figure 1 (next two pages) gives one possible intermediate macrostructure of the *O* episode, and the arrangement of the content units chosen for the *S* version. Macropropositions are represented by numbers in angled brackets. Their content is also outlined in a few words. The numbers enclosed in curved brackets represent statements in the base list. A system of 12 associative functions[5] was used to describe the relations between the macrostructural content nodes.

FIGURE 1. The content structure of one episode in O and S.


O VERSION
S VERSION
<1>group starts thinking about getting away (1-3)
NEXT
<2>BS's opinion is asked (4)
NEXT
<3>BS tries to stay out of decision (5,6,11)
REASON—<4>wants to get provisions (7-10)
NEXT
<5>others say no (12)
REASON—<6>hunting alone not allowed (13-14)
REASON—<7>beasts (15-18)
ASIDE—<8>group met many unknown beasts (19-21)
CONTRAST-<9>left them alone (24)
REASON-<10>not edible (22,23)
NEXT
<11>decision is taken to build boat (25-28,31)
NOWTHAT-<12>carpenters, tools (29,30)
GOAL—<13>go to sea (32)
GOAL—<14>Goa or other place (33-35)
META—<15>BS will now describe role in counsel (39)
REASON—<16>symptom of future role (37,38)
CONCESS-<17>counsel not important (36)
NEXT
<18>work starts (41)
WHILE—<19>BS makes no objection (40)
GOAL—<20>bark or sloop (49)
NEXT
<21>problems occur (42,43)
SPECIF—<22>lack tools,materials (44-46)
NEXT
<23>building canoe instead of bark is suggested (47,48,50)
REASON—<24>bark difficult to build (49)
REASON—<25>canoe easy (51)
NEXT
<25>objections are raised (52)
SPECIF—<26>impossible to make large enough canoe (53)
SPECIF—<27>unfit for the ocean (54-56)
SPECIF—<28>cannot bear men, provisions (57-60)
NEXT
<29>BS intervenes (65)
CONCESS-<30>never spoken before (61)
REASON—<31>company at a loss (62-64)
REPEAT—<26-28> (66-71)
SPECIF—<32>idea will lead to destruction (72)
CONTR—<33>make canoe (73)
NEXT
<34>contradiction not understood by others (74-78)
NEXT
<1>(1-3)
NEXT
<11>(4)
GOAL-<13>(5)
GOAL-<14>(6)
CONTR-<22>(7)
RESULT-<31>(8)
NEXT
<23>(9,10)
WHILE—<*>(11)we all agreed (added in S)
NEXT
SPECIF—<27>(13)

(Fig. 1 continued)


<35>BS gives his opinion (79)
SPECIF—<36>seize better vessels (80,83-87)
NOWTHAT-<37>there must be ships around (81-82)
GOAL——<38>get away (88)
NEXT
<39>two men support BS (89,90)
NEXT
<40>gunner objects (91,92,94,95)
REASON—<41>suggestion will lead to piracy (96)
RESULT—<42>gallows (93,97)
NEXT
<43>another sailor supports BS (98-102,105)
REASON—<44>better to hang than starve (103-104)
NEXT
<45>decision is taken to build canoe (106-107)
NEXT
<46>gunner yields (109)
REASON—<47>overruled by others (108)
NEXT
<48>counsel breaks up (110)
WHILE——<49>gunner warns BS (111-118)
NEXT
NEXT
<48>BS says cannot afford scruples (119-125)
<51>carpenter sees ship from hilltop (127-128)
WHILE——<54>gunner, BS talk (126)
NEXT
<51>everybody looks (129)
CONTRAST-<52>cannot see anything (131)
NEXT
CONCESS-<55>clear weather (130)
<56>everybody runs up the hill (133)
WHILE——<57>carpenter still halloos (132)
RESULT—<58>see ship (134)
NEXT
SPECIF—<59>ship is far away (135)
RESULT-<60>will not see signal (136)
<61>fire is made (137-138)
GOAL——<62>make much smoke (139)
NEXT
<63>ship sails away (144)
SPECIF—<64>she has the wind at ENE (145)
SPECIF—<65>her sails are full (143-144)
CONTR——<66>no wind on hilltop (140-141)
WHILE——<67>does not notice signal (146)
CONTR——<68>makes for the Cape of Good Hope (147)
RESULT—<69>no comfort from her (148)
NEXT
<70>work commences on canoe (149)
<35>(12)
SPECIF—<36>(14,15)
NEXT
<51>(17)
WHILE—<54>(16)
NEXT
<56>(18)
RESULT-<58>(19)
NEXT
SPECIF-<59>(20)
RESULT-<60>(21)
<61>(22)
NEXT
<63>(23,25)
SPECIF—<64>(24)
NEXT
<70>(26)

The first thing to note is that while the O base list is 149 items long, the S base list contains 26 propositions. This indicates the extent of content reduction. Secondly, the S version is based on a small selection of NEXT-linked nodes. It is obvious that not all of the NEXT-linked nodes in the O have the same narrative or rhetorical height, and only the most central ones can be chosen for the S version. In a sense the S version thus represents a next higher version of content structure. The deletion of all but the central action nodes also results in the omission of most of the information that gives depth to the action sequence or the protagonist's character -- a feature which is also characteristic of stereotypical TV and comic-strip narratives. Similarly, META and ASIDE information is removed. For those action nodes that are selected, some supplementary information is present in most cases. Maximal reduction is thus not feasible, and the abridgement must still contain a sufficient amount of detail.

Simplifications are thus seen to resemble summaries or recall protocols (cf. van Dijk 1979) in that they contain some fairly high-level version of the content structure of the original. The base list propositions of the S version often tend to be summarising combinations of O propositions. Alternatively, and more commonly, it is those O propositions that directly express macrostatements that tend to get selected for the S base list. The base list propositions themselves are not essentially more complex in O as compared with those in S. The difference between O and S lies in the fact that the S representation is built up mainly of high-level generalised statements, and few supplementary propositions are linked with these.

The S version directly provides a higher-level content representation of the episode, and there is little danger that the reader would lose the thread of the story in a complex network of content units and associative relations. The comprehension of a narrative or any other type of text is, of course, a process of extracting and storing the central content structure. In the S version, this process is made easier for a reader who might otherwise need to direct most of his processing capacity to lower-order features of the text.

4. Sentence structure

Apart from the selection and organisation of content units, simplification also involves textualising these units in a certain way. Textualisation is largely independent of content structure; for example, one could easily take the 26 items of the S base list and write them into a single sentence with excessively complex syntax. In this section, some observations will be given on what happens to sentence structure in simplification.

Sentence and clause length. The coding system used in the analysis of sentence structure included a number of mechanical counts. Some results from these are given in the following.

Firstly and obviously, simplification leads into a reduction in the number of sentences, in fact by about 50 per cent. Mean sentence length in words is reduced by a similar factor, from 60.2 (O) to 33.8 (S) words. Mean clause length is also reduced, from 7.35 words (O) to 6.36 words (S), but as can be seen, the reduction is fairly slight. Thus, as far as length in words is concerned, clauses appear to remain relatively constant. Basic clause elements must obviously be present, and clauses are reduced mainly by editing out optional adverbials or shortening coordinated NPs. The mean number of clauses per sentence is reduced from 8.20 (O) to 5.25 (S). The variable of clauses per sentence thus gets clearly different values in the two versions. It is interesting to note in this connection that Ellegård (1978) found no differences in this respect between the four text types he studied in the Brown corpus, which suggests that some existing differences may have been masked by sample size. Thus, a S version introduces some changes in the way clauses are combined, while the clause itself does not undergo extensive changes.

The frequency distributions of sentences and clauses of different lengths are given in Figures 2 and 3.

FIG. 2.

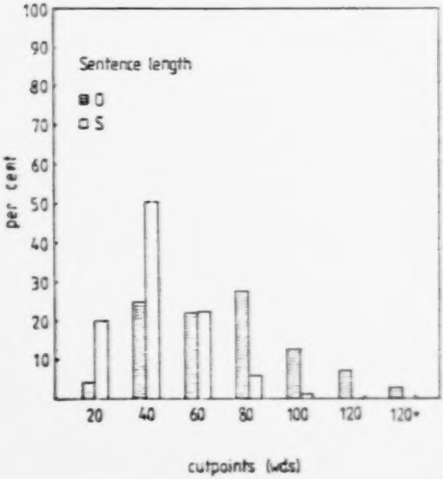
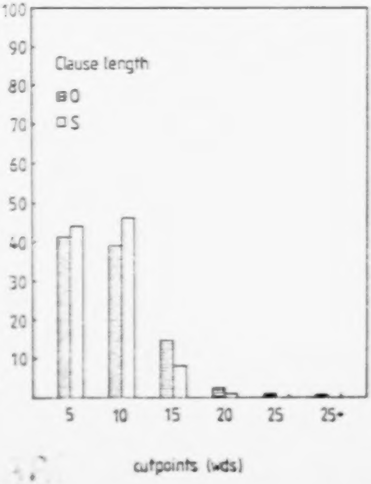


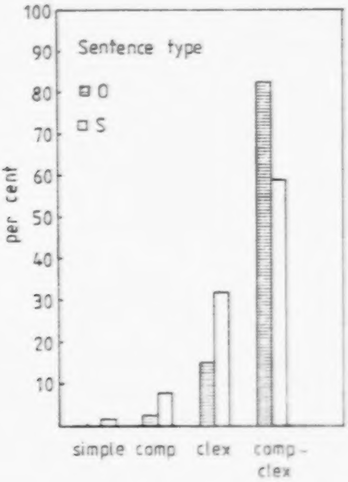
FIG. 3.



About 70 per cent of S sentences contain 40 words or less, whereas the O distribution is more even and also contains a number of sentences over 100 words long. The distribution of clause lengths changes relatively little, though there is a slight tendency for the S cases to concentrate even more clearly towards the shorter end, and though a small number of long clauses (with lists of coordinated object NPs, in fact) appears in the O version.

Sentence and clause types. Figure 4 gives the distribution of the sentences into the traditional sentence types for the two sets of material. The four types represent the pooled results from a variable which originally had six levels.

FIG. 4.



As can be seen, hardly any simple or compound sentences were present in the O sample, and the most frequent sentence type in O was the compound-complex sentence, often with complicated coordinations of subordinate clauses. Even in the simplified version, well over one half of the sentences have multiple main clauses with subordination. Compound-complex sentences are, however, clearly less frequent in S than in the O version, notably because there is a distinctly larger number of complex sentences with one main clause in S than in O. Simplification does not appear to involve the predominant use of simple sentences or coordinated main clauses. This would indeed be stylistically awkward, and would necessitate a considerable addition of redundancy, which would not contribute to clarity.

The distribution of clause types was studied in terms of the Quirk *et al.* (1972) categories. The variable of finite clause type contained 10 levels, including the usual classes of main clause and relative, nominal, adverbial and other dependent clauses. The variable of non-finite clauses was categorised into infinitival, participial, and verbless clauses, with various subtypes for the first two groups.

The percentages of the various types of finite and non-finite clause, calculated from the total number of clauses in *S* and *O* are set out below in Table 1.

TABLE 1. Percentages of clause types

	S		O	
FINITE CLAUSES:				
1st or only mcl	12.80	29.57	19.08	43.00
2nd mcl	10.06		13.99	
3rd mcl	5.18		6.87	
4th mcl	1.22		2.29	
5th mcl	0.30		0.76	
relative	17.07	48.17	11.45	38.93
that-nominal	7.01		10.69	
wh-nominal	3.05		3.31	
adverbial	16.46		12.47	
other	4.56		1.02	
NON-FINITE CLAUSES:				
infinitival	3.47	22.26	14.00	18.07
ing-participle	6.71		3.82	
ed-participle	1.22		-	
verbless	0.61		0.25	
	100.00		100.00	

Looking first at the types of finite and non-finite dependent clauses, it seems that moving from the *O* to the *S* version implies a reduction in the use of some clause types, for example relative and adverbial clauses, which typically contain modifying and elaborative information. On the whole, the reduction in the number of dependent clauses occurs chiefly for finite clauses. At the same time, there is an increase in the proportion of main clauses. Thus, as Figure 5 shows on the following page, simplification results in text where there are distinctly fewer subordinate clauses per main clause than in the original version. In *S*, information tends to be placed more often in main clauses, or alternatively, subordinate clauses with strictly speaking accessory information are edited out.

Figure 6 gives one more observation on clause types. This concerns the finiteness and non-finiteness of dependent clauses in the two samples. There

FIG. 5.

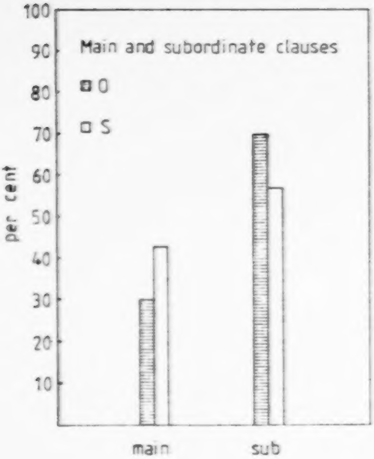
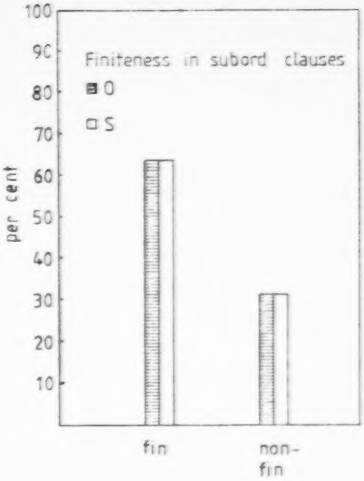


FIG. 6.



is no difference in the distributions, which suggests that redundancy addition by turning compact, non-finite constructions into finite structures either is not taking place, or, as actually seems to be the case, the O narrative contains few non-finite structures in need of simplification. This is probably connected with genre: the use of heavy participial modification is not likely to be as characteristic of narrative text as it might be of scientific expository writing, for example, where simplification might well demand the dilution of modifying structures by the manipulation of dependent clause finiteness.

Depth and subordination sets. The distribution of depth of embedding across all clauses is given in Figure 7. The pattern is reasonably clear: in the simplified version, the majority of clauses are either main clauses with depth 1 or embeddings at the shallower levels. For the O text, the cases are more evenly distributed across different depth levels. A crosstabulation of finiteness with depth indicates that in the original version it is particularly the non-finite clauses that are responsible for the more even distribution of depth; i.e., non-finite clauses often tend to occur deep down in the set of embeddings.

The embedded clauses suspended from a matrix clause may be divided into the usual four positional groups which will here be called subordination sets:

FIG. 7.

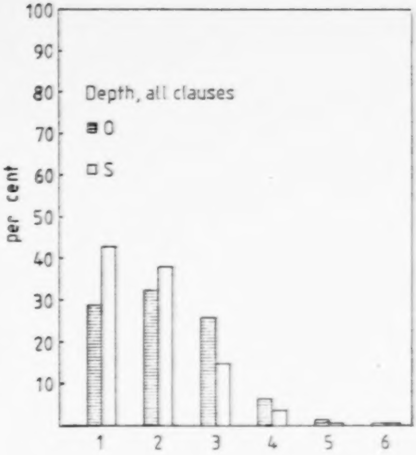
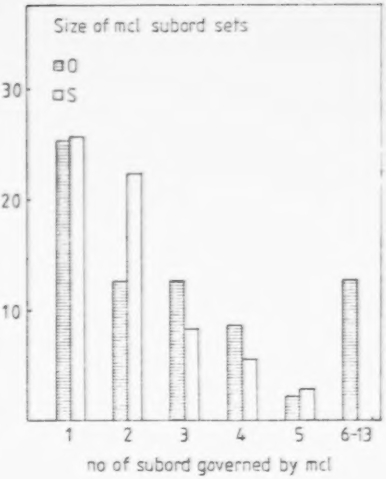


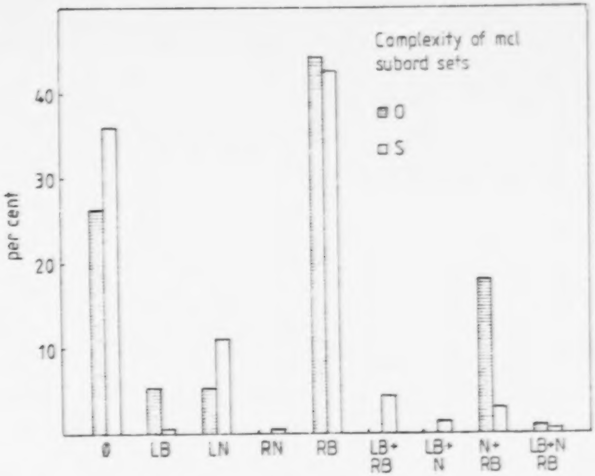
FIG. 8.



left-branching (LB), left-nested (LN), right-nested (RN), and right-branching (RB)[6]. One aspect of the complexity of the subordination sets is illustrated in Figure 8 for main clauses that function as matrix clauses. These are categorised into 6 groups according to the total number of embeddings suspended from them across all subordination set types. The considerable difference between O̲ and S̲ is perhaps best seen in the fact that there are several main clauses governing 6 to 13 dependent clauses in the original, and none in the S̲ version.

The complexity of the main clause subordination sets is illustrated in terms of their types in Figure 9, where the percentages of nine such types are given. The first pair of columns (0) represents main clauses with no embeddings; the next four pairs of columns represent main clause cases where a single set of one of the four types is governed by the main clause; and the final four pairs represent combination cases. It may be observed from Figure 9 that there are more main clause cases without subordinates in S̲. Although the single LB embedding suspended from a main clause is infrequent on the whole, nearly all LB occurrences come from the O̲ version. On the other hand, combination types involving LB embeddings appeared in S̲ but not in O̲. The N+RB combination is clearly more frequent in O̲ as compared with S̲. It is apparent for both the O̲ and the S̲ version that only a minority of

FIG. 9.



main clauses govern combinations of subordination sets. Thus, the sentence structure of the narrative text in the present case, though fairly complex, does not even approach the complexity of some other text types, especially law text. The obvious explanation lies in the demands of single-pass processing, which are briefly touched upon below.

4. Conclusion

In a simplified version, O propositions are collapsed into macropropositions or are deleted altogether. Thus a simplification resembles a precis or a recall protocol, where only the obligatory skeleton of the O content appears. This generalisation and reduction of semantic content has little effect on the surface clause, which actually tends to express a proposition in the present sense. But producing a simplified version immediately requires changes in the way propositional content is presented: fewer propositions tend to be expressed within the surface unit of the sentence. This results in the kinds of changes of sentence structure that were illustrated above: sentences become shorter though clauses do not, there are fewer clauses per sentence, the ratio of subordination changes, the overall depth of subordination becomes shallower, and the size, complexity, and combinatory possibilities of subordination sets are reduced. The result is that the content units selected for S are offered to the reader in chunks designed not to overload the comprehension system.

The essence of fluent understanding in listening or reading is fast recoding of surface constituents into rich semantic units. In this sense, there is a definite time element even in reading: the surface string must be perceived, its constituents must be segmented, and the relations of the constituents must be determined without too much delay. If unanalysed, the input string vanishes from the working memory with frustrating speed, and regressions to previous parts of the text are needed to recover the lost information. This disrupts the construction of a gist representation. A skilled reader, who glances through the 80-word sentence corresponding to the base list fragment given above, has no problem in holding the propositional content and relations in his or her mind simultaneously. Readers for whom simplified versions are usually written, e.g. intermediate non-native users of the language, need to devote a considerable portion of their processing capacity to the handling of intra-clausal relations, vocabulary, morphological signals, and even letters. The handling of foreign-language structures requires conscious attention. The fact that the S version gives only the skeletal main points of a text, without including the complex relational network of supplementary propositions, makes it more likely that global aspects of text meaning can be processed even if the reader needs to give much of his processing capacity to local features.

Results reported by Perfetti and Lesgold (1977) are related with these considerations. In probe recall tests, differences between skilled and less skilled L1 comprehenders are negligible when test materials consist of one-clause sentences. Extensive differences are obtained when test sentences (after which the memory probe is presented) contain two clauses. Thus, the processing demands connected with the integration of clause content may be a source of individual differences in comprehension. With single-clause sentences, the less skilled comprehender can still handle even the beginning of the sentence, but encoding a second clause already requires more work, and both clauses become less available (Perfetti and Lesgold 1977:155). In the case of simplification, the reduction of clause combinations serves to reduce working memory load. Bhatia's (1983) 'easification' of legal study materials involves a related reorganisation of complex text into more manageable units, and also employs a diagrammatic presentation aimed at developing gist recognition strategies.

It is obvious that subject matter with a complicated propositional structure easily leads to complex syntax on parameters like the ones briefly mentioned above. But propositional complexity does not necessarily require the use of complicated syntax. Neither is it the case that precision in the expression of content units and their semantic relations would necessarily demand complex surface forms. The convention of, say, legislation, whereby all the necessary conditions and qualifications are included within the scope of one sentence is, however, understandable since compactness tends to be a virtue, and the resulting prose is not meant to be read in the same way as normal prose, i.e. at a single pass. Whenever single-pass processibility is the aim, the content needs to be organised and presented keeping in mind the inherent limitations of the working memory.

Accordingly it is useful to build up syntactic units using only a moderate number of propositions, and to organise the sentences into natural sequences governed by a clear overall text strategy. This increases the likelihood that the reader will be able to handle the content structure with ease. Making complicated texts simpler to process thus depends largely on how the content units are linearised on the surface. This is also noted by Shuy and Larkin (1978) in their discussion of insurance policy language. A similar idea underlies courses given to Finnish lawyers (cf. Huovinen-Nyberg 1981) where, among other things, court decisions are rewritten as texts rather than as sentences, often with a 'narrative' type of text strategy. The present material seemed to indicate that a similar principle underlies simplification and abridgement.

NOTES

1. This paper continues an earlier one (Tommola 1980), and is partly based on work done with students in 1979 in a seminar where several samples of narrative text were compared with published simplifications or abridgements. The main aim was to study changes occurring in sentence structure, notably in clausal embedding relations.

2. Various content and language parameters can be suggested as factors in simplicity or complexity. Traditional readability indices, for example, concentrated on word frequency and such mechanical variables as sentence length, the number of prepositional phrases per 100 words, etc. (Klare 1974 lists several such formulas). Later syntactic complexity formulas attempted to take into account linguistically more interesting factors derived from various versions of generative grammar. Cloze techniques approach readability from the point of view of the reader; their original motivation came from information theory, but the construct validity of cloze can also be derived

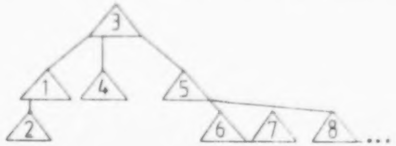
from considerations of the reader's pragmatic and linguistic expectancies. Recent experimental and other psycholinguistics has yielded an entire literature on linguistic factors which help or hinder the processing of text. Thus, for example, processing is affected by the need to make inferential bridges while constructing a mental representation of content (Clark and Haviland 1977), the semantic density of the material (Perfetti 1969, Kintsch 1977), or the extent to which paragraph structure helps the integration of new information with what was said before (e.g. Kieras 1978, Vande Kopple 1982). A syntactic factor that has received some attention is the number of future structural commitments that must be held in mind at a certain point, i.e., the question of certain forms of embedding as a source of syntactic complexity. This was represented in purely surface-structural terms by Yngve's depth measure; later research tends to consider this as a semantic question. Wanner and Maratsos (1978) address the same question in ATN terms and present experimental evidence for a HOLD hypothesis whereby transient memory load is increased in relative clauses by the necessity of holding the analysis of the matrix clause suspended while the embedded relative is being handled. According to a 'cue deletion' hypothesis, processing is also affected by the presence or absence of surface cues to underlying structure (e.g. Hakes 1972), which prevent the comprehender from being led down the garden path by canonical syntactic expectancies.

3. A 1951 edition, published by J.M. Dent & Sons, was used. The *S* version comes from a series called *Easy Readers*, published by Grafisk Forlag, Denmark, and a number of other publishers.

4. All the stages in such an analysis (delimitation of content elements, specification of the functional associative relations, and derivation of gist representations) tend to be subjective (Tommola and Neuvonen, forthcoming). Yet it should be possible, especially for a concrete narrative, to isolate the chief component actions with some reliability.

5. The NEXT relation is taken as a basically paratactic link which adds a new content unit at the next point in time. Additional associations often obtain betweeen nodes linked by NEXT, e.g. the RESULT relation between <21> and <23>. WHILE is used to refer to actions etc. taking place simultaneously. GOAL, REASON, and RESULT are self-explanatory; CONTRAST is an adversative and CONCESS a concessive relation. NOWTHAT is half-way between REASON and CONDITION (not needed here), and represents a function usually performed by clauses of circumstance (Quirk *et al*. 1972). SPECIF is a link connecting examples, specifications, or descriptive details to a superordinate node, while REPEAT denotes restatement of previous information. META and ASIDE are links which do not connect directly to content nodes; they merely signal the existence at some point of metatextual elements or other propositions detached from the actual content. For similar attempts to analyse the functional roles of text units of various sizes see e.g. Tirkkonen-Condit 1982 and Laurinen, forthcoming. Meyer 1975 and Lieber 1980 contain further discussion of functional roles.

6. The following example from the O version (shortened at the end) has a main clause (3) with a left-branching set (clauses 1 and 2), a right-branching set (clauses 5-), and a left-nested preverbal set consisting of clause 4.



1 Being now, (2 as I have said,) a considerable number of us and in condition to defend ourselves, 3 the first thing (4 we did) was 5 to give every one his hand 6 that we would not separate from one another upon any occasion whatsoever, 7 but that we would live and die together; 8 that ... (p. 18).

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A NERVOUS REPORT: THE TRANSFERRED EPITHET AND BODY LANGUAGE

Some ten years ago Robert A. Hall Jr (1973) drew our attention to a stylistic device which P.G. Wodehouse sometimes employed and which Hall calls the *transferred epithet*. Examples of this construction are:

(1) I balanced a thoughtful lump of sugar on the teaspoon (Joy in the Morning, 1946:Chapter 5)

(2) He was smoking a sad cigarette .... (Uneasy Money, 1917:Chapt. 9)

(3) She tapped Bruton Street with a testy foot ("The Amazing Hat Mystery" ca 1936)

(4) The first thing he did was to prod Jeeves in the lower ribs with an uncouth forefinger (Much Obliged, Jeeves, 1971:Chapter 4)

(5) ... I pronged a moody forkful ("Jeeves and the Impending Doom", ca 1926)

Hall observes that these adjectives appear to have been transferred from adverb position, modifying the verb of the clause, into prenominal position, ie *I thoughtfully balanced a lump of sugar* - *I balanced a thoughtful lump of sugar; He was sadly smoking a cigarette* - *He was smoking a sad cigarette* etc. These adverbs, in their turn, involve reference to the subject of the verb in each instance. Therefore it seems plausible to express these relationships by means of a number of transformations, viz: *I was thoughtful* + *I balanced a lump of sugar* - *I thoughtfully balanced a lump of sugar* - *I balanced a thoughtful lump of sugar*. There are, however, Hall points out, parallel constructions which we would not think of as containing transferred epithets, but accept as quite normal. Consider: *He uttered a surprised snort; She gave a sardonic laugh; I could not suppress a contemptuous sneer.* The sequence of transformations mentioned above does not explain why we find Wodehouse's phrases comic and unusual but not the examples just cited. Hall therefore comes to the conclusion that we cannot give a grammatical explanation of the stylistic effect of Wodehouse's examples, but have to explain them as manifesting semantic incongruity.

J. Levi (1975) and Ljung (1975) do not quite accept Hall's conclusion. They both suggest independent of each other that transferred epithets should indeed be derived transformationally from a deep structure involving a manner adverbial. They then proceed to account for the Wodehouse effect. Levi (1975:283) claims that it "lies in the juxtaposition of adjectives that can normally be used only to describe human feelings and activities, with head nouns that are neither animate nor nominalizations of "animate" activity". Ljung claims that the effect has to do with cognateness between the verb and the object of the clause in which the epithet occurs. Transferred epithets occur almost exclusively in object noun phrases. The more cognate this object is with the verb of the clause, the more acceptable it is to modify the object noun with an adjective that represents a manner adverbial. Thus, *to give or laugh a sardonic laugh* is a quite natural phrase since there is a high degree of cognateness between the noun *laugh* and the verb *laugh*. (Expressed in less scholarly terms: One can hardly "laugh anything" but a laugh.) If we return to examples 1 - 5, the underlined phrases in 2 - 4 are, according to Ljung, quite normal phrases. Their normalcy follows from the fact that there is a high degree of cognateness between the verb and the object in each case (ie between *smoke* and *cigarette*, *tap* and *foot*, *prod* and *forefinger*). The adjectives in the first and last examples, however, are strange because of the low degree of cognateness between *balance* and *lump of sugar* and between *prong* and *forkful*.

Having summarized previous accounts of the so called transferred epithet, I proceed to offer my own.

Let me start by listing a few adjectives involving reference to sensations: *angry, nervous, sad, happy, jealous, moody, hungry*. We would expect that these and synonymous adjectives should be able to modify all and only the nouns that denote entities that we think of as capable of the sensations implied. Indeed, it appears that any noun that we immediately accept as referring to an Experiencer can be modified by these adjectives: *an angry man, a nervous speaker, a sad child, a happy dog etc. etc.* These combinations could be said to adhere to the pattern Sensation-Experiencer (of sensation):

Pattern I: Sensation-Experiencer (of Sensation)

an angry man *a sad child*
a nervous speaker *a happy dog*

However, as Levi explicitly pointed out, we find it natural to combine these adjectives also with nouns that denote actions (a term I see fit to replace by the noun behaviour), for instance *sad smile, angry shout, nervous tremble, jealous stare*. These combinations could be said to adhere to the pattern Sensation-Behaviour(of Experiencer of Sensation):

Pattern II: Sensation-Behaviour(of Experiencer of Sensation)

a sad smile
an angry shout
a nervous tremble
a jealous stare

Levi does not explain, however, why we find these particular phrases normal and natural. My explanation is simply that this is so because they reflect our experience of real-world phenomena, ie that sensations may affect human and animal behaviour. Note, however, that they are only acceptable inasmuch as they do reflect what we judge to be natural cause-effect relations. That is to say, *a sad smile* strikes me as a perfectly natural combination, but *an uncouth smile* is less natural; likewise *a nervous tremble* is natural, but *a jealous tremble* is less so.

Hall, Levi and Ljung all recognize consciously or subconsciously the existence of the above two patterns. However, there are two other patterns relevant in this connection, viz:

Pattern III: Sensation-Body Part(of Experiencer of Sensation)

sad eyes
happy face
nervous hands
angry fist

Pattern IV: Sensation-Message(from Experiencer of Sensation)

jealous letter
angry telephone call
desperate note
furious article

The above phrases strike me as perfectly natural adjective noun combinations. Again, I explain this by claiming that they reflect our experience that messages and body parts (in particular eyes, but also hands and faces and voices, if we may class voice as a body part) are natural mediators of emotions. Moreover, we have noticed that sensations may affect the appearance of certain body parts and the character of certain messages. Therefore the mention of sensations in connection with words denoting these entities may have descriptive force, which after all is what we require of *bona fide* adjectives. *Sad* in *sad eyes* informs us not only of the feelings of the possessor of the eyes but also of their appearance. Compare in this respect *sad* in *sad cigarette*, which says nothing about the cigarette as such.

Examining these four patterns, we find that the Experiencer is explicitly mentioned in pattern I, while in patterns II, III and IV he/she/it is implied in the manner I have indicated. That is to say, the Experiencer is the "executor" of the behaviour in pattern II, it is the possessor of the body part in pattern III, and it is the author of the message in pattern IV. If we paraphrase the example phrases, we find some other differences: The combinations in group I allow paraphrases involving the verb experience:

angry man:	"man experiencing anger"
sad child:	"child experiencing sadness"
nervous speaker:	"speaker experiencing nervousness"
happy dog:	"dog experiencing happiness"

The combinations in group II may be paraphrased either:

sad smile:	"the act of smiling sadly"
angry shout:	"the act of shouting angrily"
nervous tremble:	"the event of trembling nervously"
jealous stare:	"the act of staring jealously"

or:

sad smile:	"smile giving expression to/manifesting sadness"
angry shout:	"shout giving expression to/manifesting anger"
nervous tremble:	"tremble manifesting nervousness"
jealous stare:	"stare manifesting jealousy"

The combinations in groups III and IV both allow manifest in their paraphrases:

sad eyes:	"eyes manifesting sadness"
happy face:	"face manifesting happiness"
nervous hands:	"hands manifesting nervousness"[1]
angry fist:	"fist manifesting anger"[1]

Footnote 1: The adjectives in these two combinations could also be thought of as representing manner adverbials.

jealous letter: "letter manifesting jealousy"
angry telephone call: "telephone call manifesting anger"
desperate note: "note manifesting desperation"
furious article: "article manifesting fury"

I make this point to illustrate that adjectives containing reference to sensations may modify inanimate nouns without necessarily representing a manner adverbial, which was Levi's and Ljung's contention. There is, I maintain, a semantic difference between *a hasty letter* and *a jealous letter*. The adjective in the former phrase could be said to function like a manner adverbial, but hardly in the latter.

In order to sum up my explanation of the Wodehouse effect I need to return to examples (1) - (5) once again. The phrases in (3) and (4) could hardly be said to be startling examples of poetic licence. I connect this with the fact that they adhere to an established pattern, viz pattern III. The phrases in (1),(2) and (5) are more striking combinations of adjectives and nouns. I would like to explain this by the fact that they do not comply with any established pattern. Perhaps we can look upon *a sad cigarette* and *a thoughtful lump of sugar* as an extension of pattern III and *a moody forkful* as a version of pattern II.

My suggestion is in other words that there are certain established patterns of adjective-noun combinations. These patterns owe their existence to the fact that they reflect frequently observed, plausible real-life relations. If we abandon these patterns or if we use them to express relations that are not well-established or do not suggest characterizing features, we are likely to produce combinations that are felt to be strange, eg *happy ears, sad cigarette, nervous paper*.

Besides the four patterns: Sensation-Experiencer, Sensation-Behaviour, Sensation-Body Part, Sensation-Message, there are three other patterns involving adjectives denoting sensations which, for the sake of completeness, I would like to describe briefly.

I have suggested that patterns II, III and IV reflect cause-effect relations, ie we look upon the sensation denoted by the adjective in question as a Causer (either Effector or Affector to be precise). Frequently, however, sensations assume the opposite role, ie they are the result of some phenomenon, as in Pattern V below:

Pattern V: Sensation-Causer (of Sensation)

happy event
sad news
amazing statement
terrifying thought

Finally, it is possible to combine adjectives denoting sensations with nouns referring to periods of time or places. Consider:

Pattern VI: Sensation-Time (at which Sensation occurs/occurred)

sad moment
happy days
exciting morning

Pattern VII: Sensation-Place (at which Sensation occurs/occurred)

unhappy home
the happy hunting-grounds
sad place

The Experiencer is implied in patterns II - VII, which makes these patterns less straightforward and more prone to restrictions than pattern I. In patterns II - IV the Experiencer is normally a specific person, usually implied by the linguistic context which, in turn, probably affects the syntax of the clauses in which they occur. In patterns V - VII, the Experiencer is often unspecific and not necessarily "recoverable" from context.

There is more to say about these adjectives and patterns. For instance, not all adjectives denoting sensations may occur in all the patterns. *Angry* does not take part in patterns V, VI and VII, for example[2]. For reasons of space, however, I abstain from further comments. Instead I would like to devote the last minutes of my talk to discussing some matters of theoretical interest.

The subject matter of this paper has been the semantics of certain adjective-noun combinations. As I have tried to demonstrate, the interpretation of these structures naturally involves finding meaningful

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Footnote 2: A native speaker of English in the audience pointed out that he would find *an angry classroom* quite acceptable. I therefore concede that this claim is too strong and should be modified with the adverbial *normally*. On the other hand, Aijmer whose article "Emotional Adjectives" reached me after the presentation of this paper, provides some interesting figures concerning the use of *angry* that support my suggestion.

referents for them. Some linguists hold the view that since the meanings of complexes of lexical items depend to such a high degree on context and other non-linguistic factors, any attempt to predict these would be futile. Any system of rules in this connection would on closer inspection evaporate into the thin air of pragmatics. I concede that the semanticist must pay due consideration to pragmatic aspects of meaning but believe, nevertheless, that the manner in which we combine, for example, adjectives with nouns is not unpredictable and that we generally adhere to certain strategies. A theory as to what such a system of strategies would be like in the case of predicating adjectives is presented in Aarts and Calbert, *Metaphor and Non-Metaphor. The Semantics of Adjective-Noun Combinations*. All the patterns I have discussed above are in fact mentioned in this book. I have worked with their theories for some time now and can testify to their usefulness. They help create order and in this way provide the semanticist with an overview, which is important.

My plea this afternoon is, then, that pragmatic and systematic approaches should join forces and I would like to end by demonstrating that such a liaison may provide explanations for certain semantic phenomena. I said earlier that *sad* in *sad eyes* has descriptive force. I suggest that we expect predicating adjectives - particularly in attributive positions - to have this descriptive or characterizing function and that this expectation is so firm that it may induce us to adjust the interpretation of adjectives in certain manners so that they become descriptive. Let me exemplify. A number of semanticists have pointed out that certain adjectives contain a semantic element of degree. *Hot*, for example, is analysed "having high degree of heat" and *tall* "possessing great length" and *old* "possessing high age" etc. Similarly, Ljung noted in his thesis on denominal adjectives that *stony*, *bushy*, *rocky*, for instance, suggest paraphrases such as "containing stones, bushes, rocks" and not "containing a stone, a bush, a rock". However, the presence of these elements of degree is quite erratic, at least when they denote a high degree. Thus *old* in *The baby is three months old* does not suggest "high age"; *stony* in *a stony patch* could refer to a single stone. It therefore seems to me that the existence of these elements depends on whether or not they are needed to make the adjectives in question characterizing. If we need them, we add them. If we do not need them, we ignore them, so to say. The presence of the semantic element "good/nice" in the adjectives in the phrases, *tasty raspberries* and *shapely legs* is motivated for the same reason, I suggest.

In view of the crucial role that I assign to this characterizing force of the attributive predicating adjective, it is unfortunate that it is so difficult to offer a generally valid, precise description of what it involves. The following represents a first attempt:

a) An adjective has no characterizing force if it denotes a feature that the referent of the noun it modifies possesses by definition - or more or less so. Thus, *a female woman*, *wet water*, *a male king*, *a legged table*[3], *a furred cat*[3], strike us as strange. Exception: In certain contexts, however, we may see fit to remind our audience of some 'by-definition feature', eg: "Don't go so close to the hot fire!", ?"What we need is a strong, male king!"

b) If an adjective denotes a concrete possessed item, this item must be in direct contact with the possessor. Thus *a uniformed person* is understood to mean "a person who is wearing a uniform" and not "a person having a uniform/uniforms (in his closet)". This would explain why **a carred man*, **a many-toyed child*, **a lovered lady* are ungrammatical. Exceptions: *wealthy* and *rich*. (The functions of the adjectives in *the landed gentry* and *moneyed people* are classifying rather than characterizing). I am not certain that this restriction has anything to do with the characterizing function of adjectives. It may be a general restriction on adjectivalization in English.

c) We tend not to accept temporary and fortuitous states and actions as characterizing: **a sorry girl*, **a well man*, **a husband-waking wife* (This last example is from Bolinger (1967:6-7)). Present participles - for instance *running* in *a running man* - are often denied adjectival status for this reason.

Footnote 3: For some reason, *-ed* adjectives cannot be graded if they have as their base an unmodified concrete noun: **very bearded*, **very tailed*, **very roofed*. This explains why the characterizing power of *legged* and *furred* cannot be 'saved' by the addition of some element of degree. Cf. *a furry cat*, which is interpretable as "cat having much fur".

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WILL THERE BE TEXTS IN THIS CLASS?
WRITING TERM PAPERS WITHIN A RESEARCH PROJECT

1. INTRODUCTION

A frequent complaint from teachers all over the world, at all levels of education, is that their students cannot write. Even when they have mastered syntax and spelling, they often have great difficulty in organizing their written production into coherent texts (cf Wikborg, in press). The problem seems to be particularly acute in Swedish universities, regardless of discipline, for several reasons,a couple of which may be mentioned here: the relative lack of writing practice at school level, and the lack of time and a coherent programme for creative writing at university level. A major project designed to chart and, if possible, remedy writing problems has been started at Stockholm University, in part inspired by The Bay Area Writing Project in the United States. See Björk (in press) and Wikborg (in press).

Our purpose here is to discuss writing problems at one particular level and in one specific field, viz the third term of the undergraduate course of English at Swedish universities, and to report on how working within a research project has helped us to come to terms with at least some of these problems. Our attention will focus on students specializing in English linguistics as distinct from English literary studies.

In Swedish universities, most undergraduates spend only two terms in any modern language department (a deplorable consequence of the fact that secondary school teachers are required to teach more than two subjects, and that the time of study required for a bachelor's degree is limited to three years). However, a small number of students do go on to do a third term involving a certain amount of specialization (and a subset of those students later do a fourth term as a possible transition to graduate study). The third-term students are required to produce an essay, or term paper, on a scholarly topic, corresponding to about four or five weeks' independent work. This part of the third term curriculum causes many of them great difficulties.

These difficulties should be seen against the background that in Swedish departments of English, the first two terms are to a large extent devoted to the pursuit of proficiency. English grammar is taught from a contrastive point of view, and the terminology is in Swedish. There are grammar exercises, translation practice, and,to a very limited extent, exercises in composition. In the third term, the students are suddenly required to produce a piece of scholarly writing in English, consisting of about 15 pages, on a literary or linguistic subject. For the purpose of training scholarly abilities such as using libraries, consulting bibliographies, making correct references and quotations, and methodology in general, as well as for discussions of finished papers, students are gathered in undergraduate seminars meeting seven or eight times in one term. In principle, the paper is to be finished before the end of the third term. In practice, this has rarely been the case. Many students give up altogether, which means that they get no academic credit at all for the term's work. Another large group of students take much longer than one term to finish their papers, which means that they may have to start with one instructor and finish with another, and that they will submit their papers for discussion in a new seminar group consisting of completely unknown students, something most of them find difficult and embarrassing.

The reasons for the failure rate are not difficult to find. Within the brief span of one term, students are expected to find a reasonable topic, master new English terminology, do a piece of non-trivial research, and write it up in a variety of English they have previously been unfamiliar with. This is an awe-inspiring task, even if their selection of a topic is facilitated by their instructor. In fact, it is more remarkable that some students actually succeed in producing term papers within the allotted time than that so many of them fail.

It is important to emphasize that the problem experienced by most students as the most difficult one is not that they have to express themselves in a foreign language. Moreover, although grammatical terminology is difficult, it can be taught and mastered. What students seem to find most difficult is structuring, first, their research, and second, their accounts of it. Many of them also suffer from isolation in their work, writing as they are on widely disparate topics and experiencing for the first time the 'solitary confinement' necessary for the actual writing process. In short, they share the problems of all writers in any given field - but they have too little time to learn to cope with them on their own.

When we started the project English in Speech and Writing (abbreviated ETOS for Engelska i tal och skrift)[1] at the University of Lund in 1981, we decided that the project should have a twofold aim. Our main concern would be the scholarly task of ascertaining differences between spoken conversational English and written informative English, on the basis of research on two computerized standard corpora of British English, viz the London-Lund Corpus of Spoken English (LLC), and the Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus (LOB), or on subsets of those corpora. We also decided that the project should have a strong pedagogical bias: we would strive to involve students at different levels, starting with the third-term undergraduates and hoping that some would continue at the fourth-term or graduate levels. Our motives were partly selfishly practical, partly altruistic. We realized the work force potential of the undergraduates - they would be able to help with much of the drudgery involved in corpus work - but we also had the possible benefits to our undergraduates very much in mind. We hoped that if a whole seminar group concentrated on the same or related tasks within the framework of a specific research project, this would enable the teacher to help all students to structure their research and writing, and it would also provide a support group with common interests among fellow students (see further Tottie et al 1983). These ideas were not new or original - eg Alvar Ellegård based much of his work The syntactic structure of English texts (1978) on student participation - but it seemed to us that they had not been sufficiently practised.

The first practical step that was taken was to compose a project manual (Tottie et al 1983), designed for individual student use and intended to give a general introduction to the ETOS project, its background, aims and material. Apart from a brief account of previous and current research on spoken and written English, and a select annotated bibliography (by Anna-Brita Stenström), the manual contains a detailed description of the project corpora (and the American Brown Corpus), including an indispensable illustrated survey of the many versions and adaptations of these corpora that are available for research (running texts, concordances and frequency lists, in printed or printout form, on computer tape or microfiche). It also contains a detailed account of the texts and genre categories in the various corpora, including the special subsets selected for the ETOS project and designated as the Mini and Midi corpora.

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[1] The project is funded by the Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences.

In what follows, we wish to report on nearly two years' experience of conducting undergraduate seminars within the framework of the ETOS project. Since the transfer of Gunnel Tottie to the Department of English at Uppsala University in 1982, the project has been extended to include the undergraduate seminar in English linguistics at that university. For practical reasons, work has been conducted along very different lines at Lund and Uppsala. At Lund, students have been offered a wide selection of topics each term, whereas at Uppsala, work has concentrated on one specific area of grammar. We therefore propose to give separate accounts of our work at Lund and Uppsala. Our reports will differ in focus, concentrating on research topics and pedagogical method, respectively. Finally, we will present a joint conclusion, discussing the relative merits of our different approaches.

2. LUND

The general lack of writing practice and linguistic schooling among Swedish university students of English is typically illustrated by the situation at Lund University. When the students begin their third term, they have attended brief courses in composition as part of their language proficiency programme, but they have no experience of independent scholarly work and how to report their findings in a term paper. Their knowledge of English grammar and linguistics is limited to the presentation given in contrastive handbooks (eg Svartvik & Sager 1977) or general introductions (eg Greenberg 1977). Hence, they can be said to be handicapped in three vital areas: English composition, research and linguistics.

In order to compensate for these deficiencies, the English department at Lund now offers a short preparatory course in English linguistics at the beginning of the third term. The course is adjusted to the goals of the ETOS project and offers a grounding in English stylistics (based on Crystal & Davy 1969 and 1975, and Leech & Svartvik 1975), with a strong emphasis on practical analysis of spoken and written English texts. At the end of the course the students make an independent study of some aspect of English style and summarize their results in a short paper (5-10 pages). The students are given intensive counselling on how to organize their papers, and the finished papers are provided with detailed comments by the instructor and finally discussed in class or in individual sessions with the students. This introductory course has proved to be a success: students often express their appreciation of the individual attention given to them, and many in fact develop their course papers into full-length term papers.

Concurrently with the introductory linguistics course, the students begin to attend group seminars introducing them to basic research methods, composition techniques, and to the ETOS project. The spoken and written material is presented, background articles of general interest are studied (eg Chafe 1982, Akinnaso 1982), and possible research areas are discussed. Having chosen their topics (which are further defined in private tutorials) the students are set free to work on their research tasks, individually or in groups. During the remainder of the term the seminars serve as a forum for discussing common problems, interim reports and, finally, the finished papers.

The remainder of this section will be devoted to a brief account of the special research 'profile' at Lund and some of the problems connected with this. To accommodate a fairly large number of participants (10-15 per term), the undergraduate programme at Lund was given a fairly wide scope from the start, permitting a comparatively broad selection of research topics. Hence, rather than concentrating on a single theme (as at Uppsala), a set of research areas were defined, partly along the lines suggested for Swedish by Teleman (1974:9-16). Each area was divided into a number of topics that were judged suitable for study by inexperienced students with limited time at their disposal. Since the autumn of 1982 work has been going on in the following areas (for a full list of topics and other details, se the Appendix):

1 Vocabulary
2 Linkage
3 Interaction and involvement
4 Focus and thematic structure
5 Grammatical structure and complexity
6 Language and sex

The reasons for focusing on these research areas have been both practical and theoretical. Most of them concern central aspects of English that the students are likely to be familiar with from their language training classes and therefore require little extra schooling to understand. All of them involve variable linguistic properties that can be expected to reveal interesting differences in spoken and written discourse, even in small-scale investigations based on a limited material. Some of them have attracted comparatively little attention in previous empirical studies; others have been more extensively treated, but with little regard to patterns of distribution in speech and writing - and even when this has been the case, the findings have often been based on different or inadequate material and therefore deserve to be tested on the basis of the 'prototypical' varieties included in the ETOS corpora. Some areas, finally, have been previously studied on comparable Swedish material (eg Einarsson 1976, 1978) and therefore offer good opportunities for cross-linguistic comparison. Such comparisons are of interest, not only because they may throw some light on the generality of stylistic differences, but also because they are interesting and useful to Swedish learners of English.

All these areas have not been offered for study all the time. The emphasis has generally been on two or three areas each term, and has shifted gradually as some ground has been covered and a new generation of students has had to be provided with fresh topics. Hence, the list above should be seen as the past and current stages in a slowly evolving research programme that is subject to constant adjustment in the light of experience and new ideas. The area 'Language and sex', for example, was not part of the original programme, but was added at the suggestion of two female undergraduates as an alternative option for students with a strong personal interest in the social roles of men and women and the way these affect linguistic behaviour. It may be dismissed as a marginal and trendy subject, but has in fact proved to be a fruitful one, not only because of the general information it provides about various communicatively important phenomena (such as pausing, turn-taking, the use of tag-questions, softeners, nuclear tones, etc) and the different constraints - whether grammatical, social, sexual or individual - that regulate the use of these. Sex-differentiated language has been investigated fairly extensively in recent years, in English as well as Swedish, and the conversational texts of the ETOS corpus (where the sex of the speakers is indicated) are in many ways well suited for comparative studies in this respect (see Altenberg, this volume).

Since the spring of 1982 more than twenty-five undergraduates - mainly third-term students - have been engaged on studies in these six research areas (cf the Appendix). The great majority of these have been completed in the time recommended (4-5 weeks' intensive work) and presented in the form of term papers discussed in group seminars. The quality of these papers has of course varied, with regard to style as well as content. Yet, the general effect of integrating regular undergraduate course work within the framework of a research project has been decidedly positive. The papers have on the whole been well written and well structured (the exceptions have been deficient in language rather than in composition technique), and most of them have treated their topics in a competent and resourceful way. Although the studies have necessarily been restricted in aim and scope, many of them have given valuable contributions to their research areas (for some of the results, see Altenberg, this volume). Studies of this kind are a good illustration of how undergraduate research can serve to increase our knowledge of linguistic phenomena.

3. UPPSALA

At Uppsala, the undergraduate seminar during the autumn of 1982 focused on adverbials in speech and writing. The scholarly results are described in Tottie (this volume).

The Uppsala students' background was similar to that of the Lund undergraduates: they had studied Svartvik & Sager (1978) and were thus to some extent familiar with the grammatical system of Quirk et al (1972), if not with English terminology. At the beginning of the autumn a course on grammatical theory and English linguistics was offered, based on Langacker (1973) and Quirk & Greenbaum (1973). Selections from both were studied, and students were thus initiated to linguistic problems and English grammatical terminology. This course, one of the standard requirements of the Uppsala English department, differed in many respects from the introductory linguistics course at Lund described in the preceding section: it was more theoretical, it was taken by many students not planning to do work in English linguistics, and the final test was a conventional paper consisting of questions to be answered within four hours, which means that it could not serve as writing practice.

Parallel to this course, the project seminars started, drawing six serious students. The students were told that we would meet more often than the stipulated eight times: every week at the beginning of term, and as often as required later on. A brief presentation of the ETOS project was given, and the ETOS manual (Tottie et al 1983) was distributed. There was also a short introduction to the study of adverbials and, in particular, to the semantic and structural properties that we were to investigate. However, the most pressing concern seemed to be to impart a better understanding of spoken language to the students. We therefore listened to some of the taped conversations accompanying Crystal & Davy (1975). The students were asked to try to characterize the properties of these conversations, and they obviously remarked on such features as repetitions, interruptions, speaker overlaps, etc. They were then asked to transcribe a short portion of text without looking at the book, a task which, not unexpectedly, they found extremely difficult and time-consuming, and which brought home to them the enormous differences between conversational and written language. Parts of Crystal & Davy (1975) were assigned as homework and discussed.

The second task was to focus on the description of adverbials. Chapter eight of Quirk & Greenbaum (1983) was assigned for close reading and comparison with the sections on adverbs and adverbials in Svartvik & Sager (1978:333-348, 365-375, and 426-441). The similarities and differences as well as the virtues and drawbacks of the two systems were discussed.

The third step was to familiarize students with the texts they were to analyze. Specimens of conversational and written English from our corpora (photocopies of pages from Svartvik & Quirk 1980 and computer printouts from LOB) were distributed. As homework, each student was asked to analyze the adverbials occurring in a few hundred words of each variety according to the model of analysis offered by Quirk & Greenbaum (1973), and to keep track of all problems arising in the coding and to bring them to class for discussion.

It turned out that the Quirk & Greenbaum classification of adjuncts (pp 210ff) was too complicated for our use, and we therefore opted for the simplified system described in Tottie (this volume). There were, of course, numerous problems of analysis, and after discussing them at seminars, the solutions adopted were listed on sheets of coding instructions. This went on for a few weeks, with updating of the instructions every week until there was a five-page booklet that covered the most recurrent types of difficulties. If students had problems of analysis between seminars, they were encouraged to come to office hours twice a week for on-the-spot rescue.

After about six or seven weeks, the students felt confident enough to undertake independent analysis of larger chunks of material. Each of them was supposed to cover 5 000 words of spoken material and 5 000 words of written material. In actual fact, four of the six students decided to work in pairs, submitting joint papers covering twice the individual quota of material. To facilitate their work, they were given mimeographed worksheets based on experiences culled from their initial analytical work, where data could be entered in tabular form.

When the students had been working with the data for a couple of weeks, there was a meeting to decide on guidelines for the organization of papers. We paid particular attention to the construction of tables, as there would obviously be a fair amount of statistics, and it was necessary to ensure easy comparability of data from the different papers, and ultimately, conflation. We thus had to decide both what information was to be conveyed by tables and how it was to be distributed along different axes. We decided on a 'lowest common denominator' for all papers, but students were of course free to present additional material and analyses, which several of them also did (eg subcategorization of place adjuncts into those of source, direction, etc).

We also discussed general principles of organization of papers, such as the amount of background information to be included, types of linguistic exemplification to be supplied, etc. The students were then asked to write first drafts of their papers and to submit those to Gunnel Tottie for perusal and discussion. From now on, work was done individually or by students in pairs, and we had short but frequent discussions during office hours.

By Christmas time, all but one student had finished first drafts, and by January 15, revised versions. These were photocopied and distributed to the remaining members of the group. On January 26, about one week into the spring term, there was a final meeting with a discussion of the three papers that had by then been completed, two joint papers and one written by a student working on her own.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The hopes we had when we started the ETOS project concerning student co-operation, both as regards scholarly results and the production of term papers, have been fulfilled. More than ninety per cent of the undergraduates working within ETOS have produced papers of reasonable quality within the stipulated time. A concerted effort towards a shared goal, centering on a common topic area, has proved to be an efficient means to stimulate students to more efficient writing by providing a common frame of reference and a supportive peer group. (This experience is of course not unique: for instance, literary seminar groups in the Uppsala English department have proved much more successful in terms of output of essays when they have been organized as projects focusing on one particular research area, than when students have been working individually on widely disparate subjects.)

If project-oriented work thus seems generally beneficial, there are of course differences between the approaches described above that may merit some attention. The fact that the Uppsala adverbials project focused on a narrowly defined area offered many advantages: in addition to the above-mentioned ones of a shared frame of reference and peer-group support, it was possible to discuss the organization of papers in great detail in class, as well as aspects of scholarly writing. Moreover, the instructor was able to give a great deal of individual attention to each student, simply because the concentration to one research topic is much less taxing than advising on a variety of subjects simultaneously.

The potential disadvantages of a unified approach are obvious. Some students, perhaps especially the more gifted ones with strong research interests of their own, may feel that the tight organization of a project-oriented seminar prevents them either from pursuing their own interests or from structuring and presenting their research in the manner they find most appropriate. There were no complaints in the 1982 Uppsala group - in fact, reactions were overwhelmingly positive - but the risk is a real one and must not be minimized. It is essential that students who have viable research ideas of their own should be encouraged and helped to realize them. Offering project-oriented seminars every other term and 'general' seminars every other term, as is currently the case at Uppsala, may be at least a partial solution.

Students are obviously much freer to pursue their own interests if a more diversified approach is taken, as at the Lund English department. Those to whom concepts like 'syntax' and 'grammatical structure' are anathema have been given at least some chance of finding a topic that is closer to their hearts. Also, the flexibility of the programme has left some scope for individual proposals and initiatives. The area 'Language and sex', for example, was introduced at the suggestion of two female students, who embarked on their task with great enthusiasm and produced good papers on the subject (see Altenberg, this volume).

Some negative observations concerning the research programme at Lund should also be mentioned. The fairly generous policy adopted there, offering a comparatively wide selection of topics in several research areas, has inevitably had a certain 'scattering' effect on the research effort, and has tended to delay results in many research areas. On the whole, however, the experience of working within a common framework has had a wholesome and stimulating effect on both instructor and students.

What we have not been able to achieve within the limited scope of the ETOS project has been to provide a more general training in composition. This is a field which, as we remarked at the outset, is sadly neglected in the Swedish system of education. What one would wish for now is a systematic and integrated approach to the training of writing, starting during the first terms of undergraduate study. In English, it should involve not only the existing 'free writing' classes but should comprise course papers in such subjects as English literature and British and American 'realia'. Examination by means of course papers is standard practice in other countries, and our experience of the introductory English linguistics course at Lund has shown it to be extremely beneficial to students. It seems certain that such a pervasive programme would be useful to undergraduates and help them not only to produce reasonable term papers but to make them confident about writing in their future careers.

APPENDIX

Undergraduate studies on spoken (S) and written (W) English
at Lund University (1982 - May 1983).

Vocabulary:

J Lundgren, Great, big and large (S/W, BE/AE)
H Nordin, Lexical density, variation and originality (S/W)
S Ohlsson, Word-class distribution (S/W)
E Ryberg, Word-formation (S/W)

Linkage:

B Bjursten, Contrastive and concessive connecters (S/W)
K Hallin, Coordination and ellipsis (S/W)
K Price, Causal connecters (S/W)

Interaction and involvement:

G Barkenius, Interaction signals (S)
A Bengtsson & M Bertilsson, Modal auxiliaries, mental verbs and subject types (S/W)
Z Fritzon, Dialogue in genuine conversation and literary drama (S/W)
B Merkel, Attitudinal and style disjuncts (S/W)
C Paradis, Hesitation (S)
E Thomasson, Expressions of vagueness (S/W)
B Ahman, Softeners (S)

Focus and thematic structure:

M Elnertz, Marked focus (S)
E Larsson, Marked word-order (S/W)
A Olsson, The passive (S/W)

Grammatical structure and complexity:

B Andersson, The structure of the noun phrase
U Hedling, Adverbials (S/W)
M Johansson, Non-finite clauses (S/W)
P Lindberg, Position and types of adverbial clauses (S/W)
U-B Nilsson, Sentence types and sentence structure (S/W)
J Sperski, The syntactic structure of tone units (S)

Language and sex:

E Klang, Sex-specific language in same-sex conversations (S)
C Rosmark, Sex-specific language in cross-sex conversations (S)

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LEXICAL AND SEX-RELATED DIFFERENCES IN SPOKEN AND WRITTEN ENGLISH

SOME RESULTS OF UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH AT LUND UNIVERSITY

1. BACKGROUND

When the project English in Speech and Writing (in Swedish Engelska i tal och skrift - ETOS for short) was started at the English Department, Lund University, in 1981, one of its aims was to incorporate undergraduate students into the research activity, for the mutual benefit of the students and the project itself (see Tottie et al 1983). Since then, more than twenty-five undergraduate studies - mainly by third-term students - have been produced on various aspects of spoken and written English (see Altenberg & Tottie, this volume). The aim and scope of these studies have of course been restricted, and the quality has varied, but many of them have given valuable contributions to our knowledge of English speech and writing. The purpose of this paper is to summarize some of the results that have emerged in two different areas: (a) vocabulary and (b) language and sex. My presentation, although brief and sketchy, will, I hope, illustrate the kind of undergraduate research that is in progress at Lund, and perhaps serve to inspire others to do similar work.

I have chosen to concentrate on lexical and sex-related differences, not because they are necessarily more central or fully covered than other areas investigated in the project, but because they have been the subject of partly overlapping studies which offer interesting opportunities for comparison, both mutually and with other studies, on English as well as Swedish material. They are also good examples of two radically different research areas that can be fruitfully investigated, even by linguistically inexperienced students, on a limited material.

Although they may appear to concern fairly superficial properties of language, both areas in fact reveal central features of spoken and written discourse and the way these are related to various situational constraints. The lexical studies focus on certain structural and systematic (rather than individual) differences in the vocabulary of speech and writing, such as the distribution of word-classes and patterns of word-formation. Apart from their obvious stylistic interest (eg nominal vs verbal style, simple vs complex words), differences in these respects are also grammatically revealing, since they reflect syntactic options (eg nominalization vs finite expression, compression vs dilution) which are closely associated with the different planning and processing conditions of spoken and written discourse.

The studies in language and sex have a strong sociolinguistic bias and are primarily concerned with interactive and paralinguistic features in spontaneous conversation. Although their main purpose is to establish sex-related differences, they also highlight phenomena that play an important role in conversation regardless of sex (turn-taking, hesitation, tag questions, softeners, etc) and which are determined by a range of rather elusive factors.

The material used for these studies (described in detail in Tottie et al 1983) consists of surreptitiously recorded spontaneous conversations from the London-Lund Corpus of Spoken English (printed in Svartvik & Quirk 1980) and public expository prose from the Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus of British English (described in Johansson et al 1978). These can be regarded as 'canonical', maximally contrasted varieties of spoken and written English, which are likely to reveal differences of great linguistic and pedagogical interest. For student use, two smaller subsets were selected from these corpora: a 'Midi' corpus of 100 000 words, and a 'Mini' corpus of 10 000 words, from each variety. In most cases the students have used the Mini corpus, but sometimes larger samples have been necessary. It goes without saying that the material is often too small for far-reaching conclusions, but for comparative purposes even small-scale investigations based on this material are of considerable interest.

2. SPOKEN AND WRITTEN VOCABULARY

Three studies were devoted to the distribution of lexical categories and other general properties of the vocabulary in the two corpora. The following aspects were dealt with:

- o word-class distribution
- o word-formation (especially derivation)
- o lexical density (the proportion of content words)

- o lexical variation (type-token ratio)
- o lexical originality (text-specific vocabulary)
- o rank-order differences of high-frequency words

Some of the findings, obtained by random sampling from the Mini corpus, are outlined in Table 1. The table gives the relative frequency of the features examined, expressed in tokens per 100 words. A rough picture of the tendencies in the material is given in the right-hand column, where a '+' indicates predominance in speech, a '-' predominance in writing, and a '=' equal, or almost equal, distribution. No significance testing has been attempted, and small differences between the two varieties should therefore be treated with caution.

2.1. WORD-CLASS DISTRIBUTION

The distribution of word-classes in the two corpora was examined in a study by Stina Ohlsson. Her results, confirmed and amplified in several respects by the other studies to be discussed below, reveal a clear differential pattern: the spoken material has a higher frequency of lexical and auxiliary verbs, pronouns and interjections, and the written material a higher frequency of adjectives, determiners, nouns and prepositions. This alignment is in accord with Wells's (1960) well-known distinction between a 'verbal' and a 'nominal' style, based on the (impressionistic and consciously simplified) observation that language use is characterized by two structural alternatives that can be paired and transmuted. 'Verbal' forms of expression generally have a 'nominal' counterpart (and vice versa), and the change from one to the other tends to affect related word-classes in a systematic way: verbs attract adverbs and conjunctions, nouns attract adjectives and prepositions (cf because his father suddenly died and due to his father's sudden death).

Wells's distinction, which was largely based on writing and not explained in situational terms, can be profitably applied to spoken and written discourse, and be clarified with reference to the different situations in which these are produced (on situational differences, see eg Ochs 1979, Akinnaso 1982, Chafe 1982). Speech, especially in its prototypical form - spontaneous face-to-face conversation - is likely to promote a 'verbal' style for a number of reasons. Its speed of delivery and real-time planning offer little opportunity for editing and integration of ideas into large and complex structures, but break down the flow of

Table 1. Some lexical differences in the spoken (S) and written (W) material.

Categories	S	W	Diff
Word-classes:			
Nouns	12.5	28.5	-
Verbs	27.4	12.4	+
auxiliaries	7.2	5.2	+
lexical verbs	20.2	7.3	+
finite	13.5	5.2	+
non-finite	6.7	1.6	+
Pronouns	21.2	8.3	+
Prepositions	9.1	13.0	-
Adverbs	11.1	9.3	+
Conjunctions	9.1	9.8	=
Determiners	1.9	11.9	-
Adjectives	3.8	6.7	-
Interjections	3.8	0.0	+
Word-formation:			
Simple words	93.5	86.5	+
Compounds	0.5	3.5	-
Derived words	6.0	10.0	-
Prefixation	0.6	0.9	=
Suffixation	5.4	9.1	-
Lexical density	39	46	-
Lexical variation	62	70	-
function words	50	49	=
content words	81	95	-
Lexical originality	77	80	-

information into a succession of short, grammatically simple, finite units; it takes place 'in context', which means that much information is shared by the participants and can thus be taken for granted, or else be clarified by deictic or paralinguistic means; it is both egocentric and sociocentric, which promotes expressions related to the contact, roles, feelings and beliefs of the participants; finally, it is naturally message-oriented with little regard for verbal form and correctness.

Writing, on the other hand, especially the public, expository kind selected for the ETOS studies, is produced with time for planning and editing, which permits an organized way of expression and the integration of ideas into larger and more complex structures; it takes place 'out of context', generally without a clearly identifiable audience, which means that assumptions, references and ideas have to be made explicit and 'contextualized' by linguistic (but non-prosodic) means; it is a public activity, resulting in a permanent record and shaped by a long tradition, which makes for 'channel-orientation' and a high degree of style-consciousness. All these factors promote a 'nominal' style characterized not only by a greater number of (often abstract) nouns and nominalized verbs and adjectives, but also by other word-classes associated with the noun phrase, such as determiners, attributive adjectives and prepositions.

It is also instructive to look at the degree of difference shown by the distribution of the word-classes. Interjections only occur in the spoken sample; they are typically speech-specific and need no further comment. The second largest difference is to be found among the determiners, which are about six times as common in the written as in the spoken sample. This is largely due to an increase in the use of the definite article in the written material, and can be explained as the combined result of the nominalizing tendency in written discourse and the fact that reference is often achieved by pronouns in speech.

On the whole, the different patterning of nouns, pronouns and verbs in the two corpora shows an interesting correlation. The increase of nouns in the written material is counterbalanced by a corresponding increase of verbs in the spoken material, a contrast which is well in line with Wells's argumentation for nominal/verbal commutability. The fact that the verbal increase in speech is primarily due to a greater employment of lexical (rather than auxiliary) verbs further supports this. However, the higher frequency of nouns in the written sample is also connected with the increase in pronouns in the spoken sample. As mentioned, the 'decontextualized' writing situation requires greater explicitness and referential clarity. This is to a large extent accomplished by endophoric referring expressions consisting of a definite determiner and a noun phrase. In face-to-face conversation, on the other hand, reference is either evident from the speech situation, or else achieved by paralingustic means or by deictic pronouns (cf Ochs 1979:68). Moreover, the disintegrated character of spoken discourse makes heavier demands on the use of anaphoric pronouns for cohesive purposes, to link referents in short successive information units. As Thavenius has shown (this volume), this results in a higher frequency of pronominal 'chains' in spoken texts. Another speech-specific phenomenon is the profusion of mental self-reference expressions and interactive 'softening' particles (I suppose, I think, I mean, you know, you see, etc), which serve a variety of pragmatic and stylistic functions in face-to-face conversation. All these factors contribute to a higher frequency of pronouns (and finite verbs) in spoken discourse, especially the speech-role pronouns you and I and the third-person pronoun it (cf Thavenius, this volume). This is also confirmed by Nordin's study (see below), in which 76% of the pronouns in the spoken sample were personal, as against 29% in the written sample. Hence, the differential patterning of nouns, pronouns and verbs in the material is hardly surprising (for similar results, see DeVito 1966, Poole & Field 1976, Chafe 1982 and, for Swedish, Einarsson 1978:42ff); it underlines the close correlation between word-class distribution and situational/pragmatic factors.

The differential patterning of the remaining word-classes is less pronounced. The moderate increase in adjectives in the written material is partly offset by a greater frequency of adverbs in conversation, but an additional reason is that adjectives are about twice as common in attributive as in predicative position in the written sample, while the distribution is even in the spoken sample. This confirms several earlier observations that the use of attributive adjectives is above all a written phenomenon (cf O'Donnell 1974, Kroch & Hindle 1982:36 and, for Swedish, Einarsson 1978: 123ff), a circumstance which is probably related to the greater opportunity for planning and elaboration permitted by this medium.

The conjunctions are the only word-class that does not reveal a significant distributional difference in the two corpora. This is somewhat surprising, as it conflicts with the otherwise very neat 'Wellsian' patterning of the results, as well as with certain previous studies. One reason for this deviation is probably the different functions of coordinating and subordinating conjunctions. No such distinction was made in Ohlsson's study, but she comments on the great frequency of and in the spoken sample. The preference for 'loose' coordinated structures in spoken discourse is well attested (cf Leech & Svartvik 1975:159, Chafe 1982) and it is likely that a separation of the two types of conjunction would have been clarifying. This does not necessarily mean that there is a neat symmetric opposition between coordination in speech and subordination in writing. Although subordination is generally said to be more characteristic of written discourse, there is evidence that the situation is more complex (see eg Poole & Field 1976). Many subordinators like that, if and because are very frequent in spoken discourse (on because, see Altenberg, forthcoming, and on Swedish equivalents, Einarsson 1978:108), and it is obvious that more research is needed to clarify the use of subordination in the two varieties.

A few words should also be said about the verbal subclasses. Two broad distinctions were made in Ohlsson's study: between lexical and auxiliary verbs, and (among the lexical verbs) between finite and non-finite verbs. All these subclasses had a higher frequency of occurrence in the spoken material, which underlines the 'verbal' character of conversation. The only category that might have been expected to deviate from this pattern is the non-finite subclass, which is often said to be typical of written discourse (eg DeVito 1967). However, the discrepancy here, as in the case of conjunctions, is probably due to differences in descriptive delicacy. It is evident that a distinction must be made between infinitive constructions, which are common in both varieties, and different participle constructions, some of which are more typical of writing (cf O'Donnell 1974, Leech & Svartvik 1975:161, Chafe 1982). Studies intended to explore syntactic differences of this kind in the ETOS material are in progress.

2.2 WORD-FORMATION

From what has been said above it is obvious that the distribution of word-classes in the two corpora tells us more about their syntactic (and situational) properties than about their vocabulary. To a large extent this is also true of word-formation. As has often been pointed out, word-formation is at the crossroads of morphology and syntax, and spoken-written differences in this area are therefore likely to have considerable grammatical relevance. This is demonstrated in a study by Eva Ryberg, based on random sampling from the Mini corpus. Ryberg makes an initial distinction between two major types of word-formation - compounding and affixal derivation (conversion and other minor possibilities are disregarded) - but her main concern is with the latter type.

As shown in Table 1, the incidence of compounds and derivatives is very low in the material (partly due to Ryberg's strict definition of derivation), but the proportions are higher in the written (4% and 10%, respectively) than in the spoken sample (1% and 6%). Hence, although the differences are not overwhelming, there is a stronger preference for simple words in speech and derived words in writing, a polarization which can be related to the traditional division of English vocabulary into two lexical strata, variously described in oppositional terms like short-long, native-foreign, common-rare, informal-formal (cf Vachek 1980:273ff, Akinnaso 1982: 100f).

Of the two means of derivation - prefixation and suffixation - the latter dominates greatly in both varieties, both in terms of types and tokens (91% vs 9%). This tendency does not differ significantly in the two varieties. A more notable difference (not shown in the table) is that, while suffixes are more frequently used to form nouns in writing (again in terms of types as well as tokens), the adverb-forming suffix -*ly* predominates in speech. Other types of suffixes (forming adjectives and verbs) are rarer and more evenly distributed in the two corpora. The same applies to the use of prefixes (types and tokens), which show few distributional differences between the two varieties. In both, the negative forms *un*- and *in*- are most frequent.

Although these results do not reveal a consistent differential pattern, the divergent uses of the noun- and adverb-forming suffixes confirm the grammatical tendencies already demonstrated by the word-class distribution in the two corpora. The greater frequency of *ly*-adverbs in conversation correlates not only with the 'verbal' character of impromptu speech, but also with the greater personal and emotional involvement of speakers. This is borne out by the profusion of intensifying expressions (eg *it was absolutely illogical*, *it's awfully tempting*) and by the four most frequent *ly*-adverbs in the spoken sample: *actually*, *really*, *entirely* and *terribly*.

Conversely, the predominance of noun-forming suffixes in the written sample underlines the 'nominal' character of this variety. The frequency of nouns ending in -*tion*, -*ment*, -*ness*, -*ity*, etc, highlights the written tendency towards abstractness and detachment, or what Akinnaso (1982:112) calls "the abstraction of a statement from temporal, spatial, and situational boundaries". Obviously, other situational factors contribute to differences of this kind, for example topic and degree of formality. As Ryberg observes, when the participants in one of her spoken texts "turn from tea-making to discussing lectures, the proportion of derived nouns increases considerably". Yet, there is no doubt that the different opportunities for planning and 'contextualization' are an important channel-dependent reason for the differences noted above. Even a fairly formal oral discussion of a learned topic would hardly be couched in the 'nominal' terms characteristic of written examples like the following:

> Coleridge's definition of the secondary imagination, with its stress on the transmutation of experience by an essentially creative process into something of visionary freshness, can be taken as an exact description of Lawrence's art; (LOB: C 13.21-23)

2.3 LEXICAL DENSITY, VARIATION, ORIGINALITY AND RANK ORDER

Tendencies of a similar kind are also reflected in the four lexical properties examined in a study by Henrik Nordin: lexical density, variation and originality, and certain rank order differences in the use of high-frequency words.

By lexical density (LD) is meant the percentage of content (open-class) words in a text. This measure has been used by Ure (1971) to account for her observation that 'language-in-action' (ie language that accompanies an activity and relies heavily on features in the speech situation to be intelligible) contained a higher percentage of function (closed-system) words with a purely grammatical or pragmatic function than other varieties. Since, by definition, content words convey lexical meaning and serve to carry the information forward in a way that function words do not, a high LD can be said to indicate a high density of information. Not surprisingly, the strongest contrast in Ure's material was found to exist between interactive speech (with an LD never exceeding 36%) and written informative texts (with an LD always exceeding 44%). Differences of a similar kind have also been shown to distinguish the written production of native speakers and Swedish learners of English (see Linnarud 1979:222).

Nordin's application of Ure's measure to the ETOS material confirms her findings, with the exception that the spoken sample has a somewhat higher average LD (39%) than Ure's study would predict (36%). Nevertheless, there is a notable difference in LD between the written (46%) and spoken samples (39%). This supports the observation made above about the structural organization of the two varieties: speakers tend to space out information and rely on various contextual cues in signalling their intentions, using function words (especially pronouns) to a greater extent than writers. Conversely, the latter have time to plan and pack more information into their discourse. Also, they have to rely on the linguistic channel in conveying their intentions, and are therefore forced to greater explicitness and elaboration.

The second property, lexical variation (LV), expresses the type-token ratio of the words in a text, ie the ratio of the number of different words (types) to the total number of words (tokens). This is an old measure going back to psycholinguistic studies in the 1940s, and has been used in several quantitative investigations to show that written language is normally characterized by a more varied vocabulary than spoken language (see Akinnaso 1982:100). As shown in Table 1, the LV in the ETOS material confirms these earlier findings: the written sample has a higher LV (70%) than the spoken one (62%). However, the difference applies to the content words only, since no significant contrast was found in the use of function words. This is as might be expected: content words are open-class items permitting considerable variation, while the function words form a closed set of grammatically indispensable elements which can be varied very little. Hence, these results are not surprising. They emphasize the fundamental situational difference between the two varieties - the different opportunities for planning and the channel-oriented, formal character of public writing, contrasting with the message-oriented, repetitive and informal character of spontaneous conversation.

Lexical variation is in some ways related to the next property examined in the material, lexical originality (LO). The LO of a text can be captured by counting the proportion of text-specific words, ie words that are unique to a given text and not found in other compared texts. Although text-specific words are highly topic-dependent, the proportion of such words are of interest because it can tell us something about the generality of a given vocabulary in relation to some selected norm or contrast (eg common (easy) vs rare (difficult) words). The measure does not seem to have been used much in studies of spoken and written discourse, but can be related to the greater lexical predictability claimed for spoken discourse and to Bernstein's distinction between restricted and elaborated codes (cf Akinnaso 1982:115).

Nordin's study shows that, on the average, the written texts in his ETOS sample contain more specific words than the spoken ones (80% vs 77%). The difference is not very great, however, and there is a great deal of variation between the sample texts. For obvious reasons the text-specific words were largely confined to content words, and the shared words to function words (the only shared content words in the two samples being common relational verb forms like *have*, *is*, *was*, *get*).

To supplement these rather general results Nordin made a closer study of the hundred most frequent words in the entire LLC and LOB corpora, based on the rank-lists presented in Svartvik et al (1982:43-49). For natural reasons, the majority of the word forms (68 items) appearing in these lists are identical. Most of these 'shared' items are function words, but there are also a few all-purpose content words (*said*, *people*, *time*). However, 32 word forms occur only in one of the rank-lists. All of these are confined to the LLC list, which suggests that conversational English is marked stylistically by a fairly small set of high-frequency items. Apart from obviously speech-specific forms like interjections (*oh*), minimal responses (*yes*, *yeah*), supports [m̌], [m⃗]), filled pauses [əm], [ə:m]) and contractions (*it's*, *don't*, *that's*, *I'm*, etc, which are counted as single words in the lists, and further described in Forsheden 1983), these include a score of 'ordinary' words of great interest. The most frequent are (in rank order): *know*, *think*, *mean*, *got*, *see*, *sort*, *just*, *because*, *really*, *get* and *thing*. Most of these reflect conversational features already mentioned in the preceding sections: the frequent use of mental self-reference expressions and 'softeners' (*you know*, *you see*, *I mean*, *I think*), emphatic particles (*just*, *really*), terms of vagueness (*sort of*, *thing*) and explanatory conjunctions (*because*).

A third category, finally, consists of items that occur in both lists, but with a considerably higher rank in the spoken one. The ten most dramatically 'rank-shifted', speech-favoured items are: *well*, *very*, *do*, *people*, *you*, *what*, *so*, *no*, *like* and *I*. Although some of these have several functions, their conversational relevance is easy to see: the speech-role pronouns *I* and *you*, the question-response items *do*, *what* and *no*, the intensifiers *very* and *so* (the latter also a speech-promoted result conjunct; see Altenberg, forthcoming), the initiater-particle *well* (see Svartvik 1980) and the multi-purpose words *people* and *like*.

The three lexical studies summarized above have been based on a rather restricted material and have focused on seemingly rather distinct properties of English vocabulary. Yet, together they give a fairly clear and, I think, reliable picture of certain fundamental differences between spoken and written English. The various aspects examined - the distribution of word-classes, word derivation, lexical density, variation and rank order - all point to the existence of two divergent modes of communication, a spoken 'verbal' style and a written 'nominal' style. What distinguishes these styles cannot be described in purely lexical terms, however. The distinction involves options of many kinds, at all levels of linguistic organization, from the choice of particular words and syntactic constructions to the 'chunking' and linking of information in coherent discourse. Hence, quantitative lexical studies, even of the restricted kind reported here, can be very rewarding and serve as a starting-point for explorations of differences at other levels. Moreover, they demonstrate with great clarity the close connection between spoken and written communication and the situations in which these take place.

3. LANGUAGE AND SEX

Men's and women's language has attracted great interest in recent years (see eg Elert 1979, Kramarae 1982). Observed differences can generally be related to the social roles associated with the two sexes and to the linguistic attitudes and expectations that these tend to foster. As Trudgill (1974:101) puts it, men and women "speak as they do because they feel a particular kind of language to be appropriate to their sex". The spoken ETOS material is in many respects well suited for investigations of such differences, even if the influence of sex is not always easily isolated from other conditioning factors, such as age, occupation, participant relationship, idiosyncratic usage, etc.

Two partly overlapping ETOS studies of sex-differentiated language, conducted independently by two third-term students, Eva Klang and Carita Rosmark, will be reported here. Although restricted in aim and scope, these studies have a certain comparative interest. Klang based her investigation on same-sex conversations, whereas Rosmark used cross-sex conversations (the most widely studied variety). Since linguistic sex differences are largely role-determined, they can be expected to vary in character depending on the presence or absence of the opposite sex.

Some other facts about the material should be noted. Klang's same-sex study contrasts one male conversation between two middle-aged university teachers (LLC: S.1.4) with one female conversation between four academic secretaries aged 21-35 years, each text containing c 5 000 words. Rosmark's cross-sex study is based on three conversations (LLC: S.2.10, S.2.11b, S.2.13) totalling c 14 000 words. Each conversation involves a married couple (discounting one prompter of either sex) of varying ages (20-30 years) and occupations (two social workers, two BBC employees, one merchant banker, one housewife). Apart from these variations in age and occupation, the conversations of both studies have several essential features in common: the language is surreptitiously recorded impromptu speech, the participants generally know each other well, and their background as well as the context of situation (and frequently the topic) can be broadly described as 'academic' in character.

In all, ten conversational features were investigated. These are presented in Table 2 under four headings: turn-taking, fluency, interaction signals and prosody. Features examined in one or both of the studies are distinguished by the students' initials: EK (Klang) and CR (Rosmark). For the sake of clarity only the main tendencies are shown. A feature exhibiting significant predominance with one of the sexes is indicated by a plus sign; non-significant tendencies are marked by parentheses and contradictory results by a question mark.

As shown in Table 2, the men in the material tended to be more talkative: they produced a significantly larger amount of speech in the cross-sex conversations, and they generally took longer turns (on the average 21 words as against 14 words for the women). The women, on the other hand, produced more but shorter turns. In both studies, the longest turns were normally produced by the men and the shortest by the women.

These results contradict the popular view of women as the garrulous sex, as reflected in many proverbs ("Where there are women and geese there's noise" - cf Kramarae 1982:87). They also accord well with the findings of recent sex-related studies, which have either revealed greater male talkativeness (Thorne & Henley 1975:16, Einarsson 1976:64) or non-significant differences (Oreström 1983:96ff). The results also suggest that the women have a tendency to be more interactive (in the same-sex conversations) or to adopt a supportive or listening role (in the mixed conversations). Conversely, although the men are apt to be verbally dominant (in quantitative terms), this does not make them significantly more 'interruptive' than the women, at least not in the same-sex conversations. Hence, the claim sometimes made that men interrupt more than women may either be restricted to cross-sex conversations (cf Zimmerman & West 1975: 115ff) or be greatly exaggerated (cf Oreström 1983:146ff).

Women have frequently been said to be more fluent speakers than men, with fewer signs of hesitation such as pauses, repetitions and false starts (see Einarsson 1976, 1978:148ff). This is only partly supported in

Table 2. Some sex-related features in spontaneous English conversation.

FEATURES	MEN	?	WOMEN
TURN-TAKING			
1 Amount of speech (CR)	+		
2 Number of turns (EK, CR)			+
3 Average length of turns (EK, CR)	+		
4 Interruptions (EK)	(+)		
FLUENCY			
5 Pauses (EK, CR)			
a) silent			+
b) voiced	+		
6 Stuttering (EK, CR)			
a) repetitions	+		
b) false starts		?	
c) tongue slips	+		
INTERACTION SIGNALS			
7 Tag questions (EK, CR)		?	
8 Softeners (CR)	(+)		
9 Laughs (CR)			+
PROSODY			
10 Nuclear tone (EK)			
a) fall			(+)
b) rise	(+)		
c) fall-rise	(+)		
d) fall+rise	(+)		

the ETOS material. While the women produced a greater number of silent pauses, the men's speech contained more voiced pauses ([ə(m)], [ə:(m)], etc), repetitions and tongue slips. The distribution of false starts (lexical or syntactic reorganization) showed conflicting tendencies in the two studies.

These results reveal no consistent differential pattern, and it is not obvious how they should be interpreted. Hesitation phenomena have a number of reasons - emotional, cognitive, communicative and idiosyncratic. Generally, they are signs of mental processing (planning and replanning) and have been shown to correlate positively with factors like education and grammatical complexity (see Einarsson 1978:148ff). However, they can also be used as floor-holding devices. Although the silent pauses were by far the most common hesitation type with both sexes in the material, the male predominance of audibly marked hesitation features, especially voiced pauses and repetitions, might possibly be taken as evidence that the men tried to produce more complex language and/or to control turn-taking to a greater extent than the women. These possibilities were not examined in the material, however,

Women are often said to be 'submissive', 'hesitant' and 'uncertain' in mixed conversations (see eg Kramarae 1982:92ff). Three types of 'interaction signals' were selected to test this claim: tag questions, softeners (well, you know, you see, sort of, kind of, I mean) and laughs. According to R. Lakoff (1973:54), tag questions are characteristically used by women to avoid full commitment to a statement ("This is silly, isn't it?"), but the contradictory results from the ETOS material do not support this. The fact that tag questions predominated among the men in the same-sex material and among the women in the cross-sex material suggests that the presence or absence of the opposite sex might be a conditioning factor, but no conclusions can be drawn until a more detailed study is undertaken, distinguishing, for example, different types of tag questions and exploring the possibility of idiosyncratic usage (cf the inconclusive result for the functionally related Swedish particle väl in Einarsson 1978:105).

Softeners or 'pragmatic particles' have a variety of functions, ranging from attitudinal signals to mere 'fillers' (see Crystal & Davy 1975:91ff, Östman 1981, 1982), and they are consequently difficult to generalize about. Their primary role, however, is pragmatic and stylistic rather than semantic, and their informal 'softening' effect - whether they act as hedges or monitoring devices, express the speaker's attitude, or merely serve to keep the conversation going - is indisputable. Without them, the conversation becomes flat and formal. Judging from stereotypes of female speech as 'polite', 'hesitant' and 'accommodating', one might expect softeners to be more frequent in women's speech, but this is contradicted by the results of the cross-sex material, where the men were found to employ softeners 1.5 times as often as the women (28 vs 19 tokens per 1 000 words). The frequent use of certain softeners in the material is well illustrated in the following (male) example:

402 «I mean» I mean she's ▮so ΔLÌTTLE▮ 403 ▮I mean ▻you you ▮KNÓW▮
404 sort of ▮one can IMΔÀGINE▮ 405 a sort of ▮middle-aged ΔWÒMAN▮
406 with a ▮coat that 'seemed · you ▮KNÓW sort of▮ · 407 ▮just 'slightly
exaggerated her '▵FÒRM▮ · 408 you know «I mean» she could sort of ▮slip
things in ▵inside ΔPÒCKETS▮ (LLC: S.2.13)

However, the male predominance in the material was restricted to two softeners, sort of and you know, while the use of well, I mean, you see and kind of was fairly evenly distributed between the sexes. The picture is further complicated by the findings of two other students (G. Barkenius and B. Ahman) who made independent studies of the use of softeners in same-sex conversations. These corroborated the male predominance of you know, but revealed a reversed female preference for sort of. Moreover, of the total number of you know in the male material, 86% were uttered by one speaker. This indicates that the use of softeners may be idiosyncratic rather than sex-related, or subject to functional and social differentiation, as suggested by Östman (1981:70ff). On the whole, the use of softeners and other discourse items in spoken English (eg really - see Stenström 1983) is a complex and comparatively unexplored area which deserves more attention in future research.

In face-to-face conversation, paralinguistic signals (gestures, facial expression, tone of voice, etc) are very important. These tend to be sex-differentiated, a fact which has been related to power contrasts like male dominance and authority vs female submission and politeness (eg Thorne & Henley 1975:15ff). In Rosmark's study of hesitation features the female silent pauses were found to be more frequently accompanied by laughs than the male ones. A closer scrutiny revealed that, on the whole, the women laughed five times more than the men (154 vs 31 tokens). This tendency was noticeable in all 'laughing situations' (single or shared laughter, and laughter at the speaker's own or at other speakers' utterances), but was especially pronounced when a woman was the sole laugher at somebody else's remark (109 female vs 9 male tokens). The consistency of this pattern contradicts the popular stereotype that men are wittier than women, but seems to support the claim that laughing is a role-differentiated behaviour of the sexes (cf Thorne & Henley 1975:15-17).

Another frequent observation is that women use more rising tones than men (eg Kramarae 1982:86, Lakoff 1973). Klang's study of nuclear pitch direction does not confirm this: no significant differences were found, and the slight sex-related tendencies that could be observed seem to contradict rather than support a female preference for rising tones. Another interesting observation was that of 34 male instances of rising tone in her sample (including complex and compound tones with final rising pitch), 22 (65%) were produced by a single speaker. This indicates that nuclear pitch direction, like the use of softeners, may be subject to individual rather than sex-determined variation. Prosodic differences between the sexes no doubt exist, but these seem to involve other intonational properties than nuclear pitch direction alone (see Brend 1975).

These studies of linguistic sex-differentiation in the ETOS material are of course too limited to prove anything about men's and women's language, in English or in general. However, they are suggestive in several ways. They show that popular assumptions and intuitive observations are often badly founded and that they have to be revised or qualified when confronted with genuine data. They also show that, even in areas where some empirical work has been done, our knowledge of male and female speech is still limited and superficial, and that a great deal of further research is needed to clarify the relationship between language and sex.

4. CONCLUSION

Although the undergraduate studies presented here have been restricted in various ways, and have differed widely in character, some general conclusions can be drawn. The lexical studies, focusing on different aspects of English vocabulary, have all confirmed the existence of two divergent modes of communication, a spoken 'verbal' style and a written 'nominal' style. The contrast between these has been shown to be systematic and fundamental: it involves categories and structures at all levels of linguistic organization, and it is closely related to the maximally contrasted situations characterizing spontaneous face-to-face conversation and public expository prose. The results of these studies have been 'positive' in the sense that they have confirmed and enriched each other from widely different viewpoints, and agreed well with the findings or other comparable studies. Hence, they seem to have great generality, extending far beyond the specific data on which they have been based.

By contrast, the results of the sex-oriented studies appear to be more 'negative' and disappointing. Although they have sometimes been in agreement, they have more often revealed a confusing picture of non-significant or conflicting tendencies. Yet, in an important sense these results, too, have been 'positive'. They have demonstrated that language and sex is a very complex area where much is assumed but little still is known, and where more research is needed to disentangle the many variables that determine conversational behaviour.

In both these senses - positive as well as negative - undergraduate studies of the kind reported here can be of great value and contribute to a better understanding of various aspects of spoken and written English.

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IS THERE AN ADVERBIAL IN THIS TEXT? (AND IF SO, WHAT IS IT DOING THERE?)[1]

1. Introduction

This paper is a preliminary report on a pilot study concerning the frequency and types of adverbials - semantic and structural - in two samples of spoken and written contemporary British English. It was carried out within the framework of the research project English in Speech and Writing and undertaken in part as a pedagogical experiment whose aim was to increase the productivity and writing skills of Swedish third-term undergraduates in the English department of Uppsala University. (Cf. Tottie et al 1983.) The pedagogical aspects of the experiment are accounted for elsewhere in this volume (Altenberg & Tottie). In what follows, I shall concentrate on the outcome of the scholarly endeavours of my students in the area of English adverbial usage. Of necessity, my goals were limited - firstly, by the amount of time allotted to the writing of term papers, and secondly, by the lack of sophistication of my aspiring but inexperienced assistant investigators.

The impetus of this work was David Crystal's article "Neglected grammatical factors in conversational English", published in 1980 in Studies in English Linguistics for Randolph Quirk. Crystal's main point in this article is that careful empirical study of specimens of spoken language will prove certain grammatical factors to be "rather more central" notions than is usually pointed out in linguistic accounts (cf. op cit, p 161).

One of the "neglected categories" pointed to by Crystal is the class of adverbials, and he demonstrates their importance in terms of frequency and integration into clause structure, in a specimen of surreptitiously recorded spontaneous conversation.[2] Crystal shows that in his sample containing 420 clauses, 246, or 59%, contain an adverbial. If introductory clauses of the type He said... are excluded, the proportion rises to 66%. Crystal also shows that 170/420, or c 40% of the clauses have adverbials that are either syntactically or semantically obligatory, whereas the adverbials are optional only in about 20%. These proportions conflict with the usual treatment of adverbials in grammars, where they are mostly treated as optional elements of clause structure. On the basis of his findings, Crystal suggests that English clause structure would be better described by means of a rule of the form

Clause $\rightarrow$ V + NP + AP

with optional deletion of the adverb phrase, than by the standard formulae not including APs.

One problem with Crystal's article is that although he convincingly shows the importance of adverbials in informal domestic conversation and thus amply supports the case for empirical study, there is no comparison with written material and thus no basis for a claim that adverbials - or indeed other grammatical factors - are more central in speech than in writing. Such a claim seems implicit in the title of the article. A comparison with written English is obviously imperative if we wish to substantiate either the claim that adverbials are more important in general in terms of frequency and integration into clause structure, or that they are more important in conversation than in written language.

Although there are many treatments of adverbs and adverbials in terms of semantic type, placement, etc, very few quantitative studies have been carried out.[3] Ellegård 1978, in his study of the syntactic structure of a 128,000-word subset of the Brown Corpus of American English, does provide some interesting quantitative data, which can be summarized as in table 1:

	Type of adverbial	Major	Sentence	Manner	All categs
Per 100 clauses	Clausal	13.9	-	.2	14.1
	Non-clausal	56	6.4	6.5	68.9
	Totals	69.9	6.4	6.7	83
Per 1000 words	Clausal	19.4	-	.3	19.7
	Non-clausal	78.6	8.9	9.0	96.5
	Totals	98	8.9	9.3	116.2

Table 1. The frequency of adverbials in 128 000 words of journalism, popular fiction, literary essays, and scientific text (in equal proportions) taken from the Brown Corpus. Cf. Ellegård 1978:31, 40 and 42, tables 9A, 15A and 15B.

Table 1 shows that there is, in Ellegård's material, an average of 68.9 non-clausal and 14.1 clausal adverbials per 100 clauses, or in all, 83 adverbials per 100 clauses. At first glance, then, it would seem as if there are, if anything, more adverbials per clause in written than in spoken material - cf the 59 - 66% recorded by Crystal. But the comparison is problematic: first of all, Crystal speaks only of clauses that "contain an adverbial" (1980:161), but does not specify whether he means just one adverbial, or at least one adverbial, and of course there is no way of telling how the adverbials in Ellegård's material are distributed. Another problem is the heterogeneity of Ellegård's material, which contains one-quarter fiction with conversational passages. Probably of less importance is the fact that Ellegård's written material consists of American English, although ideally of course, specimens of the same variety should be compared. In spite of these problems, however, Ellegård's data can certainly be interpreted as supporting the hypothesis of the "importance" of adverbials in written as well as spoken English.

Another interesting question about which little seemed to be known was the relation between adverbial meaning and structure. Quirk et al (1972:420), after pointing out that adverbial functions can be realized by a range of structures, go on to say: "Although it is true that some adverbial functions can be realized by the whole range of structures, others are chiefly realized by only certain structures." However, although there are scattered references to the quantitative relationship between the function and form of adverbials (esp pp 420f, 471, and 753), Quirk et al give no precise statements concerning frequencies of types, and nothing is said about differences between spoken and written English.

If we wish to study the distribution of structural and semantic types of adverbials in conversation and written English, we get no help from Crystal, this being outside the scope of his article, and only limited information from Ellegård, who provides only the distinctions shown in table 1, viz into clausal and non-clausal, and into major, sentence, and manner adverbials. Gustavsson 1982, who works with exactly the same material as Ellegård, provides a detailed subclassification of adverbials into semantic and functional categories based on Quirk et al 1972, ch 8, but as Gustafsson's concern is with topicalization, she gives data on fronted adverbials only, and we cannot assume that the same distributions hold for fronted adverbials as for adverbials in general.

It thus seemed worthwhile to make a comparative study of adverbials in spoken and written English with regard to their frequency and the distribution of structural and semantic types. Spontaneous conversation and informative prose were chosen as prototypical of each variety (cf Tottie et al 1983: 4f). British English was chosen as the target variant because of the availability of the London-Lund Corpus of Spoken English (LLC) and the Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen Corpus of Written English (LOB). The particular texts used for this study were taken from the "Mini" corpora selected for the research project English in Speech and Writing (see Tottie et al 1983:12 and 40). The research was organized to fit into a one-term undergraduate seminar in the Department of English at Uppsala University (cf Altenberg & Tottie, this volume), where each student was to spend five weeks in all on their papers. Each student analyzed 5000 words of spoken English and 5000 words of written English. At the moment of writing, five students have completed their work, and the material to be accounted for in what follows thus covers 50 000 words, or 25 000 words of each variety, drawn from the following texts:[4]

LLC: S.1.1, 1.7, 1.8, 1.9, 1.11
LOB: B texts (Press: editorial) 03, 07, 09, 15, 17
C text (Press: reviews) 03
F texts (Popular lore) 01, 24, 41
G texts (Belles lettres, biography, essays) 01, 03, 42, 73

The classification of adverbials is an awe-inspiring task even to experienced linguists, and in order to make the undertaking at all feasible to my students, I had to make a number of simplifications. We based our classifications mostly on Quirk & Greenbaum 1973, with some admixture of the typology of Svartvik & Sager 1978, those being the grammars that the students were familiar with. Like Crystal and Ellegård, we limited our investigation to cover adverbials as clause constituents, excluding modifiers. Thus, examples of type (1) were included, but not those of type (2):

(1) He frightened me terribly
(2) I was terribly frightened

However, comparative clauses were regarded not as modifiers but as adverbials, in contrast to Ellegård (1978:30) and Quirk et al (1972:733). Adverbial particles as parts of phrasal verbs were not included.

We decided to count disjuncts, conjuncts and adjuncts, but to make a detailed study only of the adjuncts. This category was further subclassified into the semantic categories of place, time, process (including manner and instrument adverbials as well as subject adjuncts), and degree. To these we added a ragbag category of 'other adjuncts', OAs for short, a cover term for adjuncts of purpose, cause, concession, comparison, and a small number of really difficult cases. This measure was adopted partly out of necessity, partly because these types were not numerically significant if taken individually. Instances of not were included as a separate category among the adjuncts (cf Quirk et al 1972:432 Note) but will be accounted for separately as they offer no possibilities of structural variation that are interesting in this connexion.

Our working definitions can be summarized as in fig 1:

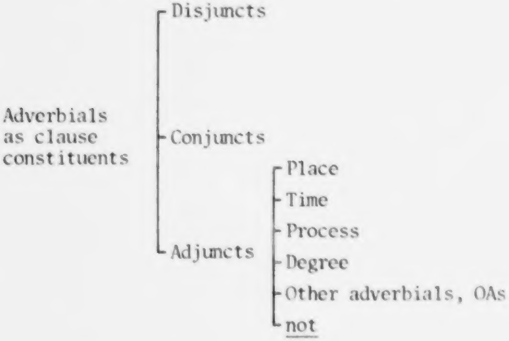

Fig 1. Classification of adverbials.

Subclassification into structural types was made according to Quirk et al (1972:420) into the six types listed below with the abbreviations that will be used and examples:

AP	Adverbial phrase	here
PP	Prepositional phrase	in London
NP	Noun phrase	this year
FC	Finite clause	when we talk
NFC	Non-finite clause	having said this
VLC	Verbless clause	Happy again, he smiled

One of the greatest problems we faced was choosing the unit of analysis against which to relate the frequency of adverbials. Crystal, an experienced linguist working with a very limited material, analyzed his specimens of conversation into clauses. We would have liked to follow suit but had to abandon the procedure simply because the students found it so difficult to make decisions concerning the spoken material that achieving any kind of uniform clausal analysis of our much larger material would have taken up too much of the available time. Instead, we had to resort to the method of relating the occurrence of adverbials to the total number of words examined. This is an expedient measure, and interesting per se, but it tells us nothing of the ratio of adverbials per clause.

Another problem was to decide how to count adverbials. Our policy was then to isolate as many as possible. Thus, in (3), one could defend the analysis of in a café in Rome as either one or two adverbials, with in Rome either as a prepositional postmodifier of café, or as an independent adverbial:

(3) He met her in a café in Rome.

The two-adverbial analysis was chosen whenever possible, i e when one element was movable. Cf (4):

(4) In Rome, he met her in a café.

Similarly, coordinated adverbs were analyzed as two adverbials, as in (5):

(5) She smiled happily and sweetly.

If there was ellipsis of a preposition in a pair of coordinated adverbials, they were counted as one, however. Cf (6):

(6) This is true in the Midlands and Liverpool.

Not unexpectedly, we had difficulties in distinguishing between prepositional objects and adverbials. As Ellegård has pointed out (1978:17f) it is impossible to draw any hard and fast lines in this area, and intuition or a popular vote often had to be our guide. Thus, of the following sentences, we classified (7) and (9) as prepositional objects, but (8) and (10) as adverbials:

(7) He confined his thinking to this subject
(8) He confined his custom to a much smaller area

(9) The argument settles upon design
(10) They settled upon a hill

The rationale for our decisions was that (8) and (10) have a clearly spatial meaning but (7) and (9) do not.

Another source of difficulty was expressions with as, like, and than. Ellegård's exhaustive survey of different types of constructions (1978:109ff) including these items proved a useful basis for our work.

2. Results

2.1. The frequency of adverbials.

The total frequency of adverbials of all types, conjuncts, disjuncts, and adjuncts (not being accounted for separately) in the spoken and written samples (S and W) is shown in table 2.[5]

We see that the total number of adverbials is higher in S than in W: 3412 vs 2238, or 136.5 vs 89.5 per 1000 words. Disjuncts are much more frequent in S than in W: 282 vs 75, or 11.3 vs 3 per 1000 words. This is not unexpect-

	Conjuncts	Disjuncts	Adjuncts excl. not	not	All
S totals	122	282	2475	533	3412
Freq/1000 words	4.9	11.3	99	21.3	136.5
W totals	138	75	1864	161	2238
Freq/1000 words	5.5	3	74.6	6.4	89.5

Table 2. Overall distribution of different types of adverbials in two samples of spoken and written English (S and W) of 25 000 words each.

ed; attitudinal disjuncts such as frankly, honestly, etc, abound in conversation but hardly in writing. Similarly, the much higher frequency of not in S than in W was predictable (cf Tottie 1982:89f): 533 in S vs 161 in W, or 21.3 vs 6.4 per 1000 words.[6] A less predictable finding was that there were many more adjuncts in S than in W: 2475 compared with 1864 in W. What this means in terms of the frequency of adjuncts in particular or adverbials in general per clause is difficult to say, but it seems plausible that the number of clauses in the S material is higher than in W - we know that written English, propositions are nominalized to a much larger extent than in spoken English (cf eg Chafe 1982). We may therefore infer that the number of predicates per 1000 words is lower in W than in S, (cf Altenberg, this volume), and therefore, that the adverbial-to-clause ratio may not be as different in S and W as the ratio of adverbials per 1000 words. This is clearly an area where much more work is necessary before we can establish the facts.

We may compare the findings of the present study with those presented by Ellegård 1978 and Crystal 1980. Our total figure for adverbials in W is 2238, or 89.5 per 1000 words, compared with Ellegård's 116.2 average. It is difficult to explain the discrepancy between Ellegård's average and ours. To some extent it can be accounted for by the presence of category N texts (popular fiction) in Ellegård's sample. N texts have a much higher incidence of especially clausal adverbials than the other categories (cf Ellegård 1978:31, 40, 42, tables 9A, 15A, and 15B). The N texts have 137.9 adverbials per 1000 words, whereas the frequencies for the other text categories are considerably lower: A texts 102.7, G texts 117.7, and J texts (learned and scientific writing) 107 adverbials per 1000 words. Our sample contained about one-half journalistic prose (categories B and C but not category A), and the rest was F and G texts. It might therefore perhaps have been expected to fall somewhere between 102 and 117 adverbials per 1000 words, or around 110. I cannot at present explain the differences in frequency; we followed the same principles as Ellegård in that we included not and excluded verbal particles in phrasal verbs. One possible source of the discrepancy is the classification of prepositional objects and adverbials, where we may have been more restrictive in assigning the label adverbial than Ellegård (cf above and Ellegård 1978:17f). The possibility of there being a real difference in the frequency of adverbials in British and American English seems a remote one.

A comparison between our spoken data and Crystal's is even more difficult, as Crystal only gives the incidence of adverbials per clause, not per any given number of words. He indicates that his sample consists of 13 minutes of conversation (1980:154, fn 1). One hour of conversation equals approximately 10 470 words (this figure is an average based on Oreström 1983:46, table 2, excluding subtext 1.2:1), and Crystal's sample would thus consist of c 2270 words. 246 adverbials per 2270 words equals c 108 per 1000 words, a lower figure than our 136.5 average. This difference could be due in part to the fact that Crystal does not include clauses functioning as adverbials among his examples, and in part to our being more generous in assigning the label adverbial to prepositional phrases - cf the discussion of (4) above. Also, it is not clear whether Crystal includes not as an adverbial. A comparison with Crystal would require a complete re-analysis of his material, which is beyond the scope of the present day.

One preliminary conclusion can definitely be drawn from the above-mentioned attempts at comparisons between different sets of data: Adverbials are certainly one of the most elusive functional categories, definable in many different ways, and comparative studies must therefore be based on shared assumptions and definitions to be valid, or indeed possible.

Let us proceed to consider the incidence of structural and semantic types of adjuncts in our own material.

2.2. The occurrence of semantic and structural types of adjuncts.

Table 3 gives a cross-tabulation of the totals of semantic and structural types of adjuncts in our material, spoken as well as written. It gives raw figures as well as frequencies of structural and semantic categories per 1000 words.

If we wish to compare the distribution of semantic categories or structural types of adjuncts in S and W, we can choose between two different measures. We can either compare frequencies per a given number of words, e g 1000 words as suggested here, or we can compare intra-variety proportions, suitably expressed as percentages. The former measure is an absolute one; it tells us

		Place	Time	Process	Degree	OA	All	Freq/ 1000 words
S	AP	243	353	128	214	158	1096	43.8
	PP	529	185	56	19	52	841	33.6
	NP	23	155	13	24	5	220	8.8
	FC	10	79	3	-	170	262	10.5
	NFC	1	8	9	-	27	45	1.8
	VLC	-	3	2	-	6	11	.4
	All	806	783	211	257	418	2475	
Freq/1000 words		32.2	31.3	8.4	10.2	16.7	99	
W	AP	70	198	141	70	140	619	24.8
	PP	493	170	106	15	57	841	33.6
	NP	9	41	14	3	18	85	3.4
	FC	3	43	11	1	144	202	8.1
	NFC	6	21	12	-	62	101	4
	VLC	1	2	2	-	11	16	.6
	ALL	582	475	286	89	432	1864	
Freq/1000 words		23.3	19	11.4	3.6	17.3	74.6	

Table 3. Overall distribution of semantic and structural categories of adjuncts in two samples of spoken and written English (S and W) of 25 000 words each.

what the overall likelihood of encountering a particular type of adjunct is in S or W. The second measure is a proportion of the total likelihood of encountering an adjunct in a particular variety. Both measures are interesting; which one we choose depends on our purposes. I have given both measures in tables 4 and 5 but will refer to proportions in the text; readers interested in frequencies per thousand words can easily find those in the tables.

Table 4 shows the distribution of semantic categories over the two samples of S and W to be remarkably similar. Place adverbials constitute the most frequent type in both varieties (33% in S, 31% in W), closely followed by time adverbials (32% in S, 25% in W); together, these types make up some 60% of the adjuncts in either variety. Process and degree adverbials together account for another 20% in each sample, but in different proportions: in S, there are 9% process and 10% degree adjuncts, whereas in W, there are 15%

		Place	Time	Process	Degree	OAs	n
S	Freq/1000 words	32.2	31.3	8.4	10.2	16.7	
	%	33%	32%	9%	10%	17%	2475
W	Freq/1000 words	23.2	19	11.4	3.6	17.3	
	%	31%	25%	15%	5%	23%	1864

Table 4. The frequency and proportions of semantic categories of adjuncts in S and W.

process and 5% degree adjuncts. The remainder, 17% in S and 23% in W, is made up of the "other adjuncts", mostly expressing cause, concession, condition, comparison, etc.

		AP	PP	NP	FC	NFC	VLC	n
S	Freq/1000 words	43.8	33.6	8.8	10.5	1.8	.4	
	%	44%	34%	9%	11%	2%	.4%	2475
W	Freq/1000 words	24.8	33.6	3.4	8	4	1.6	
	%	33%	45%	5%	11%	5%	.8%	1864

Table 5. The frequency and proportions of structural types of adjuncts in S and W.

Table 5 shows the frequency and proportions of the structural types of adjuncts across the two samples of S and W. Again, two types are predominant, viz in this case adverb phrases and prepositional phrases. Together, they account for 78% of all the adjuncts in either variety, with APs dominating in S (44% vs 34% PPs), and PPs dominating in W (45% vs 33% APs). The proportions of NPs are much lower - 9% in S and 5% in W; our data thus amply bear out the statement by Quirk et al (1972:420) that NPs are "less common" as realizations of adverbials than APs. Finite clauses account for 11% of the adjuncts in each variety, and non-finite clauses for only 2% in S and 5% in W. Verbless clauses proved extremely infrequent - they accounted for less than 1% in either variety, viz .4% in S and .8% in W. These findings concerning the proportions of structural types in S and W are supported by similar results of ongoing research at the Survey of English Usage (Randolph Quirk, personal communication).

Table 6 shows the proportions of structural realizations of different semantic categories of adjuncts in S and W, expressed as percentages. I have deliberately refrained from giving frequencies per 1000 words here, for the simple reason that some of the cells would then contain extremely low numbers expressed as fractions, and it seems just as easy to compare the actual frequencies for the 25 000-word samples in table 3, on which table 6 is based.

	Place		Time		Process		Degree		OA	
	S	W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S	W
AP	30%	12%	45%	42%	61%	49%	83%	79%	38%	32%
PP	66%	85%	24%	36%	27%	37%	7%	17%	12%	13%
NP	3%	2%	20%	9%	6%	5%	9%	3%	1%	4%
FC	1%	1%	10%	9%	1%	4%	-	1%	41%	33%
NFC	.1%	1%	1%	4%	4%	4%	-	-	6%	14%
VLC	-	.2%	.4%	.4%	1%	1%	-	-	1%	3%
n	806	582	783	475	211	286	257	89	418	432

Table 6. The structural realizations of different semantic categories of adjuncts in S and W.

As pointed out by Quirk et al (1972:471), most place adjuncts are prepositional phrases (like *in my bag*, *at home*, *into Spain*, *at Brighton*, *from the Commonwealth*, to take a random selection from our sample, S.1.1 and B 15): 66% in S and 85% in W. Quirk et al (*ibid*) are also correct in stating that place adjuncts are "less frequently" clauses: indeed, only 1.1% are clausal in S, and 2.2% in W. Adverb phrases occupy an intermediate position between prepositional phrases and clauses, with 30% in S and 12% in W. The higher incidence of APs in S (and the correspondingly lower frequency of PPs) is presumably due to the tendency to use deictics, such as *here*, *there*, in conversation (cf above). Finally, NPs account for a small proportion in either sample: 3%in S and 2% in W.

Not surprisingly, time adjuncts are realized predominantly by adverb phrases (*now*, *then*, *again*, *always*, *never*, *today*, *tomorrow*, to take a selection from text S.1.1): 45% in S, 42% in W. Prepositional phrases (like at the moment, after that, from the twenty-ninth of June, to the eighth of July /S.1.1/) are runners-up: 24% in S, 36% in W. Noun phrases (next year, last Wednesday, this week... /S.1.1/) are proportionately more frequent in S than in W: 20% vs 7%. Finite clauses account for low but similar proportions in S and W: 10% vs 9% (cf examples like when we were setting that kind of question /S.1.1.1176/, while those questions survive /S.1.1.1071/...). Non-finite clauses are, again, unusual in both varieties, though proportionately more frequent in W (4%) than in S (1%). Verbless clauses are at the bottom of the list: .4% in either variety.

About 85% of all process adjuncts are realized by either adverb phrases (like voluntarily, heavily, sharply, effectively... /B15/) or prepositional phrases (like by means of restrictions, without racial discrimination, with an air of triumph... /B 15/) in S as well as in W. APs are in the majority in both varieties, although in somewhat different proportions (61% APs in S, 49% in W, compared with 27% PPs in S, 37% in W). All other structural types are represented, noun phrases and non-finite clauses being more common than finite or verbless clauses (6% NPs in S, 5% in W, 4% NFCs in either variety).

Adjuncts of degree are mostly realized by adverb phrases in S as well as in W (83% and 79%, respectively), the rest being mostly prepositional phrases (7% in S, 17% in W) and noun phrases (9% in S, 3% in W). Clausal degree adverbials were almost entirely absent: only a single instance (1%) occurred in W.

The "other adjuncts" are mostly realized by either adverb phrases or finite clauses (38% APs in S and 32% in W, 41% FCs in S, and 33% in W). The proportion of prepositional phrases is about the same in S and W (12% and 13%, respectively). NPs are rare: 1% in S and 4% in W. If we look at the total of clausal OAs, including non-finite and verbless clauses, we see that they account for 48% of all OAs in S, and 50% in W. There is thus a strong - and expected - correlation between the semantic category of adjuncts expressing cause, concession, condition, and comparison, and clausal form.

This correlation is brought out even more strongly by table 7, which shows the proportions of semantic categories distributed over the structural types of adjuncts. Again, the reader is referred to table 3 for actual frequencies. Table 7 shows that finite clauses are used almost exclusively as either time adjuncts or as OAs (30% vs 65% in S, 21% vs 71% in W). Typical examples are if he lives to see his Utopia come true, once the British employment market begins to reach saturation point /B 15/. Non-finite clauses are used as time and process adjuncts, but occur especially in OA function (18%, 20%, and 60%,

	AP		PP		NP		FC		NFC		VLC	
	S	W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S	W
Place	22%	11%	63%	59%	10%	11%	4%	1%	2%	6%	-	6%
Time	32%	32%	22%	20%	70%	48%	30%	21%	18%	21%	27%	13%
Process	12%	23%	7%	13%	6%	16%	1%	5%	20%	12%	18%	13%
Degree	20%	11%	2%	2%	11%	4%	-	.5%	-	-	-	-
OAs	14%	23%	6%	7%	2%	21%	65%	71%	60%	61%	55%	69%
n	1096	619	841	841	220	85	262	202	45	101	11	16

Table 7. The distribution of semantic categories over structural types of adjuncts in S and W.

respectively, in S, and 21%, 12% and 61% in W). When set beside the existing structure /B 07/, by asking us to value old music /G 42/, and ... the liquidation of the firm to pay death duties /B 07/ are examples from our corpus. Similar proportions hold for verbless clauses (27% time, 18% process, and 55% OAs in S, compared with 13% time, 13% process, and 69% OAs in W). It should be remembered, however, that the total number of verbless clauses is very low, which means that these proportions must be regarded with some caution.

If we look at the other structural categories, we see that adverb phrases are the most versatile type: although they mostly function as time adjuncts (32% in S as well as in W), they occur in between 10 and 20% in all functions; cf table 7 for details. Prepositional phrases and noun phrases, on the other hand, each favour one particular semantic category: PPs occur mostly as realizations of place adjuncts (63% in S, 59% in W), and much less frequently as any other type. Time adjuncts (22% in S, 20% in W) are the most frequent ones among the other categories, and except for 13% process adverbials in W, there is a mere sprinkling (2 - 7%) of the other types.

Noun phrases occur mostly as time adjuncts, this tendency being most pronounced in S (70%, compared with 48% in W) and obviously due to the abundance of expressions like next week, this afternoon, this year, etc. (This is corroborated by research at the Survey of English Usage; Randolph Quirk, personal communication.). NPs also serve as place adjuncts in similar proportions in S and W (10% vs 11%). The other semantic categories are realized by NPs to very different extents: There are 6% process adjuncts in S but 16% in W, 11% degree adjuncts in S but 4% only in W, and 2% OAs in S, but 21% in W. Notice, however, that the W proportions here are based on a much lower number of instances than S, or 85 vs 220, and that the percentages may therefore be somewhat uncertain.

3. Conclusions and prospects

We may sum up the results of our investigation as follows: In our two samples of 25 000 words each of spoken and written English, S and W, adverbials were more frequent in S than in W: 136.5 per 1000 words in S, compared with 89.5 in W. At least in part, this difference could be due to the higher incidence of disjuncts and negative expressions in S. Table 2 shows that the frequency of not is higher in S than in W, and we have reason to suspect that other negative expressions are also more frequent in S than in W - cf Tottie 1982:89f. Whether there are also more adverbials per clause in S than in W remains to be established, pending a breakdown of our material into clauses.

The proportions of structural and semantic types are mostly similar in S and W, but there are some differences. Adverbs and adverb phrases and prepositional phrases are the most common types in S as well as W, together accounting for almost 80% of all adjuncts in either variety, but APs dominate in S (44%) and PPs in W (45%) - cf table 5. Finite clauses represent 11% of the total in S as well as in W; NPs are more important in S (9%) than in W (5%). Non-finite and verbless clauses occur in low proportions (5% or less) in both varieties, but are twice as frequent in W as in S (cf table 5). These findings are supported by ongoing research at the Survey of English Usage (Randolph Quirk, personal communication).

Most adjuncts express location in time or space (about 60% in both varieties), place adjuncts being somewhat more frequent than time adjuncts. Process adjuncts are more important in W (15%) than in S (9%), whereas the reverse is the case with degree adjuncts. Expressions of cause, concession, condition, etc, account for c 17% of the adjuncts in either variety. As Crystal points out (1980:165), these data may be compared with studies concerning language acquisition by children, where expressions of time and, especially, place are shown to be acquired at an early stage. The studies quoted by Crystal are supported by Strickland 1962 (English) and Valiquette 1978 (French), quoted by Dubuisson et al 1981. The need for "locating language in time and space" is obviously present from an early stage and continues to make itself felt in adults.[7]

As I stressed at the outset, this is a preliminary report. The time limitations imposed on our study precluded an exhaustive analysis even of those adverbials, i e the adjuncts, that we paid most attention to, and the material we already have at hand would certainly yield valuable insights if examined more closely. The most obvious target for further research would of course be the motley category of "other adverbials", which needs to be broken down into more well-defined semantic types. It would be particularly interesting to study the distribution of the various clausal OAs to ascertain the frequencies of causal, conditional, and concessive relations in spoken and written language (to the extent of course that these relations are expressed by means of adverbials, clausal or not).[8] A detailed examination of the adjuncts of time, place, process, and degree would certainly also be rewarding. Within the limited space at my disposal here, it has only been possible to account for structural types in the most general terms of frequencies and proportions, and to illustrate these by thin sprinklings of actual linguistic examples. It would presumably be revealing to study the actual lexical items which constitute these structures to determine important semantic substructures. Thus it is obvious that e g place adjuncts can be divided into different types expressing either location at a point in space or direction to or from one, and it would certainly be interesting to find out how these types are distributed in spoken and written language, as well as the proportions and types of deictics (*here*, *there*) vs more specific adverbials (*on the table*, *in London*). A number of the items classified as place adjuncts also seem to have a "metaphorical" or abstract meaning, e g *at this point*, *in this connexion*. It would be interesting to know the extent to which such expressions occur, as well as possible differences between spoken and written language.

Finally, we left the major categories of disjuncts and conjuncts unaccounted for - a closer look at these would certainly be rewarding.

In addition to studying types of adverbials in detail, it would also be interesting to know what proportion of written or spoken text is likely to consist of adverbials. The preceding account has only dealt with adverbials in terms of the frequency of individual items, but not with their length. We did keep track of this factor, however, and moreover, we classified adverbials at different "levels". Adverbials are frequently embedded in other adverbials, as in (11):

(11) After finishing early that Monday, John left.
LEVEL 2
LEVEL 1

It would be vacuous and misleading to state merely that this seven-word sentence contains eight words of adverbials (which it does, counting the *when*-clause, *early*, and *that Monday* as separate units). We therefore decided to classify adverbials at two levels (cf Ellegård's notion of "depth", 1978:26 ff), level one consisting of adverbials not contained in other adverbials, and level two comprising adverbials within adverbials. When we analyze these data, we will be able to establish what proportion of the total amount of text consists of adverbials by including only level one items.

What I have been able to show in this article is thus merely the tip of an iceberg. However, I am confident that further empirical research in the area of adverbial usage will prove fruitful and yield insights both into the workings of the English language as a whole, and of spoken and written varieties. These insights promise to be of linguistic, pragmatic, and psychological interest, increasing our knowledge of usage and use and giving us information concerning the constraints on language production and processing in different communicative situations.

NOTES

1. I am grateful to Professor Randolph Quirk for reading an early draft of this paper and then graciously giving me access to some unpublished results of ongoing research at the Survey of English Usage, University College London, concerning adverbial usage. I am also deeply indebted to Bengt Altenberg for penetrating comments on many vital points, and for interesting discussions of method as well as matter. Most of all, I wish to thank my students, Monica Berggren, Christina Carlsson, Marie Fagerberg, Karin Hammarstig, Marita Johansson, and Ann-Charlotte Sandberg, for contributing enthusiasm and hard work to this project. Any remaining inadvertencies are my own responsibility.

2. The material used consists of texts 1, 3, and 8 from Crystal and Davy 1975, a total of thirteen minutes of conversation. After removing 120 minor sentences and comment clauses, Crystal was left with 420 clauses to analyze for the purposes of his 1980 paper. Cf Crystal 1980:156, fn 2.

3. See e g Bartsch 1972, Greenbaum 1969, Jacobson 1964 and 1978. Kramský 1975 examines the frequency of occurrence of adverbs in fiction, plays and "special" (i e scientific) style but attempts no full coverage of the functional category of adverbials.

4. LLC texts are 5000 words long, LOB texts 2000 words long. Only the first half of B 07 was included.

5. S and W refer to the samples used for this study, and the terms spoken and written English are used for general reference. Although it is difficult to make explicit claims concerning the representativity of our corpora or subsamples, it seems reasonable to assume that extrapolation from our samples is possible.

6. Notice that the frequencies per 1000 words given for negatives in Tottie 1982 are higher than the not frequencies in table 2 because they comprise a wider range of items.

7. The fact that Dubuisson et al 1981 found a majority of manner adverbials in their elicited French data must be due to the fact that they asked their subjects to write down rules for games.

8. Many of these relations can of course be expressed by other means, e g parataxis. Cf Altenberg, in press.

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DISCOURSE ANALYSIS IN ENGLISH STUDIES

I would like to make it clear at the outset that I think of discourse analysis as a kind of umbrella term, denoting a wide range of activities. I don't want to restrict the term 'discourse analysis' so that it would be synonymous with conversational analysis. Actually I will be talking very little about conversation, although I am not thereby implying anything about the importance or unimportance of conversational analysis.I think it is useful to regard conversational analysis as a kind of prototype, because conversation is interaction par excellence and it reminds us that all discourse is basically interactivity.

However, if discourse analysis is to be a useful cover term for a wide range of activities, it must be shown that those activities, in spite of their wide coverage, have something basic in common. What we need is a definition. To quote the title of another paper, "Discourse Analysis - What's That?" (Hatch and Long, 1980).

It is easy to think of half a dozen definitions, but I won't bore you with those. Instead let me give you now two features which may be called the defining features of discourse and, by the same token, of discourse analysis as well.

They are the following: first, discourse is +supra-sentential and, secondly, discourse is +use. In other words, discourse refers to a supra-sentential structure which is put to communicative use (cf. Edmondson, 1981: 4).

I am not very happy with this definition, because I am not very happy with the term 'supra-sentential'.However, the term 'supra-sentential' has its historical background. In the work of Zellig Harris, in the 1950's, discourse analysis was an extension of the analysis of the sentence. The term 'discourse analysis' was revived later, in the 1960's and 70's, by sociolinguists, and in particular by people like Hymes and Labov, but then it was employed in a different meaning. Hymes did not talk about discourse analysis as an extension of grammar but as a linguistics of a new kind.

In the work of Hymes this new linguistics became the ethnography of speaking. Here the unit of analysis was the speech act. These combined to form speech events, and Hymes developed a model for the analysis of speech events, a model that was basically a refinement of one proposed originally, although for a different purpose, by Roman Jakobson (Hymes, 1972 ; Jakobson, 1960).

This sociolinguistic study of speech events coincided, temporally, with the philosophical analysis of illocutionary acts, by Austin and Searle and others. Searle, in particular, had considerable influence on linguistics where his work stimulated a fresh interest in contextual semantics - which some people even had the nerve of calling pragmatics. Previously, pragmatics had been a kind of waste-basket term. In the work of Charles Morris, however, pragmatics had gained some measure of respectability, and later, in the writings of Montague in particular, pragmatics was shown to be capable of formalisation - which of course made it fully respectable (cf. Montague, 1974).

So in the 1960's and 70's the domain of what was beginning to be called discourse analysis was being approached from at least three different directions: sociolinguistics, the philosophy of language and linguistic pragmatics. In this situation there now arose attempts to make a distinction, in theory if not in practice, between text and discourse. It was noted by Henry Widdowson that the term 'discourse' itself is used in two different ways (Widdowson, 1979: 23). There are those - let's call them linguists - who use it to mean a sequence of sentences (in the traditior, in fact, originated by Harris). Then there are those - let's call them sociolinguists (or aplied linguists) - who use the term 'discourse' in a different way, to mean the connections between language and social action: in discourse, they say, language is put to use for the performance of social actions. Labov had already proposed some rules of discourse and those made reference to a number of social constructs such as the knowledge shared by participants, their rights and duties and so on (Labov, 1971). This made Widdowson draw another distinction, between 'use' and 'usage' (Widdowson, 1979: 143). Usage is describable by rules of grammar while use is only describable by rules of discourse. This difference is roughly the same as between grammaticality and acceptability: texts that are fully grammatical - that is, generated by rules of usage - are not necessarily fully acceptable - well-formed according to rules of use.

Is it surprising, then, if discourse analysis can denote a wide range of activities, considering that its origins are so varied? I have not even had time to discuss all the influences, such as ethnomethodology and the work on text grammars and text linguistics. In the text linguistics of de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), for instance, there are a number of points of contact with discourse analysis, and it may be noted that the emphasis in text linguistics, which used to be on the formal properties of text, has gradually been shifting towards those mental operations which underlie text production and interpretation. This modelling of text-users' mental processes now has a fresh theoretical basis in artificial intelligence and cognitive psychology.

Nevertheless, in spite of this variety there is something basic that is common to these activities, namely the concern with supra-sentential structure and communicative function. The emphasis on function has given rise to a linguistics of a new kind which is characterised, essentially, by an inter-disciplinary approach. In this inter-disciplinary approach there is a concern with text types and text forms and with modes of discourse such as monologue and dialogue, planned and unplanned. There is a concern with conventions specific to a given genre, involving things like focus, overall plan and coherence and things like audience, signalling devices and the level of language. There is always the question of point of view. There are questions concerning style. There are questions concerning cohesion - how do the units of a text cohere? What is the type of cohesion characteristic of a text or a text type? What things in a text make it effective as communication? Some of these questions are relevant to the analysis of discourse, others are pertinent to the study of text. We have already noted that these terms, text and discourse, need not be synonymous. Widdowson (1979: 90), for instance, has defined text as 'sentences in combination' and discourse as 'the use of sentences'. Willis Edmondson (1981) makes a distinction between two different approaches to supra-sentential structure. In the one it is seen as a structured sequence of linguistic expressions, forming a unitary whole - this is the textual approach. In the other, it is seen as a structured event, manifest in lingustic (and other) behaviour - this is the discoursal approach. They are just two different approaches and there is no absolute opposition between them.

I think that this is a common-sensical attitude. Discourse is like the deep structure which underlies the surface text, and the notion that best describes the underlying discourse structure is coherence, while the concept that best defines the surface text is cohesion. Cohesion means the ways in which the elements of a text are mutually connected. Coherence is something that must be constructed by inference. A supra-sentential structure is cohesive as text and coherent as discourse.

However, it must also conform to the conventions of a specific genre, whether a fairy tale or a sermon, a piece of poetry or a short story (or a television soap-opera). Or take the academic lecture, a piece of discourse that is non-spontaneous and planned, written to be spoken - occasionally, written to be spoken as if not written. How should we go about finding the framework of a lecture? A few guidelines may be suggested (cf. Coulthard and Montgomery, 1981). First look for those devices by which the main information is communicated, then find the ways in which the subsidiary content is conveyed. Observe the ways in which topics are introduced. Notice how the connections among the propositions are signalled.

Next see whether you can determine the overall plan of the lecture. Any composition, we know, should have a beginning, a middle and an end. This is an informal notion of the hierarchical structure of a discourse. Narratives have an opening, a setting and a story line. Even a casual conversation is divided into the main discourse units, those into smaller units and so on. Thus a conversation has a preparatory phase, a 'business' phase and a leave-taking phase. The same with a lecture. Within this basic framework, however, we must allow for individual variation. But some things must remain constant, lest the purpose and the focus be lost and forgotten. To make sure that they are not forgotten a lecturer will impose a subsidiary organisation. on the main one. This consists of devices that contextualise, explain and clarify, point out and emphasise, comment and evaluate.

The main purpose of a lecture is to give information but like other speech acts lectures are multi-functional. They contain elements which are persuasive and elements which are esthetic. There will then, apart from the strictly literal elements, be also non-literal elements, such as overstatements and understatements, metaphors and epigrams and so on. As we know, such elements, used for a rhetorical and esthetic effect, are found even outside the kind of discourse we normally call 'art'. They are found in journalistic style, in advertisements, sports commentary, even political speeches. Here we are dealing with intentions that either complement the communicative intention or substitute for it - these intentions may be called 'collateral' (Bach and Harnish, 1979). In collateral acts we find non-literality used for the purpose of kidding or joking, punning or story-telling, deliberate ambiguity and so on. In general, we perhaps think of discourse too much as communication and too little as expression. Yet it is the expressive which holds the most appeal to the esthetic sense, as well as the intellectual curiosity. In this area, a useful distinction has recently been proposed by Widdowson, between 'reference', or the communicative, and 'representation', or the expressive (Widdowson, forthcoming). A fictional story, for instance, is not meant to communicate any attitude on the part of the speaker - it is not meant as referential. Therefore we shouldn't expect it to be governed by the conventions of referential discourse. We don't expect the Gricean maxims, with their emphasis on communicative efficiency, to be upheld in the kind of representational discourse which puts a premium on rhetorical effect. For the sake of effect, efficiency gets sacrificed. For the sake of impression, truth is suppressed. For the sake of novelty, convention gets thrown overboard. This may mean taking a familiar pattern and giving it a new twist. Here the principle is that of intertextuality. Intertextuality depends on the fact that one text will suggest another. Thus the text "To be taken daily before caviare", found in the advertisement of an alcoholic beverage, suggests another, found in medical prescriptions. In the prescription the text, "To be taken daily before meals". is a communicative act, based on reference. In the advertisement the text, "To be taken daily before caviare", is a collateral act, based on representation. In the case of the advertisement we are not supposed to take in its logical meaning: we are supposed to dwell on its associations. Thus the ad is for those who are not just thirsty for a drink but hungry for a status symbol.

So there are expressive, or as we have said, collateral, elements to be found also in the kind of discourse we don't normally call 'art'. But then the word 'art' itself is used in extented ways and why shouldn't we be able to talk of the art of advertising, for instance? In discourse analysis there is interesting work done, for instance, on the art of narration. This has shown that the patterns we find in narratives are functionally motivated. This applies to grammatical patterns, like tenses and modals, and rhetorical patterns, like point of view, parallelism and ordering. The use of these patterns can be related to specific functions. In a written story this will affect not only the language but the graphology and typology as well. In oral delivery it will affect the intonation and paralanguage. Intonation is enlisted in the service of expressive emphasis but it is used in other ways as well - for instance, to distinguish the familiar from the novel, the expected from the unexpected (Brazil, Coulthard and Jones, 1981: 15-16).

Intonation is just one of the characteristics of spoken discourse as opposed to writing. It is one of the virtues of discourse analysis that it draws attention to those features of speech which are otherwise dismissed as redundant or disturbing. What may be disturbing or redundant in writing may be perfectly functional in speaking. Even in fluent speech there are all sorts of fillers, shifts and repetitions that would be disturbing in writing but which have a functional or strategic purpose in speaking - giving feedback or serving to gain time, acting as hedges or politeness markers. The results of this research are already revising our opinions about the nature of fluency.

I would like to suggest to you, now, that all this work on text and discourse is not irrelevant to English studies. English studies is about English texts - traditionally, texts that are written, written to be read or at least written not necessarily to be spoken. There is a lot still that needs to be found out about such texts. What I am suggesting, however, is that this could be done also by looking at their discourse features, their interactive structure and the functions of their constituent parts. Structure is not independent of function, and frequently structure may seem impossible or unacceptable if it is considered in the abstract, irrespective of context and function. This abstraction is of course normal in autonomous syntax, which relies on introspection, and the grammarian's sentences often strike us as bizarre. They are fictions, but fact may be stranger than fiction. A sentence like 'I pick up trains when you were younger', taken out of context, seems impossible. However, put it in the mouth of a clairvoyant, 'retrodicting' the past life of a client over the Tarot cards, and you will see that the sentence 'I pick up trains when you were younger' not only has a meaning but a function and use as well.

In this way pragmatics (or 'contextualisation') and discourse analysis may help us to revise our notions of communicative competence, of what is possible and feasible in a language and what in fact is done. Communicative competence contains, essentially, a pragmatic componenent. In the words of Hymes (1972), without the rules of use, the rules of grammar are useless. On the pragmatic level there is scope for the integration of these rules. It means the integration of use and usage, reference and representation. On this level, there is also scope for the reinforcement of linguistic intuition, that 'feeling for language' Belyayev was so fond of stressing, though incapable of defining (Belyayev, 1963). Contextual analysis of empirical data is crucially based on intuitions, but those intuitions can only be accounted for by means of theoretical concepts. Thus contextual analysis is a method of combining communicative competence, which is based on intuition, and theoretical understanding, which is based on the formalisation of the intuition.

Perhaps I can illustrate this very briefly by means of the following text:

> You remind me of my uncle's brother. He was always on the move, that man. Never without a passport. Had an eye for the girls. Very much your build. Bit of an athlete. Long-jump specialist. *Had a penchant for nuts. That's what it was. Nothing else but a penchant.* Couldn't eat enough of them. Peanuts, walnuts, Brazil nuts, wouldn't touch a piece of fruit cake. Had a marvellous stop-watch. Picked it up in Hong Kong. (...)[1]

We can see that the formal structure of this extract is that of referential discourse: There are the staccato rhythms and cohesive patterns of everyday speech, of the rambling, 'thinking aloud' variety. It is, however, really a speech from a play and so representational. There's clearly a collateral intention here, namely to parody the kind of everyday language that it resembles. I have underlined a passage to illustrate this collateral intention. In this passage the parody seems to depend on the use of the word *penchant*. This fine, foreign word is put in the mouth of a cockney who uses it incorrectly. Obviously a word stronger than *penchant* would be appropriate. There are also other inconsequential features in the extract, and they all act as indicators of the collateral intention of a parody.

In order to bring this talk to an end, let me go back to the beginning. There it was suggested that discourse is basically interactivity. This is easily seen in the case of conversation but it applies to all other types of discourse as well. What is reading, someone has said, but silent conversation? Like Benison Gray, we could analyse written text as spoken discourse, as a kind of 'implied dialogue' (Gray, 1977). In English studies we have perhaps grown too accustomed to looking at text merely as text and to extending this textual approach even to spoken data. What is proposed here is a different procedure which is to interpret spoken discourse as spoken discourse and to extend such an approach even to written text. Here philology is not very helpful, and linguistics may only be able to provide a few hints. Besides, in the words of Widdowson (1973), the applied linguist cannot always wait for the lingust to provide him with something to apply. Discourse analysis, I would like to suggest, is a case in point.

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[1] Harold Pinter, *The Caretaker*. (Act II)

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ENGLISH IN SWEDEN

1. Ever since the second world war, Sweden and other western countries have been exposed to an ever-increasing cultural and linguistic influence from the English-speaking countries. The aim of the English in Sweden Project (EIS) is to study the extent of the linguistic influence and - if possible- to discover its main sources and channels. In the present study I will account for some of the result from EIS, in particular the spread and reception of some of the commonest manifestations of this linguistic influence, i.e. the direct loans (DL), the translation loans (TL), the construction loans (CL), and the use of English plural and spelling with the direct loans.

The material that will form the basis of the discussion consists of responses to a questionnaire submitted to 1953 Swedes in 1981-82. Most of the questionnaires were sent by mail, but a number of them were used in interviews in Stockholm and Göteborg, at which recordings of the pronunciation of direct loans were also made. The original plan was to keep the results from these two procedures distinct: the interviews were meant to furnish material for a more penetrating study of the big cities. However, since neither approach yielded a higher response rate than about 40 %, I chose to lump together the results from both. This means that no claim can be made for representativeness in a strict sense for the country as a whole. However, since the vast amount of material at our disposal is not strikingly out of proportion with the distribution of social categories in the country as a whole, it is still possible to get a general idea of the reception and use of the different types of influence from English and to study the co-variation between the responses and social characteristics.

2. Before I proceed it may not be out of place to say a few words about the structure of the questionnaire, the principles behind the selection of examples and the general methodology used.

The questionnaire consisted of two parts, one concerned with questions about contacts with English in Sweden - type and frequency of contact, topic, etc. - the other with attitudes and willingness to use certain specific examples of the influence from English. The greater part of the linguistic questions concern the three types of loan mentioned previously: DL, CL and TL. With very few exceptions, the examples of these that were used all occurred in writing in Swedish written material (mostly daily newspapers) between 1980 and 1981. Certain general principles were used in choosing the examples, in particular the requirements that each item should belong to normal, everyday language, and that no item must appear in the most recent edition of the word-list of the Swedish Academy (SAOL). As for the choice of examples for the questions on spelling and the plural, exceptions were made from the second requirement, since I wanted to find out whether older loans had been subject to a 'reanglification' process with respect to spellings and choice of plural suffix.

The DL, TL and CL were all tested in the same manner: for each example (they were all contextualized), the subjects were asked whether they could understand it, whether they accepted it as normal Swedish, and if they themselves were willing to use it. The response options were 'yes', 'no', 'don't know'. Plurals and spellings were tested with multiple choice questions.

There are obviously certain problems connected with the translation loans and the construction loans, the main one being that, strictly speaking, it is impossible to prove that suspected instances of these types are in fact derived from English originals. Thus while it is impossible to deny that e.g. fan, pellet, You're welcome are of English origin, we can only suspect that constructions such as Från här är det inte långt hem, Lämna en blank sida, Han är en läkare are of English-language descent. A further problem is that there are probably two somewhat different kinds of judgement involved as we proceed from questions about DLs to CLs and TLs. Everybody realizes that the DLs are in fact English in origin; with TLs and CLs, however, awareness of the origin of the loans will be tied to personal characteristics such as degree of education.

3. Let us now proceed to a presentation of the response rates obtained for DL, CL and TL. I will disregard responses to questions about understanding and concentrate for the time being on questions concerning acceptance (ACC) and willingness to use (USE) the examples. As a general measure of ACC and USE I will use the means for positive response for each linguistic category (i.e. DL, TL and CL) recalculated as percentages of the maximum theoretical score. Thus in ACCDL - i.e. all the questions concerning the acceptability of direct loans - for example, there are 24 examples in all. We reward each positive response with one point, add up the totals for each example, divide the resulting sum by the number of subjects and obtain the mean for that category. The mean - in the case of ACCDL 11.98 - is then recalculated as a percentage of the highest theoretically possible response

total, i.e. the total we would have obtained if all the participants had given positive response to all 24 questions. In the case of ACCDL this gives a percentage of just below 50. Performing the same calculations on the remaining linguistic categories, we obtain the results in the table below.

	ACC	USE
TL	60 %	49 %
CL	53 %	40 %
DL	50 %	39 %

Table 1. Overall distribution of TL, DL and CL.

As was to be expected, the values for ACC are consistently higher than those for USE, but in both the ranking of the loans is the same: TL leads CL and DL by about 10 %. The difference between the percentage for CL and DL is so small as to be negligible.

It would lead too far to go into detail about the ratings of the individual examples and I will therefore content myself here with a few examples to demonstrate the spread of percentages. Among the TLs we find that *leva upp till* ('live up to') received an ACC rating of 92 % and a USE rating of 87 %: corresponding figures for *Ha en trevlig dag* ('Have a nice day') and *ett måste* ('a must') are 90 and 84 in both cases, while e.g. *köpa ett argument* ('buy an argument') received 46 % and 31 % respectively.

Among the construction loans we find that *den största svenska segern någonsin* ('the biggest Swedish victory ever') receives 92 % under ACC, 88 under USE, while *Han är en läkare* ('He is a doctor') gets 46 % ACC and 35 % USE. Among the DL finally, *blackout* receives 84 % ACC and 82 % USE, *testa att springa utan skor* ('test running without shoes') receives 84 and 78 % and *Sorry, men jag tror dig inte* ('Sorry but I don't believe you') draws 55 and 45 under ACC and USE respectively.

4. I turn now to a presentation of the co-variation between response means and social characteristics like sex, age, occupation, education and region. From now on I will include only the USE responses, since there are virtually no differences between ACC and USE except that the values for the former are invariably higher that those for the latter.

Let us first consider the distribution of positive responses over sexes:

	TL	CL	DL
MALE	50 %	43 %	40 %
FEMALE	47 %	38 %	38 %

Table 2. Sex differences in the use of TL, DL and CL.

Both sexes follow the general trend for TL to be roughly 10 per cent higher than DL and CL. There is a consistent tendency for women to score lower than the men: the differences are small but statistically significant.[1] This is well in accord with earlier observations about male and female language where it has been noted that women tend more than men to conform to the standards of linguistic correctness set by society.[2]

The next social variable to be considered is occupation. The results of the cross-tabulation will be found in Table 3 below.

	TL	CL	DL
Businessmen	50 %	42 %	38 %
Professionals	48 %	37 %	38 %
Students	49 %	41 %	44 %
Workers	51 %	42 %	39 %

Table 3. Occupational differences in the use of TL, CL and DL

There are no sensational differences in Table 3. Perhaps the most surprising finding is that workers are in the lead in two categories and in second place in the third. Professionals are consistently lowest; the difference that may have been expected between students and others does not materialize until we reach DL.

Table 4 below presents the differences in responses obtained in a number of different regions in Sweden. Before we present the figures, a few words must be said about the classification used. Following a suggestion by SCB[3], we have divided the country into seven regions in accordance with density of population. These seven regions are Stockholm (STHLM), Göteborg (GBG), Malmö (MALMÖ), municipalities with more than 90000 inhabitants within 30 kilometres of the centre (TOWNS), municipalities with between 27000 and 89999 inhabitants within 30 kilometres of the centre and with more than 300000 people within 100 kilometres of the centre (SST = Small southern towns), municipalities with between 27000 and 89999 inhabitants within 30 kilometres of the centre and fewer than 300000 people within 100 kilometres of the centre (SNT = Small northern towns), municipalities with fewer than 27000 inhabitants (SPARSE = Sparsely populated areas). As the labels chosen show, there is also a strong geographical element in this classification: towns with between 27000 and 89999 inhabitants and 300000 within 100 kilometres are only found in the south of Sweden, towns with fewer than 300000 people within 100 kilometres of the centre are, by and large, confined to the Norrland coastal strip (although SNT does cover Öland and Gotland as well), TOWNS includes all middle-sized towns in an area extending from Skåne to Gävle, Falun, Sundsvall, and SPARSE covers the interior of Norrland, north Värmland and Dalarna, and a few places in Småland. Table 4 below gives the distribution of positive responses over regions.

	STHLM	GBG	MALMÖ	TOWNS	SST	SNT	SPARSE
TL	48 %	49 %	49 %	50 %	50 %	47 %	52 %
CL	37 %	39 %	38 %	41 %	41 %	39 %	43 %
DL	40 %	39 %	43 %	38 %	39 %	32 %	38 %

Table 4. Differences between regions in the use of TL, CL and DL.

The table shows that, although the differences are mostly small, there is a tendency for DL to be more used in the three big cities than in other areas, while the reverse is true of CL and TL. We also note that Malmö is the area most willing to use DL and that there is a conspicuous difference in the DL percentage for SNT and all other areas: in fact the DL differences between SNT and all other regions are statistically significant at the 95 % level of confidence.

The fourth social variable considered is education. Here the subjects were divided into four classes in accordance with completed education: no completed education (NCE), completed primary education (CP), completed secondary education (CS) and completed university education (CU). These classes are cross-tabulated against TL, CL and DL in the table below.

	TL	CL	DL
NCE	49 %	40 %	42 %
CP	49 %	41 %	38 %
CS	50 %	41 %	42 %
CU	47 %	35 %	36 %

Table 5. Educational differences in the use of TL, CL and DL.

The table above seems to express much the same message as Table 3, i.e. the fact that social respectability and willingness to use English loans are inversely proportionate, thus, while NCE, CB and CS are by and large similar in their treatment of the loans, CU scores consistently lower on all loans. The difference between CU and the other categories is statistically significant at the 95 % level except in the case of the CP percentage under DL.

There now remains only one social variable, viz. age. With regard to age, subjects were divided into the following six groups: TEEN (15-19), YOUNG (20-34), MID (35-49), MIDPLUS (50-64), SENIOR (65-69) and OLD (70-). The last group had so few members that it has been disregarded. Table 6 shows the percentages for the age groups.

	TEEN	YOUNG	MID	MIDPLUS	SENIOR
TL	51 %	54 %	49 %	43 %	42 %
CL	43 %	45 %	37 %	35 %	33 %
DL	46 %	45 %	37 %	30 %	27 %

Table 6. Age-related differences in responses to TL, CL and DL.

There is one very clear lesson to be learnt from Table 6: it is the under 35s who are most willing to use loans of all categories. It is interesting to note that in two categories out of three, it is YOUNG that is in the lead rather than TEEN: a closer examination of these two groups revealed that the incidence of 'don't know' answers for TEEN was considerably higher than for YOUNG (and indeed for any other group except OLD). It also emerges from the table above that the three types of loan have different polarizing power: the difference between highest and lowest under DL is 19, for CL 15 and for TL 9: we may also note that these differences are greater than in any other social variable. The next greatest difference occurs in REGION, where the highest-lowest difference under DL is 8 %. If we compare the three loan categories with regard to discriminatory power, TL turns out to be lowest, with CL and DL rather even but with a slight edge for DL (except in the case of sex, where DL shows the smallest difference).

So far we have discussed each social variable in isolation, creating the impression that these variables lead independent lives, as it were. But this is obviously false: after all, these variables all measure different characteristics in the same population and are bound to interact in a number of ways. Moreover it seems highly likely that certain of the variables are much more important in determining attitudes towards loans than others. Determining how to assess the different contributions of the social variables is not altogether easy. One step in this direction is to subject the material to an analysis of variance. Before bringing this section to a close I will show the results of such an analysis with TL, CL and DL as dependent variables and the social variables as independent. In this type of analysis we investigate the probability that a certain independent variable influences decisions concerning the dependent variables. The table below shows, for each of TL, CL and DL, which social variables are most likely to influence willingness to use the constructions in question.[4]

	CL	DL	TL
Age	+	+	+
Occupation	+	+	+
Education	+	+	-
Region	+	+	-
Sex	+	-	+

Table 7. Social variables influencing the use of TL, CL and DL.

6. I will now turn to a presentation of the responses to the questions concerning choice of plural ending and spelling for direct loans incorporated into Swedish. The means of these categories, transformed into percentages, are 62 % for the plurals and 40 % for English spelling. It will be remembered that the questions used here were all of the multiple choice type, which means that the answers on these questions may be taken to correspond to the USE responses for the other questions. As the table below shows, there is considerable variation both with regard to spelling and plurals: just as with the questions concerning TLs, CLs and DLs, one has the feeling that, if we chose our examples a little differently, we would also get results that were quite different.

English Spelling		English Plural	
drive	94 %	loafer	85 %
speed	91 %	supporter	65 %
juice	90 %	hearing	63 %
breed	30 %	blackout	59 %
single	15 %	tiebreak	53 %
fake	11 %	baby	42 %
tight	8 %	scarf	40 %
mop	4 %	party	29 %

Table 7. Positive responses to the choice of English spelling and plurals

No doubt a more ambitious study of these categories would reveal linguistic principles along which choices are made However, as the examples speed (91 %) and breed (30 %) show, finding these principles would not be an easy matter and we would no doubt find that there are equally important non-linguistic factors with a bearing on the choice of spelling and plural, like the age and meaning of the loan. As with the other loans it is more rewarding, therefore, to study the relationship between choice of spelling and plural on the one hand and social characteristics on the other. These relationships will become apparent in the tables below.

	English Spelling	English Plural
MALE	24 %	57 %
FEMALE	32 %	62 %

Table 7. Sex differences in the choice of English spelling and plurals

	English Spelling	English Plural
Businessmen	30 %	56 %
Professionals	43 %	66 %
Students	31 %	59 %
Workers	29 %	52 %

Table 8. Occupation-related differences in the choice of English spelling and plurals

	STHLM	GBG	MALMÖ	TOWNS	SST	SNT	SPARSE
English spelling	32 %	33 %	33 %	30 %	29 %	32 %	30 %
English plural	61 %	64 %	60 %	58 %	57 %	60 %	52 %

Table 9. Regional differences in the choice of English spelling and plurals

	English Spelling	English Plural
NCE	33 %	52 %
CP	29 %	55 %
CS	32 %	63 %
CV	35 %	66 %

Table 10. Education-related differences in the choice of English spelling and plurals

	English Spelling	English Plural
TEEN	32 %	54 %
YOUNG	30 %	60 %
MID	33 %	62 %
MIDPLUS	30 %	62 %
SENIOR	29 %	61 %

Table 11. Age-related differences in the choice of English spelling and plurals

As the tables above show, the plural is on the whole a more powerful social discriminator than spelling. Thus the span between highest and lowest percentage for the English plurals is greater than that for English spelling in all the social variables but one, viz. sex. The social variable that is most sensitive to English spelling and plural is occupation and this is also the only case when the highest-lowest difference is as great for spelling as it is for plural. Age, which was such an important factor for TL, CL and DL, has lost considerably in importance when it comes to choosing spelling and plural. In view of this, it does not seem unreasonable to regard the use of TL, CL, DL as age-related and the choice of plural and spelling as occupation-related.

The second most important influence for the choice of plural is region, where there is a 12 % gap between Göteborg at the top and SPARSE at the bottom. That of course triggers the suspicion that Göteborg and SPARSE differ with regard to occupation, a suspicion that turns out to be justified. The proportion of professionals in Göteborg is 55 % while it is 45 % for SPARSE. We also find that the women in Göteborg make up 52 % of the total population, while in SPARSE they are only 43 %. However, application of analysis of variance for the spelling and the plural indicates that for the choice of English plurals, all social variables are important. For the choice of English spelling, on the other hand, only occupation and education are significantly related to the spelling preferences.

7. Now that we have investigated both the reception of the different types of loan and the choice between English and Swedish spelling and plurals, a natural thing to do is to compare the two with respect to the social variables that carry most weight in influencing the reactions of the subjects.

Such a comparison has in fact been made on a somewhat smaller sample in Ljung 1982 and the findings of that study are confirmed in the present one. The main discovery in Ljung 1982 was that there occurs a 'cross-over' as we move from the choice of plural to willingness to use DLs, TLs and CLs. Thus the social groups that score highest on the plural, drop to the lowest or second lowest position under DL and remain there or drop even lower under DL and CL, while the social groups with the lowest score under plural, rise to successively higher positions as we proceed from plural to DL, TL and CL. The effect of this cross-over can be schematically described as in Figure 1 below.

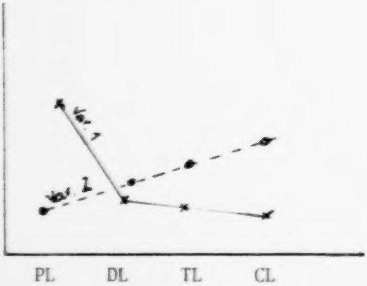

Fig. 1. Schematic illustration of the cross-over phenomenon.

As we have already mentioned, the results are confirmed by the present study: under occupation, for example, professionals score 66 % for English plural, while workers reach a mere 52 %. These roles are reversed under DL where professionals score 38 %, workers 39 %; the gap widens under TL - 48 % vs. 51 % - and culminates under CL with 37 % for the professionals and 42 % for the workers.

I speculated in the 1982 study that the reason for the cross-over might have to do with social standing: the choice of the 'correct' - i.e. the English-plural is important to those groups in society who have an interest in linguistic correctness, but less important to those who do not. By the same token, the use of loans would be more offensive to those with a stake in linguistic correctness than to those who do not have such interests. I still think that this may be true, but it remains to be explained why DLs should have less discriminatory power than TLs and CLs. However, I do not want to pursue that particular argument any further here. Instead I will bring this study to a close by presenting some of the results obtained in in a development of the investigations reported so far.

One of the drawbacks of the present study is that the use of the labels TL, CL and DL tends to create the impression that the groups of examples that they stand for are highly homogeneous. But this is not so. In fact considerable linguistic diversity was built into these groups from the very beginning since, in my choice of examples, I tried to cover as many types of loan as possible. In TL a distinction was made between words (TLWP) and phrases (CTLP), in CL there is a difference between syntactic influence (CLSYNT) and influence on word-formation (CLWF), and among the DLs, finally, I include both words (DLW) and phrases (DLP). Members of these categories may be either assimilated (ASS) or nor assimilated (NASS). By assimilated words I mean words adapted to Swedish by the use of affixes, compounding and the like. By 'assimilated phrase' I mean phrases that are part and parcel of otherwise Swedish sentences, as in e.g. Keep smiling bara, det ordnar sig. In the table below I have ranked these new linguistic categories in accordance with their means in order to get a more detailed picture of the reception of English loans.

TLW	57 %
CLSYNT	50 %
TLP	47 %
DLWASS	46 %
DLWNASS	43 %
CLWF	30 %
DLPASS	29 %
DLPNASS	21 %

Table 12. Overall distribution of the new linguistic categories.

As I have remarked earlier, we should not put too much faith in ranking lists based on a very limited amount of material. Nevertheless we can note, for what it is worth, that the TLs keep their top position, that there is a dramatic difference between syntactic CLs and word-formational CLs and that it is the phrases that are responsible for the bottom position of DL in Table 1.

What then is the connection between the attitudes concerning these new categories and the five social variables? For a start, let us look at the results of an analysis of variance. We find the following pattern:

	AGE	EDUC	OCC	SEX	REGION
DLWASS	+	+	+	+	+
CLSYNT	+	+	+	+	+
DLPNASS	+	+	+	+	+
DLWNASS	+	+	+	-	+
CLWF	+	+	+	+	-
DLPASS	+	+	+	+	-
TLW	+	+	+	-	-
TLP	+	-	-	-	-

Table 13. Social variables significantly involved in use of loans.

As the table shows, there are considerable differences in the number of social variables involved in the use of the different loan-types. However, we are not told in what way they are involved. In an attempt to throw some light on that question, I arranged the table below which plots the eight types of loan against these social factors where means for the loan-type in question were significantly higher than the overall mean. (Values from variables not deemed influential in the analysis of variance have been excluded).

	CLSYNT	DLPNASS	CLWF	TLW	DLWASS	DLWNASS	DLPASS	TLP
YOUNG	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
TEEN	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
STUD	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
BUSI	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
WORKER	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
CS	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
MALE	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
NCE	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
TOWNS	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
CP	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
MID	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
MALMÖ	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
SPARSE	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SST	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
STHLM	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
GBG	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
FEM	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
PROFESS	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
CU	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-

Table 13. Social factors significantly related to willingness to use loans.

It is difficult to detect any clear tendencies in Table 13. Still, let me venture a few generalizations. It appears that, while young speakers are willing to use basically any loans, there is a tendency for non-professionals, males and people outside the big cities to be more in favour of the construction loans than others. The professionals and the middle-aged favour unassimilated English words, while unassimilated English phrases are the only favourites of Stockholm and Göteborg. More definite conclusions will have to await a statistical analysis of the relations between the social variables.

NOTES

1. Here and elsewhere in this paper, the significance of a difference between two observed sample proportions has been determined by means of confidence intervals for proportions (see Wonnacott and Wonnacott 1977:3-6, 223-244). The confidence level has been set at 95 %.
2. See, for instance, Trudgill 1974:93-94.
3. In Folkmängden 31 dec. 1979.
4. The level of confidence chosen for the probability measurement is 95 %.

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TEACHING OF ENGLISH

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TEACHING ENGLISH INTONATION TO NORWEGIAN GRUNNFAG STUDENTS

The topic of the present paper is the teaching of RP British English intonation to Norwegian students taking the introductory course in English phonology at the University of Trondheim. This course is an obligatory section of Engelsk fageksamen på 20 vekttall, or grunnfag, in our department.

The fact that the paper deals with the teaching of English intonation to Norwegian students does not mean that it presents a contrastive aspect. Nor am I in this presentation concerned with intonational errors that Norwegian students make when speaking English.

I shall deal with the teaching of English intonation to Norwegian grunnfag students from two points of view which I have labelled

the academic point of view, and
the practical point of view.

The question of choice of model and the question of how to improve the students' intonational performance will constitute two major aspects of the discussion.

English intonation, or just intonation, is hereafter short for RP British English intonation.

The description of English intonation can be studied in basically two ways. On the one hand we find pedagogically oriented descriptions, on the other hand non-pedagogically oriented descriptions. O'Connor & Arnold (1961), Hill (1965) and Cook (1968) represent the former category, Halliday (1967, 1970) and Crystal (1969) are representatives of the latter.

According to Crystal (1969) there has among researchers been "little concern to argue the theoretical basis of intonation, and no attempt to integrate intonation and related phenomena with other levels of linguistic description". There has primarily been "a concern to meet the pedagogical demand for textbooks and other teaching materials".

It is not within the scope of the present paper to discuss pedagogically vs. non-pedagogically oriented descriptions of intonation. For the present purpose suffice it to say that for teaching purposes a selective and simplified model of intonation is needed, although simplification should not perhaps go so far as in Armstrong & Ward's A handbook of English intonation (1926): "English intonation can be reduced to two tunes, with variations of these due to special circumstances".

Grunnfag students in our department are taught English intonation according to O'Connor & Arnold's Intonation of colloquial English (1961, 2nd ed. 1973). O'Connor & Arnold base their description on seven tunes (or nuclear tones): the low fall, the high fall, the low rise, the high rise, the fall-rise, the rise-fall, and the mid-level tune. For pedagogical reasons the rise-fall and the mid-level tune have been omitted in our teaching programme (Sivertsen 1975).

The low and the high fall, the low and the high rise, and the fall-rise constitute the starting-point for establishing eight basic intonation patterns, or tone groups. Each of these intonation patterns covers a sample of attitudes, partly depending on whether the particular intonation pattern is applied to a statement, a wh-question, a yes/no-question, a command, or an interjection.

The students are introduced to the theory of intonation, and throughout the grunnfag course they are frequently exposed to intonation ear-training exercises, imitation exercises, and exercises providing stimuli to which the students are supposed to give particular patterned responses. In addition to this formal training the students are encouraged to speak as much English as possible during and outside the phonology class, paying attention to their intonation patterns, if feasible.

At the end of the grunnfag course the students ought to be able to identify and imitate the intonation patterns as described by O'Connor & Arnold. At the end of the course they also ought to have improved their intonational performance in English.

Most students who have actively taken part in the teaching programme have probably improved in terms of intonational performance. However, I have experienced that it is hard to motivate students to see the relationship between the learning about intonation patterns and the practical application of such knowledge in terms of improved intonational performance.

Assuming that such a relationship does exist - how can it be conveyed?

As described above, our grunnfag students are introduced to a model of intonation primarily based on formal and attitudinal criteria. O'Connor & Arnold do state that a very important role of intonation is "that of expressing the speaker's attitude, at the moment of speaking, to the situation (my emphasis) in which he is placed". However, the situation has not explicitly been taken into consideration in O'Connor & Arnold. The fact that it is not, is reflected in the way the exercise material has been selected and arranged. The verbal context that accompanies the various drill exercises, only hints at a situation, it does not specify it. Specifying the situation would mean to extend the above model to include as a third criterion the situation, or the social context, which differs according to what you say when and to whom.

A teaching programme attempting to take the situation more explicitly into account was designed and tried out on a group of students (Aresvik & Ulseth 1983). These students had been introduced to O'Connor & Arnold's Intonation of colloquial English in the first term of their grunnfag phonology course. Thus at the end of the first semester they were supposed to be familiar with the form and function of intonation. They were furthermore supposed to be able to take some of this knowledge into account when speaking English.

Improving one's intonational performance can/ought to be seen as part of improving one's oral proficiency in general. Therefore, for the second semester a teaching programme designed to integrate the teaching of phonology and oral proficiency was planned, where the teachers of the two disciplines cooperated.

One major aim of the integrated programme was

(a) to develop the student's awareness of appropriate intonation patterns and to improve his ability to use them in conversational speech

(b) to develop the student's awareness of appropriate language with respect to both intonation, grammar and phrasing, and to improve his ability to act accordingly in a speech situation.

The student ought to be able to use language that fits the social context he is part of then and there at a given moment. He ought to be able to behave linguistically according to the situation: his communicative competence is to be developed.

In this integrated programme we thus wanted to encourage situational training. For this kind of training the verbal, the linguistic context, as provided in O'Connor & Arnold's drill exercises, was not enough. Non-linguistic context, created by the particular situation, would also have to be focussed on.

In addition to O'Connor & Arnold Harmer & Arnold's Advanced speaking skills (1978) was used (book + tape). Harmer & Arnold's presentation is based on attitudinal and situational criteria. Their recorded material presents authentic English spoken at speed. While O'Connor & Arnold tie attitude in with form, Harmer & Arnold connect social context and attitude. For our purposes, therefore, Intonation of colloquial English and Advanced speaking skills complemented each other.

Parts of Advanced speaking skills were presented in the oral proficiency class, parts in the phonology class, which was conducted in the language lab. The exercises offered in Advanced speaking skills were suitable for both the more controlled language lab teaching situation and the freer, more relaxed atmosphere of the conversation class.

I shall next illustrate the difference in presentation in O'Connor & Arnold's Intonation of colloquial English and Harmer & Arnold's Advanced speaking skills as far as the situational aspect is concerned. I shall base my illustrations on situations where the greeting of people is the central element - in Threshold level terminology this would be part of the language function of socialising (van Ek 1975).

In O'Connor & Arnold the basic intonation patterns, or tone groups, mentioned earlier, are systematically presented and illustrated by means of intonation drills. The drill utterances are given as answers to verbal context utterances. The following examples are taken from the section on Tone group 4, The low bounce, where the basic pattern consists of a low rise preceded by something high, a pattern frequently used for greetings. Speaker A represents the verbal context utterances, Speaker B the drill utterances. Secondary stress marks have been left out.

Speaker A	Speaker B
• (Good ˉmorning, David)	ˉHulˏlo, there. ('Nice to ˉsee you.)

The next example in the drill series goes like this:

(I'm 'off to ˎbed.)	ˉGood ˏnight, dear. ('Sleep ˎwell.)

The first example is recorded and hence one of the examples that may be presented to the students in the language lab. The next recorded example on The low bounce is the following:

- ('You ˌare an idiot.) ˉI'm ˏsorry.

From the tape, therefore, the students are given the sequence:

- (Good ˋmorning, David.) ˉHulˏlo, there. ('Nice to ˋsee you.)
- ('You ˌare an idiot.) ˉI'm ˏsorry.

One may of course think of a situation where this sequence would fit, but I think one shall have to stretch one's imagination to find a probable context for it. The sequence

- (Good ˋmorning, David.) ˉHulˏlo, there. ('Nice to ˋsee you.)
  (I'm 'off to ˌbed.) ˉGood ˏnight, dear. ('Sleep ˏwell.)

is even more far-fetched, I find.

Throughout the chapter on intonation drills, which covers 146 pages, there is only one recorded example of a sequence of verbal context utterances and drill answer utterances that are clearly part of the same situation.

The drills serve to exemplify the particular intonation pattern being discussed, and they illustrate to a certain extent the relationship between the form and function of intonation. I question, however, their value of illustrating "the speaker's attitude, at the moment of speaking, to the *situation* (my emphasis) in which he is placed".

In Harmer & Arnold, where appropriate use of language according to the situation is focussed on, the exercise material is presented through a series of everyday situations. The following headings indicate what type of situations: *Greeting people*, *Answering greetings*, *Greeting guests*, *Asking for advice*, *Asking for more exact information*. To make appropriate use of language means in Harmer & Arnold to choose the correct expression and the correct intonation pattern. Level of formality in the situation will influence the choice of both linguistic expression and intonation pattern.

Each section in Harmer & Arnold starts with a *language presentation*, e.g. for the section labelled *Meeting people* a collection of language items relevant for situations where people meet and greet each other is presented.

Appropriate use of these language items is then illustrated in recorded dialogues, E.g. for *slightly formal* situations the following dialogue is found:

> Susan Grey, who is a reporter in the local newspaper, is just going into the local town hall, when she meets Donald Cromer. Donald Cromer is a solicitor in the town.

- Good "evening | Mr. ˏCromer. 'How are `you?
- Very `well, ˏthank you. 'How are ˏyou?
- Oh `fine, ˏthanks. 'Have you been invited to this meeting ˏtoo?
- `Yes | I `have. What's your `paper got to say about the plan | to build a nuclear reˏactor?

Intonation is not marked in Harmer & Arnold. For the present purposes O'Connor & Arnold's notation system is used.

To illustrate more informal situations there is e.g. the following dialogue:

At the meeting Susan Grey is surprised to meet an old colleague.

- Hel`lo, ˏSusan.
- `Well.. | if itˌisn't Jack `Langley. Are 'you covering the story ˏtoo? 'Who `for?
- 'The `Mirror".
- 'The "Mirror"? Well, you `have gone up in the ˏworld, | `haven't you? `Last time I ˏheard, | you were with the '"Essex `Post".

After this presentation of appropriate language both in print and on tape, the students are encouraged to make choices of appropriate expressions themselves, first by listening and imitating in structured exercises, and then by using their own judgement and initiative in freer social situations and interactions.

Thus in Harmer & Arnold appropriate language is dealt with in 3 stages:

First there is a presentation of language items and a demonstration of how these items may be used in a particular situation.

Then there are structured language exercises, in other words controlled practice of the language items,

and finally there is situational practice of these items, where the students are encouraged to take initiatives themselves.

At the end of each section the language presented and the situations focussed on are summed up in an extensive listening passage, a passage which we, in our integrated course, used for testing listening comprehension. The main objective of this part of the programme is to understand authentic English spoken at speed and to decide what the speakers' attitudes are.

In O'Connor & Arnold there is no such systematic summing up of what has been presented and drilled in the chapter on intonation drills referred to above. What comes closest to such a summary is their Dialogues for intonation practice in Chapter VI.

As mentioned earlier, for the purposes of the integrated teaching programme Intonation of colloquial English and Advanced speaking skills complemented each other. Our programme aimed at improving the teaching of intonation on the one hand and the teaching of oral proficiency on the other. As a phonology teacher I needed material that would supply not only a useful introduction to the theory of intonation, but something that would illustrate the importance of intonation in actual speech as well. And to illustrate this something ought to be added to the presentation given in O'Connor & Arnold's Intonation of colloquial English. By attempting to take the situational aspect of intonation more explicitly into account the students' intonational performance might be improved, I felt.

The integrated programme has been a pilot programme, and the answer to how to improve the teaching of intonation and thereby how to improve the students' intonational performance, has of course not been found.

What has come out of it, however, is the fact that students seem to perceive the theory of intonation to be more meaningful when they are given an opportunity to practice intonation in a wider context.

The positive feedback I have had in this respect has reinforced my belief that it is possible to motivate students to see the relationship between the learning about intonation and the practical application of such knowledge in terms of improved intonational performance. Whether such motivation will be established or not, seems to depend on the model chosen.

To take care of the academic part of the phonology grunnfag course I think we need a formal/attitudinal model like the one presented by O'Connor & Arnold. O'Connor & Arnold's model might perhaps be simplified, and simplified even more than it has been in the English department in Trondheim. Davidsen-Nielsen's experience (1980) with Danish students seems to suggest that better results can be achieved within the short time one has at one's disposal, if the number of tunes and the number of accompanying attitudes is reduced. A recent proposal by Currie & Yule (1982) seems to suggest a similar approach.

To take care of the practical aspect of the phonology course a model which adds something to the formal/attitudinal level will be needed. Such a model will take into account the fact that intonation is part of a larger discourse structure. Brazil et al. have presented an interesting solution in their Discourse intonation and language teaching (1980).

Their model might be feasible to work with. At present I don't know. What I do know, is that the traditional pedagogical model for the teaching of intonation to our grunnfag students is not satisfactory enough. As foreign language teachers we are responsible not only for teaching our students about language, but for teaching them how to improve their performance in the foreign language as well.

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DIFFICULTY IN EFL - A NATIONAL SURVEY

In this paper I shall present selected data from a national survey carried out in Norway. The aim of the survey is to identify problems in the teaching/learning of Norwegian as a first language and English as a foreign language as perceived by a statistically representative sample of students and teachers. The survey covers grades 8 and 9 in the Norwegian 'ungdomsskole' and grades 1 and 2 in the Norwegian 'videregående skole', i.e. students between the ages of 14 and 17 (18).

Method

In the exploratory stage, material from unstructured interviews and essays was collected in order to find out which problems would be mentioned spontaneously. The material was classified, coded and used as an empirical basis for the constructions of questionnaires. The questionnaires were then piloted before the main study.

In the main study, a random sample of students and teachers was defined. A stratification was based on four variables: region, degree of urbanization, school type and grade. Within each of the sub-strata a student sample of four school classes was drawn. Questionnaires were sent to these classes and to the teachers of Norwegian and English working at the schools involved.

Completed questionnaires were received from 2295 students and 774 teachers. The response rates obtained were 75.9 per cent for the students and 60.1 per cent for the teachers. Non-response should be taken into consideration when evaluating the data.

The material from the completed questionnaires has been computerized. In the statistical analyses, I am using the programs available in the SPSS program package.

The questionnaires contain sections on language skills and linguistic levels, teaching materials, classroom methods, student motivation, aims, evaluation, equipment and other resources, teacher training and background information about each respondent. In this paper I shall present data from the section on skills and levels for English as a Foreign Language (EFL).

Respondents were to rate skills and levels on scales of difficulty ranging from 'very simple' to 'very difficult' in the student versions and from 'very little demanding'[1] to 'very demanding' in the teachers versions. The format of the questions is brought out in Figure 1 below:

Figure 1. One student's perception of difficulty - four skills.

1. Det å bruke språket deler vi ofte inn i fire ferdigheter. Synes du ferdighetene nedenfor er *lette* eller *vanskelige* på engelsk?[2]

	meget lett	ganske lett	middels	ganske vanskelig	meget vanskelig	vet ikke
- lesning (stille)	1	[✓ 2]	3	4	5	6
- lytting	1	2	[✓ 3]	4	5	6
- skriving	1	2	3	[✓ 4]	5	6
- snakking	1	2	[✓ 3]	4	5	6

Results

The responses obtained from the students of EFL are presented in Table 1. In the table, medians have been used as a basis for ranking the skills.

Table 1. Students' perception of difficulty - four skills in ranked order. Weighted and adjusted frequencies[3] in per cent (N = 1127).

	Response alternatives					Central tendency and dispersion	
	Very simple	-	-	-	Very difficult		
Skills	1	2	3	4	5	Md	s[4]
Writing	12.2	26.6	35.3	20.7	05.1	2.815	1.062
Speaking	17.0	29.9	34.6	14.6	04.0	2.591	1.056
Listening	19.8	37.2	29.4	11.5	02.1	2.313	0.995
Reading	41.0	39.9	15.4	02.5	01.2	1.726	0.862

The table shows that the productive skills are generally felt to be more difficult than the receptive skills. The difference is highly significant, $Z = - 17.796$, $p < .001$.[5] Among the productive skills, writing is held to be more difficult than speaking. This difference is also highly significant, $Z = - 4.954$, $p < .001$.

In the teacher data, the skills are ranked in the same order. The medians are 3.969 for writing, 3.761 for speaking, 3.124 for listening and 2.972 for reading. Again, the difference between productive and receptive skills is highly significant, $Z = - 12.037$, $p < .001$. So is the difference between the productive skills, $Z = - 4.008$, $p < .001$.

Half of the students in the sample were given a version of the questionnaire containing a question where writing (of essays) is broken down into a set of items based on a linguistic classification of the spontaneous material collected during the exploratory stage of the project.

The question includes two graphological items ('spelling the words correctly' and 'punctuation'), one vocabulary item ('finding words and phrases that fit'), one syntactic item ('putting the words together into sentences, e.g. word order') and three discourse level items ('achieving linguistic/content coherence in the essay', 'dispositio, paragraphs' and 'making the essay suitably long').[6] I shall come back to a discussion of the theoretical status of the discourse items.

The results are presented in Table 2 below, in ranked order:

Table 2. Students' perception of difficulty - essay writing. Weighted and adjusted frequencies in per cent (N = 594).

	Response alternatives					Central tendency and dispersion	
	Very simple	-	-	-	Very difficult		
Levels	1	2	3	4	5	Md	s
Vocabulary	02.9	18.7	38.5	32.2	07.8	3.239	0.939
Cohesion/ Coherence	05.3	28.6	30.9	25.3	09.9	3.020	1.069
Length of essay	11.4	27.6	24.4	26.6	10.1	2.952	1.184
Syntax	08.2	31.2	29.9	24.8	05.9	2.852	1.055
Dispositio/ Paragraphs	10.1	34.3	32.6	19.2	03.7	2.671	1.006
Punctuation	13.2	31.3	37.7	15.8	02.0	2.646	0.969
Spelling	09.8	38.3	27.9	19.3	04.8	2.569	1.037

Table 2 demonstrates that vocabulary is generally felt to be the single most difficult area. Second in rank comes the item 'achieving linguistic/content coherence ...'. Third comes the length of the essay. Syntax is number four on the list, and the last of the discourse level items (dispositio/paragraphs) is number five. The graphological items are generally held to be the least difficult items included in the list.

When interpreting Table 2 (and subsequent tables), one should consider the fact that some of the differences between medians are too small to be significant. This means that the exact rank of some of the items may be due to chance factors. Thus, the difference between the items 'length of essay' and 'syntax' is not significant (Z = - 1.029, p .304). The same applies to the difference between the items 'dispositio/...' and 'punctuation' (Z = - 1.383, p .167).

A breakdown of the results by level of study may shed further light on the data. In Table 3, results from grades 8 and 9 (lower level) and 10 and 11 (higher level) are presented separately.

Table 3. Students' perception of difficulty in EFL Essay writing broken down by level of study. Medians.

level of study			
ungdomsskole (8+9) (n = 416)		videregående skole (10 + 11) (n = 178)	
item	Md	item	Md
vocabulary	3.289	vocabulary	3.122
... coherence	3.139	length of essay	2.885
syntax	3.033	... coherence	2.809
length of essay	2.994	dispositio, ...	2.427
punctuation	2.792	syntax	2.422
dispositio, ...	2.775	spelling	2.351
spelling	2.689	punctuation	2.291

Table 3 shows that vocabulary, coherence and graphological items are given similar rankings on both levels of study. Two of the discourse level items, on the other hand, become relatively more problematic with increasing level of study.

The teacher versions of the questionnaire contained a question with a set of items not explicitly connected with any one skill. The question includes two graphological items ('punctuation' and 'spelling'), two phonological items ('pronunciation of words' and 'sentence melody'), two vocabulary items ('vocabulary' and 'phrases/idioms'), two grammatical items ('word forms/inflection' and 'sentence structure/word order'), one discourse level item ('linguistic/content coherence in longer rendering') and one pragmatic item ('situationally conditioned language use').[7]

Table 4. Teachers' perception of difficulty - linguistic levels. Weighted and adjusted frequencies in per cent (N = 375).

	Response alternatives					Central tendency and dispersion	
	-				+		
	Demanding	-	-	-	Demanding		
Levels	1	2	3	4	5	Md	s
Coherence	00.8	04.4	32.8	37.9	24.2	3.818	0.883
Idioms	00.4	09.5	26.9	44.1	19.1	3.799	0.896
Intonation	01.6	13.4	25.8	31.5	27.7	3.792	1.063
Syntax	00.1	06.1	33.2	43.6	16.9	3.742	0.821
Morphology	00.9	06.7	37.2	38.3	16.9	3.635	0.871
Pragmatics	01.7	08.6	38.3	30.8	20.6	3.547	0.962
Vocabulary	02.1	09.1	42.5	37.0	09.3	3.413	0.860
Spelling	00.3	10.0	47.5	35.2	06.9	3.335	0.772
Pronunciation	02.2	16.4	47.7	28.6	05.2	3.160	0.844
Punctuation	13.5	35.6	40.6	09.3	01.0	2.522	0.877

The teachers of EFL give an even greater weight to coherence as a problem. The difference between the two vocabulary items is also quite interesting. Idioms are judged to be much more difficult than the rest of the vocabulary. In another article (Evensen 1983), I have presented data for the students showing a similar relative ranking of the split halves of the vocabulary item in Table 2. This finding seems to suggest that it is the idiom part of the vocabulary item in Table 2 that accounts for its ranking as a main problem.

Discussion

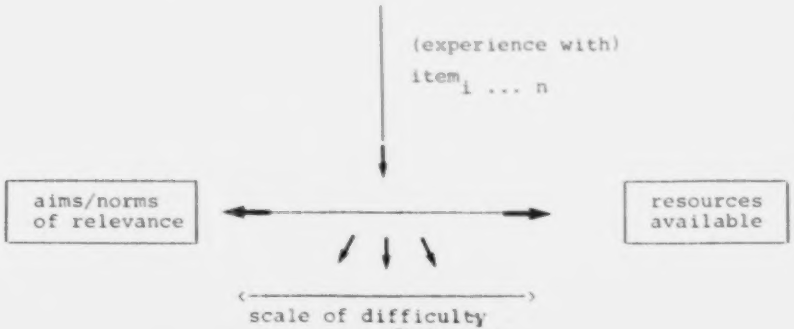
It is evident that there is a considerable degree of correspondence between the students' rankings and the teachers' rankings despite the difference in focus between the two versions of the questionnaire. In both versions, an item covering cohesion/coherence appears at or near the top of the ranked list of items. In both versions, a vocabulary item is given high priority. Punctuation and spelling come out as relatively simple items in both cases, and grammatical items form mid categories.

On the background of the emphasis put on grammatical structure in recent LT, it is interesting to observe the prominence given to vocabulary in the data. Johansson (1975) has demonstrated that vocabulary is particularly important from a communicative point of view in his studies of error gravity. My data show that this area is a prime concern for students and teachers.

Even more interesting I find the prominence given to discourse level items. In Norway, discourse has not been systematically included in the language curricula at any level of study. The data point strongly toward a neglected area.

It is not clear what the exact implications of this second finding are. First, when respondents make judgements about difficulty, there must be some frame of reference involved, where, for each item in the questionnaire, the sum total of the individual respondent's experience with that particular area is matched against perceived aims/norms of relevance on the one hand and an evaluation of available resources (in the widest sense possible) on the other. This matching process is illustrated in Figure 2 below. Within such a theoretical perspective, the term 'problem' acquires a more precise meaning as a discrepancy between aims and resources. However, we still do not know very much about the parameters involved in the maching process.

Figure 2. A preliminary model of perceptions of difficulty.



Second, it is not known which specific language items correlate most strongly with the very general ratings presented in this paper. We do not know which particular aspects of e.g. discourse are the most difficult ones for a particular group of students at a particular stage of development.

The first area where knowledge is lacking may be further approached within survey methodology. It would seem necessary to supplement postal questionnaire data with personal interviews where one could go into considerable detail in following up ratings of difficulty.

As for the second area, ratings of difficulty can be carried out with much more delicate research instruments than the one I have been using so far. Analyses of students' performance, also seem to be required. For this purpose, a relatively large corpus of written essays (The Trondheim Corpus of Applied Linguistics) has been collected as a supplement to the survey material. The corpus consists of essays written by the students who took part in the survey. The essays are coded in such a way as to make it possible to compare essay and questionnaire for each student individually (cf. Tran 1975 for related design). The corpus is described more fully in Evensen (1982).

For future research, it seems fruitful to try to relate the discourse items in the questionnaire to theoretical linguistic concepts. The item 'achieving linguistic/content coherence in the essay' comes close to being an operationalization of a general concept covering both 'cohesion' and 'coherence' as these terms are defined by Widdowson (1978), at least for written communication.

The item 'dispositio/paragraphs' is related to the distinction between 'inventio', 'dispositio' and 'elocutio' in classical rhetoric, and the term 'disposisjon' in the Norwegian school register may be derived from rhetorical terminology. In a more up-to-date theoretical framework, the item seems clearly related to Dijk's (1972) concept of 'macrostructure'.

The last item - 'making the essay suitably long' - is problematic because of its ambiguity. It may be interpreted as a general measure of text productivity (cf. Lindell et al. 1978). However, the item was originally included because many students in the exploratory stage of the study complained that they are often asked to write essays about topics they know very little about.

Their lack of knowledge makes it hard to meet the length requirements built into the evaluation system. On this background, I have chosen to see the item in relation to the concept of 'real world knowledge' used in AI (artificial intelligence), where the importance of extra-verbal knowledge for verbal performance has been emphasized by a number of researchers (cf. Metzing 1980).

As shown in Table 3, the discourse level items are not equally sensitive to breakdown procedures. This fact seems to indicate that the items (or rather: the theoretical concepts operationalized by the items) may not be equally useful for all research purposes. The cohesion-coherence item demonstrates the general importance of the discourse level as compared to other linguistic levels. However, because of its stability, this item may not be of much value in e.g. developmental studies. For such purposes, approaches focussing on macrostructure and/or real world knowledge may be of more value, at least for intermediate and advanced levels of study.

NOTES

1. The translations of questionnaire items are as literal as possible.

2. Translation: Using language is often divided into four skills. Do you think the skills below are *simple* or *difficult* in English?

3. The weighting counterbalances a bias introduced by the sampling procedure (non-proportionate sampling).

The adjustment consists of keeping those who chose the 'don't know'-option or left the question unanswered out of the computations.

4. The SPSS does not compute percentiles.

5. Wilcoxon's matched-pairs signed-ranks test of significance.

6. The Norwegian wording for these items are:

   - få språklig/innholdsmessig sammenheng i stilen
   - disposisjon/avsnitt
   - få stilen passe lang.

7. The Norwegian wording for the last two items are:

   - språklig/innholdsmessig sammenheng i lengre framstilling
   - situasjonsbetinget språkbruk.

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NEW TECHNOLOGY IN LANGUAGE TEACHING AND TESTING

Since so many new technologies are creeping up on us - some of them even starting to dominate our lives - it is rather important for the language teacher to ask the following questions:

a) what techniques are useful?
b) what techniques are rather useless or too expensive?
c) what specific functions are these new technologies likely to serve in the future?

In order to answer these questions, I should like to describe some of the experiences I have had with these techniques over the last few years. The ones I am going to dwell on to-day are:

1. Videotext or Viewdata (in Swedish teledata or datavision);
2. Teletext (in Swedish text-TV);
3. Microcomputers or homecomputers;
4. Video, videodiscs.

I shall describe my experiments one by one, but before doing so I should like to explain some of the most common terms used for some of these electronic media.

Videotex is the covering name for all systems by which textual information is transmitted on a television screen.

Videotext (or Viewdata) is one variant of videotex. It is an interactive system by which the viewer is connected with a data-base (i.e. a central computer) through his own telephone. The user needs both a modem attached to the telephone to convert the incoming signal and a keyboard.

Prestel, the British videotext system, was the first in operation. It was introduced by the British postal service in 1979.

Viewdata is the term used in Hong Kong run by Hong Kong Telephone Company. It is also used in Australia.

Telematique is the French system.

Captain is the Japanese system.

Bildschirmtext is the German system.
Teledata (or Datavision) is the term used in Sweden, Denmark and Norway.
Telset and Mistel are used in Finland.

Teletext is a one-way videotex system, whereby unused lines of television signal can carry textual material such as news, airline schedules, classified ads, etc.

Ceefax was started by the BBC in 1976.
Oracle is a similar system operated by ITV.
Antiope is the French system.
Telidon is the Canadian system, and
Text-TV is the Swedish term for the same system.

A great many computer-assisted language learning projects were initiated in the 1960's and 1970's. These projects were set up either on big so-called mainframe computers or on minicomputers. The best known computer-assisted learning system is probably Plato, developed in the early 1970's at the University of Illinois.

When the microcomputers, such as Apple, Pet, Vic, Atari, Sharp, Sinclair and what-not appeared, towards the end of the 1970's, they created a real revolution in money-saving and technique. The micros (or homecomputers) flooded the market, particularly in the United States. As we all know, the main reason for the popularity of the homecomputers was their suitability for games, not for education. It is only recently that microcomputers have been more widely used in education. In Europe, Britain has been in the lead through its Microelectronics Education Programme (MEP).

The boom in videos came even earlier than the one in micros. There is a lot of material for the language teacher to use, but surprisingly little software in the way of background material for documentary video programmes, etc. It is also very seldom that teachers are in the position to make their own video recordings of class-room work, or of simulations and role-playing by students.

The newest technology at the moment is the videodisc and microcomputers linked with videodisc units, which have already been announced for example by Sony.

Now, what kind of experiments did I do with all these technologies?

1. Videotext

In collaboration with Televerket, Stockholm, and LiberHermods, Malmö, I developed and programmed a vocaburaty test system for "Datavision" to be used for self-testing. The result for each individual taking the test was a statement indicating the range of his vocabulary. At the moment, I am also involved in a project where I produce training systems in grammar and composition for the Hong Kong Telephone Company on its Viewdata system.

2. Teletext

In collaboration with Utbildningsradion at the Swedish Television Company, I created a system whereby vocabulary can be reinforced before, during and after language programmes or documentary programmes on TV. By using the teletext technique, certain crucial phrases in e.g. "Panorama of the week" could be explained. These explanations, which I called tele-flashes, were subdivided into three levels of difficulty, and thus the viewers could "order" the level corresponding to his own competence. There was a teletext introduction before the programme called "Panorama of the week" and several tests after the programme, reinforcing the words and phrases learned and providing some comprehension exercises. The whole idea was to provide educational and other programmes with a technique whereby English could be learned by viewers without textbooks or subtitles.

3. Microcomputers

The microcomputer programmes were made for ABC 80 and ABC 800 in collaboration with Stig Lundman. 23 grammar programmes for the elementary level and 23 for the intermediate or grammar school level were finished, all being published by LiberHermods. The following programmes were made:

1. The indefinite article
2. The definite article
3. Plurals
4. Comparison
5. Adjective or adverb
6. Substantivization
7. Personal pronouns
8. Possessives
9. The genitive
10. Demonstrative and relative pronouns
11. Reflexive pronouns
12. Indefinite pronouns
13. Weak verbs
14. Modals
15. Strong verbs

16. The infinitive or the ing-form
17. The progressive form
18. The passive voice
19. Prepositions
20. Conjunctions
21. Numerals
22. The do-periphrasis
23. Word order

4. Video

The experiments with video production were made in the TV studio at the University of Copenhagen. The idea was to train language functions in a new way during oral proficiency classes in the English Department. The students were given a general topic area - in this case, "Business in Hong Kong", and a set of language functions which they were asked to concentrate on while making the video programme. The following language functions were given:

I. Imparting and seeking factual information
    1. Identifying
    2. Asking

II. Expressing and finding out intellectual attitudes
    1. Expressing agreement and disagreement
    2. Accepting an offer or invitation
    3. Inquiring whether something is considered possible or impossible

III. Expressing and finding out emotional attitudes
    1. Expressing pleasure, liking
    2. Expressing displeasure, dislike
    3. Expressing interest or lack of interest
    4. Expressing surprise
    5. Expressing gratitude
    6. Expressing intention
    7. Expressing want, desire

IV. Expressing and finding out moral attitudes
    1. Expressing approval
    2. Expressing disapproval
    3. Expressing appreciation

V. Getting things done
    1. Suggesting a course of action
    2. Requesting others to do something

3. Instructing or directing others to do something

VI. Socializing
   1. Greeting people
   2. Introducing people
   3. Taking leave
   4. Proposing a toast
   5. Making an appointment
   6. Invitation to a party

The students were asked to write a brief synopsis, and at our next meeting to improvise on the basis of the synopsis - using most of the language functions already given.

Summing up

My views on the applicability of these techniques can be summed up as follows:

1. Videotext is at the moment rather costly and mainly used by business companies and big organizations rather than universities and schools. Videotext is marvellous as an information system because the number of pages you can send is nearly unlimited. The system is suitable for self-testing and can be used in distance education, since it is interactive.

2. Teletext is much more limited. A sender has only a few pages at his disposal. The system is not interactive. On the other hand you reach a very large audience. In a distance education programme a diagnostic test can for example be transmitted at a given time to a great many students. It can be used to reinforce vocabulary proficiency and to test vocabulary and grammar.

3. Microcomputers are suitable for self-testing but also for training grammar and vocabulary. Micros are tolerably cheap and are most certainly a thing for the future. At the moment language training on the microcomputer is more suitable for school level than university level.

4. Video. Video production is extremely useful for universities and schools being equipped with a video- or TV-studio. The videodisc is the newest electronic innovation and it will be most exciting to watch how the microcomputer will be linked with videodisc units.

Finally I should like to conclude by saying that from all the technologies I have mentioned, the microcomputer has most advantages. Not only because it is cheap, but because it is flexible and it has caught the interest of young people and it will probably continue to do so.

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'BREAKING THE MOULD WITHOUT ROCKING THE BOAT':[1]
BRITISH POLITICS IN THE 1980s

British party politics are traditionally discussed in fairly dramatic language in the media. The very nature of the British political system encourages controversy and excitement. There is an electoral system which makes forcasts of election results relatively difficult even in this age of computerized analyses of voting intentions. There are two major political parties that feed on attacking each other. As these parties cover comparatively broad ideological areas, observers have rich opportunities for enjoying the rise and fall of leaders, reputations, factions and tendencies inside them.

Even so, it is difficult to think of a period in recent times when journalists and political scientists have talked with such conviction and urgency about an impending transformation of political life in Britain as they have done during the late 70s and early 80s.

Perhaps the most recent historical equivalent is the situation during the early 1930s. At that time the Labour Party had split, the Liberals were disintegrating, and Oswald Mosley launched his New Party and later the British Union of Fascists to challenge the existing parties. As you will know, the two-party system survived, and the Labour Party continued to be the main rival to the Conservatives.

The questions that this paper will discuss, then, are, firstly what the foundations are for a belief that Britain is now ripe for major political and institutional changes, and, secondly, and with suitable caution, what the prospects are of the S.D.P.-Liberal Alliance succeeding where others have failed for such a long time.

When Alliance leaders talk about 'breaking the mould' they refer most immediately to their ambition to break up the two-party system by introducing a system of proportional representation. In a wider context, however, they argue that British society has become fossilized in outmoded institutional forms and mental attitudes that condemn the country to continued economic decline and social disintegration if nothing is done.

A first question then, is what kind of a crisis it is that gives rise to such political concerns and such apocalyptic prophecies. Is there a British 'crisis' of such unique character?

It is true in the first place that other Western European countries have experienced serious economic recessions since the mid 70s. It is also true that in some respects the British economy is performing quite well: There is a balance of payments surplus thanks to profits from oil and from invisible income, and the budget deficit is relatively much smaller than it is e.g. in Denmark. Again, economic well-being is a relative concept. For most people, living standards have been steadily improving. Real incomes have fallen for some groups during the Thatcher Government, but to quote a recent issue of The Economist:

> "The increase in demand and productivity since early 1981 means that, near the end of this Tory parliament, 6/7 of Britons are better off than they have ever been before".[2]

What remain as inescapable facts are, however, that in material terms, the average standard of living in Britain is now lower than in most other Western European countries, and that the catastrophic unemployment figures show no tendencies to decline. And Britain's more than 3 million registered unemployed are not just a symptom of general recession and slackness of demand, but also of what has been termed the "de-industrialisation"[3] of Britain, i.e. the decline in manufacturing industrial production and employment. Again, the relative decline of the manufacturing sector in relation to the service sector is a well known phenomenon in all industrialised countries. However, where most Western European countries have experienced a stagnation of industrial production during the recession, the fall in manufacturing output in Britain has been absolute, has happened with remarkable rapidity and on a scale which is unique among the main industrial countries. From 1979 to January 1983 the fall in manufactured output was somewhere between 15% and 20%.[4]

It is on such evidence that the Labour Party accuses the Tories of having destroyed the base of the British economy, and that the Alliance Parties accuse both the Labour Party and the Conservatives of having mismanaged Britain for the last 20 years.

Turning now to the political arena, indications of instability are equally easy to find. Firstly, support for the two major parties have fallen steadily during the last decades.[5] In the 1979 election Labour and the Conservatives won back part of their combined loss, but this has been regarded as an exception rather than as a decisive reversal of this trend.

Secondly, another destabilising factor on which all political surveys agree is that fewer voters are now firmly committed to one of the parties than they were before. Fewer people declare themselves to be strong supporters of a party. In other words, voters have become more volatile or unpredictable than they used to be. This tendency was amply illustrated by the course of the by-elections in Bermondsey and Darlington early in 1983. According to the available opinion polls many voters changed their voting intentions during the last weeks of the campaigns. The personal performances of the candidates themselves seem to have played a considerable role in determining the outcome, and the showings of the opinion polls themselves may have influenced voters in their choice of candidate and encouraged tactical voting.

A third trend that may have destabilising long term effects is the hardening of the North-South political divide. The Labour vote is concentrated in the industrial North; the Conservatives are strengthening their hold on the South of England. This trend was clear in the 1979 general election and has been confirmed in later local elections including those on May 5th this year.

So if the facts of Britain's economic difficulties - erosion of the manufacturing base, persistent high unemployment, low average standard of living - and the facts of political fluidity - volatile voters and threats to the monopoly position of the two major parties - are brought together, an immediate conclusion might be that the British are dissatisfied with the performances of the major parties and are willing to consider alternatives.

More fundamental changes in the social fabric of Britain have been brought in, however, to explain the indications of political instability that we have discussed.

First and foremost the erosion of the occupational basis for a class based party system. During the last decades, the occupational structure of Britain has changed, and people working in the new service industries, in public administration, education and in the communications industries might see little cause for identifying strongly with either of the major parties. Indeed, to left-wing pessimists like the historian Eric Hobsbawm there is an inescapable connection between the fact that Labour's share of the vote has fallen from almost 49% of the vote in 1951 to around 37% in 1979, and the decline in Labour's traditional manual working class base in the manufacturing areas of Britain. To the leaders of the new Social Democratic Party, on the other hand, this is the opportunity for a break through from the radical centre. In his famous BBC Dimbleby lecture of 1979, Roy Jenkins expressed it like this:

> ".. more and more voters are coming to feel that a class-based party system ... is demeaning and divisive. In their daily lives, people are escaping from the class pigeon-holes of the past. They are increasingly anxious to escape from political pigeon-holes as well ..."[6]

Finally, the general picture of rather rapid change seems to have been confirmed by the behaviour of the major parties themselves in recent years. The Labour Party has been through another period of agonizing warfare between left, middle and right. The Conservatives have seen the rise and triumph of the 'neo-liberals' or 'monetarists' of the Thatcherite ascendancy in the party, and are still wondering what exactly it is she has done to the party's image and to its ideological identity. And, most interesting of all, the initial successes and impressive support in opinion polls for the Social Democrats after their party was established in March 1981 seemed indeed to indicate a widespread wish for a change of cast on the political scene.

So in 1982 the political scientist Ralph Dahrendorf could write:

> "Evidently, Social Democrats, and even more so, Social Democrats and Liberals in alliance, have found a gap in the political market. They respond to the doubts as well as the hopes of a huge number of voters".[7]

As I said in the published abstract there isn't time in a short paper like this to go into the history of the Social Democrats and the Liberal/SDP Alliance, or into the change in the Thatcher government's fortunes that the Falklands victory brought about in the early summer of 1982. It must be sufficient to make a few general points about the party as a "new force".

Firstly, the activists of the SDP do seem to come from the new professional middle classes. Judging from what we know about the party organization and about the SDP parliamentary candidates they tend to be university lecturers, media people and middle managers. As Ian Bradley puts it:

> "The SDP did have an enormous initial appeal for the new constituency which had grown up in the 1970s, the vaguely progressive, Guardian-

reading middle class which worked in education, communications, technology and the so-called caring professions and was concerned about the Third World, the environment, the decentralisation of government and staying in Europe".[8]

No doubt the leaders of the party realise that to succeed they have to keep the support not only of these strata of the middle classes, but also of working class voters who share their conviction that the old, moderate Labour Party has gone for ever. There has been little, however, in the style and performance of the party so far to obliterate the image of academic middle class trendiness, or, in the more crude expression of Eric Heffer, the Labour MP, of "progressives who don't like the smell of the proletariat".

Secondly, the party leaders are internationalists in a way which is unusual among Conservative and Labour politicians. There has been, as mentioned before, a growing awareness in Britain that the country has been descending steadily in the international league table; and to those who find little comfort in the notion that Britain may in actual fact be leading the World in the development of post-industrial social values,[9] this is embarassing. So the SDP leaders are urging the British to look abroad for inspiration. The same is true, of course, of Mrs Thatcher; but it is interesting to note that in her references to Western Germany, the USA and Japan the items she wishes to import are mainly of a spiritual nature: the Japanese work ethic, German frugality, American commitment to the market philosophy and to competition as the driving force of human nature and of economic progress. In contrast, SDP leaders are urging the adapting of foreign institutions and practices to British conditions.

One important contention at the centre of the SDP case is that obsolete political institutions are responsible for economic decline and signs of social disintegration in Britain. In other words, that the solution of the economic crisis does not depend on far reaching changes in the economic framework, but on reform of anachronistic political institutions and attitudes: The introduction of proportional representation, reform of the House of Lords, open government, political decentralisation, trade union reform.

And inspiration for this is sought abroad, particularly in Western and Northern Europe.

Thus, recent policy statements by leading SDP politicians like Shirley Williams and David Owen contain frequent references to the excellence, for instance, of the German electoral system, the French or the Swedish economic planning systems, the German and Scandinavian industrial relations traditions, or Scandinavian achievements in welfare, education, open government and so on. There is an appeal to break with English traditions and learn from Continental experience which has, I think, rarely been heard with such intensity and conviction from British political leaders.

So there is a good deal of feeling around that Britain may be on the threshold of a new political era, and that the economic and social trends that I have referred to are pregnant with all kinds of consequences.

There is not, however, agreement among analysts and politicians as to how exactly to fit the pieces together in an overall interpretation of recent British history, nor, of course, as to what the future of British politics is going to be.

As I see it, three major analyses of recent British politics are current at the moment, all of them focusing on the concepts of consensus or the breakdown of consensus.

1. The first interpretation, which one could call the mainstream analysis, sees the period from around 1951 to 1964 as one of consensus on major issues: Acceptance of the mixed economy, some cooperation between the state, trade unions and employers, and consolidation of the welfare state. From the mid 60s, however, the British economy started to falter while those of other industrialised countries continued to grow, and disillusion set in. The deepening economic crisis from the mid 70s intensified this disillusion and created a new political polarisation. A populist right wing in the Conservative Party, and a militant left wing in the Labour Party could agree that centrist policies had failed - had created neither prosperity nor greater social equality. Thus the gap between the Conservatives and Labour increased so much that the middle ground became vacant, and the Liberals and Social Democrats stepped into this vacuum.

This interpretation is popular with political scientists who are basically sympathetic towards the SDP's 'mould-breaking' ambitions. These include Anthony Sampson - who is in fact a member of the SDP - Ralf Dahrendorf and Samuel Beer.[10]

Sampson traces the break-up of the middle ground to the disappointments of the 1964-70 Labour Government and the extremism both on the Right and on the Left that they gave rise to.

To Samuel Beer the codeword is the decline in deferential attitudes after the 1960s. People no longer accept authority or subscribe to social ideals and collectivist solutions as they used to do, so various new forms of popular radicalism are now catering for increasingly volatile voters.

Dahrendorf, too, discerns a crumbling of social cohesion since the middle of the 60s. His explanation of the phenomenon, however, centres less on the mental corruptions of the permissive society than on the rise of the new middle classes and the tensions introduced by such factors as youth unemployment and coloured immigration.

As mentioned above, both Dahrendorf, Beer and Sampson are in many ways close to the SDP point of view.

Yet, an effective presentation of the SDP case requires a more radical interpretation of the recent past:

2. A denial that there ever really was a post-war consensus.

That idea, according to William Rodgers, is something fabricated by right- and leftwingers eager to prove that social democratic middle-of-the road politics - welfare capitalism, "pink Toryism", "Butskellism" - have already been tried and have failed dismally. To quote Rodgers:

> "... But has this "social democratic consensus" ever really existed? Is it true that British economic and industrial policy ran, if not in one straight line, then in one broad general direction from 1945 to 1979? That was certainly not how it seemed at the time to each party in opposition as it put forward a radical prospectus for change, and so successive Governments staggered from crisis to U-turn. There were certainly elements of continuity, most strikingly between the policies of the late Macmillan and early Wilson Governments. But generally the picture was one of sharp political conflict with frequent changes in emphasis, policies, and institutions".[11]

And he goes on to make the familiar SDP case that alternating "confrontational" policies, "adversary politics", "divisive class attitudes" have for a long time made sensible planning impossible, and that only thoroughgoing institutional changes can bring prosperity and social peace.

3. The third type of interpretation - that from the Left - accepts that a party consensus has existed and has broken down. The growing polarisation is, however, set squarely in the context of the capitalist crisis, and Thatcherism is seen as a new populist strategy to hold the Tory electoral coalition together and to break the resistance of the trade unions to the reconstructions necessary to secure the survival of capitalism. The changes inside the Labour Party are not considered to be very important - the dramatic change in British politics has taken place solely because the Con-

servative Party has changed.

In "New Socialist", a Labour journal, Andrew Gamble recently wrote:

> "The mould has been broken and ... it is Thatcherism that has broken it. British politics will not be the same again, and post-war consensus on the balance between public and private sectors, on the priority to be given to full employment, on universal welfare provision, on free state education, on trade union rights, has gone"[12]

In contrast, the SDP's ambitions to break moulds are dismissed as pathetic and irrelevant. In Eric Hobsbawm's words: "Far from "breaking the mould" in politics, the SDP is trying to stick its shattered fragments together again."[13] Or, in those of a "New Society" columnist: "The English still don't seem to realise that their world is collapsing around them. The SDP is merely another attempt to deny this."[14]

Now, it is not surprising that left-wingers are contemptuous of a new party in a situation where its only achievement may be to secure a new term in office for Mrs Thatcher. What is more surprising, perhaps, is the tendency to dismiss the SDP as merely an echo from the past; a party merely dishing out new versions of policies that did not work during the 1960s and 1970s. It would, I think, be perfectly feasible to describe the emergence of the party within a marxist vocabulary. For it is, in one sense, a party of progressive capitalism; a party that hopes to break down barriers to secure a modernisation of the capitalist economy - by institutional changes, by more efficient planning, by promotion of new technology, by the weakening of trade union power. Aims not entirely dissimilar to those of Mrs Thatcher, but certainly by different means and on the basis of a different philosophy. Where the New Conservatives count on a reassertion of traditional hierarchical patterns and attitudes after years of soft egalitarianism, and rely on the state to change the balance in society in favour of the business community, the Social Democrats see economic modernisation as going hand in hand with a process of decentralisation and democratic participation.

There is no time here to go into a discussion of whether any of these perspectives are more 'correct' than the others. The important thing is that they agree that British party politics have become more polarised and that major changes will or should take place during the coming years. Which kind of change?

In my abstract for this paper I have listed some of the visions of the future that have been discussed during the last few years: The emergence of centrist Continental-style coalition politics; American-style Presidential leadership helped along by growing apathy among the voters and by weak parties; the revival of radicalism through a reborn Labour Party; complete victory for Thatcherism; or complete social disintegration followed by a military coup or a proletarian revolution.

At this moment - a few weeks before a general election which may well change the terms of the discussion once again - I think that we can safely leave aside the more extreme scenarios and concentrate on a choice of two immediate possibilities:

a) The election will lead to a reassertion of the two-party system. If that happens, politics will, I believe, remain highly polarised. Assuming Mrs Thatcher wins the election, she will certainly see her victory as a mandate for further privatization and trade union reform; and the Labour Party will have the choice between holding on to their relatively radical manifesto or risking further splits in the party.

b) The Alliance parties obtain enough support to remain in the game as credible players. The Alliance will comfort themselves with the thought that it took both the Liberals and the Labour parties a long time to establish themselves as main opposition parties, and will hope that the social consequences of Mrs Thatcher's economic policies will in the end convince people that firm changes in the direction of moderation are needed. Eventually a realignment may occur, either by the emergence of a multiparty system, or by a change of the two-party system making the SDP-Liberal Alliance the chief rival of the Conservatives instead of Labour.

During the last few years many have regarded the second possibility as quite probable, and respectable sociological arguments have been put forward to support it. To-day, in the light of the latest opinion polls, it still remains a possibility, however, that the British people will, on second thought, not react to the talk of crisis with a desire to experiment, but will opt for 'politics as usual' at least in an institutional sense.

ADDENDUM

The above paper was read a few weeks before the general election of June 9th, 1983. The outcome of the election confirmed many of the trends discussed in the article. Thus, the two largest parties polled only 71% of the vote between them compared to 81% in 1979. Labour's share of the vote dropped dramatically (from 37% in 1979 to 28% in 1983). The North-South political divide was further deepened. Labour now barely exists in southern England outside the inner London constituencies. There is no Labour MP south of the Bristol-London line, and Labour has become a party of the periphery (Wales, Scotland, the far North of England) and of the old industrial centres in the metropolitan areas of the North and the Midlands. Its hold on the working classes and on trade unionists has been weakening further. Correspondingly, the Conservatives (and the Alliance parties) now dominate the South of England.

The distribution of seats that resulted from the election was another illustration of the extraordinary quirks of the British election system. More people (15.2 million) voted for the Labour and Alliance parties combined than for the governing Conservative Party (13 million); yet the Conservatives increased their overall majority and now command 397 out of the 650 seats in the House of Commons. Labour got 209 seats for 28% of the vote - the Alliance, whose voters are more evenly spread over the country, obtained 23 seats for 25% of the vote.

So, in terms of seats the two-party system survived. In terms of voter support, however, the Alliance can claim to have established itself as a serious force in British politics. This claim is strengthened by the number of cases in which the Alliance candidate came second after the winner. Thus, Alliance candidates came second in 260 out of the 397 seats won by the Conservatives. Prospects, therefore, for adding to the Alliance number of MPs in coming by-elections should be good.

The election result strengthened the 'moral' case for reform of the electoral system. Cries for an end to the blatant under-representation of parties like the Liberals and the SDP were heard immediately after polling day, even in places like the editorial pages of the Sunday Times. Yet, as long as the dominant parties in the House of Commons gain such a clear advantage from the system as it is, it is difficult to see why they should volunteer to change it.

So attention is now focused on the fate of the Labour Party. Its leader, Michael Foot, stepped down after the election disaster. During the summer of 1983 it looked as if the campaigning before the election of leader and deputy leader at the party conference in October would reopen the quarrels in the party top that were temporarily patched over during the early months of 1983. So more and more commentators in the non-socialist press foresee a situation where instead of a 3-party system the outcome of the present instability will be the supplanting of Labour by the Alliance parties as the second major force in a renewed two-party system.

NOTES

1. The titles is a quote from the heading of a chapter in the SDP publication 'The Rebirth of Britain', ed. W. Kennet, 1982. The section in question deals, it should be added, with foreign policy.

2. The Economist 19 March 1983, p. 11.

3. "De-industrialisation" became official in 1975, when Dennis Healey, the Chancellor at that time, said in his budget speech: "We must reverse the process of de-industrialization - of a steady loss of jobs and factory capacity year after year". Kennet, p. 46.

4. In 1960, manufacture was 35% of g.d.p., only 25% by 1981. The import rate for manufactured goods was 16.6% in 1970, 25.4% in 1980.

5. The Conservatives and Labour polled 97% of the vote between them in 1951, but only 75% in 1974 (Oct.) and 81% in 1979.

6. Kennet, op.cit. p. 11.

7. Dahrendorf, On Britain. London: BBC, 1982. p. 114.

8. Bradley, Breaking the Mould? Oxford: Martin Robertson, 1981. p. 109.

9. The classical exposition of this more optimistic view is B. Nossiter, Britain: A Future That Works (London: Deutch, 1978).

10. Anthony Sampson, The Changing Anatomy of Britain. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1982. Samuel Beer, Britain Against Itself. London: Norton, 1982. Ralph Dahrendorf, op. cit.

11. William Rodgers, The Politics of Change. London: Secker & Warburg, 1981, p. 71.

12. Gamble, New Socialist Jan/Febr 1983, p. 14.

13. Hobsbawm, New Society, 7 Oct. 1983, p. 8.

14. Kay Carmichael, New Society, 3 Oct. 1982.

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LITERATURE

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PRINCIPLES AT ISSUE IN CURRENT CONTROVERSIES OVER LITERARY THEORY

In this paper I shall try to state in the baldest terms ten ways in which literary studies, as traditionally conducted in the Anglo-American world of scholarship and criticism, have for some time been under challenge from Structuralists, Post-Structuralists, Semioticians and Marxists.[1] In order to keep the discussion at the level of general principles, I shall name as few names as possible, and because of the time limit, and also because I think what still may be useful is a review of the situation and a clearing of the air, I shall for the most part refrain from taking sides in the debate. I do, as it happens, think that we are ready to take a new step forward and leave this debate in the past. But I shall be able to hint what I mean by this only very briefly and somewhat enigmatically at the end.

To begin at what may be the beginning: I suppose one basic traditional assumption, something that seems so "natural" that until recently it has often passed unnoticed, is that there actually is such a thing as literature. We've known there are such things as books, containing what are physically recognizable as texts, and we are so inveterately acquiescent in our literary culture that we feel we've always known "for a fact" that certain texts are literary, others not so. Asked to say what constitutes their literariness, we should perhaps have framed our answer in terms of some quality inherent in the texts themselves: their imaginativeness, their fictionality, their artistic language.

The new scholar is not satisfied with this. Not all literature is obviously imaginative or fictional. Some non-literary texts are imaginative or fictional to a conspicuous degree. And the language of some literary texts is a lot less obviously artistic than that of some non-literary texts. Indeed, the distinction between the two types of text is purely artificial itself, purely a matter of convention. What we call literature is no different from any other communication system, and is part of a much larger one. All communication systems are built up entirely on internal relationships: not only does one signifier differentiate itself wholly by "phonemic" contrasts with other signifiers; various signifieds too are known only from their contrasts with each other within a system. The signifieds of common speech, then, are not to be confused with some tangible presence "out there in the world". If you want to say what a signified is, either you must refer to some other signified within the same code, as when children learn a new word from a native language dictionary, or you must switch to another code, as you might use a bilingual dictionary. Never, never, never do you touch base in anything outside of language. Every discourse encodes its own world, a world which at the best can only be parallel, as it were, to any world there may be "out there". So-called literary texts are therefore not inherently more imaginary or fictional than any other use of language, nor can literary language be somehow more artistic, more unnatural. All discourse is imaginative, fictional, all language is unnatural. Literature is literature, not because of qualities intrinsic to its texts, but simply because we have decided to confer upon those texts literary status.

A second traditional assumption has been that literary texts are written by "authors" who, wherever possible, should be identified and held responsible. The author is ultimately the object of all words in praise, blame, mitigation, explanation. Consequently, one of the first tasks is to establish his text in a definitive edition, which must then no longer be tampered with and must be the basis for all future study.

A new scholar, on the other hand, would quickly point out that a definitive edition only lasts until a new generation of editors comes up with a new version of what the author intended, and makes emendations accordingly. For the new scholar, authors are in any case out, and always were. He speaks, not of "works" written by "authors", but of "texts" produced out of "language". Language writes itself. Nothing can be written that wasn't already there in language to be written. In Marxist versions, the notion of authorship expropriates the language from the people, the collective; special attention should therefore be paid to ballads and folk tales, collective forms par excellence; and the rhetoric of authorial presence in a sonnet by Sidney can be disparagingly contrasted with the openness of a nursery rhyme. Cf. Easthope 1982. Or, in the language of post-structuralist psychology, the notion of authorship, and the individualism on which it is based, is man's subtle self-deception, practised by no less a person than Freud himself. Freud saw more clearly than anyone into the depths of the id. But, according to Lacan, what he saw of the id's volatile instability frightened him so much that he constructed the notion of the attainable stable ego as a reassuring myth. In fact, the ego is a fiction, and so are "authors". Humanity, says the new scholar, is shapeless or polymorphic, and so are all its texts. As a consequence, it is harder to think of any one version of a text as sacrosanct; the variants arising in oral transmission are the results of a natural, living process which textual editors, readers, producers reviving old plays should try to emulate. Let text proliferate! In Marxist terms again, legal copyright itself, so closely associated with the notion of the definitive authorial text, is one of the most obvious manifestations of bourgeois capitalism.

A third traditional assumption, and one of the reaons why literature has been so highly valued, is that it tells us something about the world. In the language of Pope or Dr Johnson, it reveals Nature. In more Romantic or formalist terms, literature imaginatively or artistically brings things together in new ways, tearing from our eyes the film of familiarity. Literature's power of defamiliarization extends from language to the world itself.

"Impossible!" says our new scholar. All language ultimately reveals only its own meaninglessness. As we've seen, an expression means only within a system of relations, by its endless difference from other possible expressions. You never touch base in the real: the purported presence is for ever deferred. By Derrida, with a characteristic play on words, this endlessness with which the expression differs from other expressions and at the same time defers presence has been called différance. Moreover, whatever new illusions seem to be spun by différance, whatever new meanings about the world may seem to be born, were always, as we've seen, already in language. Whatever new thing is named or seems to be named is already implicit in the code. Originality is a myth, employed according to the Marxists for reasons of bourgeois ideology.

A fourth traditional assumption is that a literary work's truth about life is, or should be, so specific that it can be clearly determined by interpretive discussion. We must especially notice here that the kind of ambiguity praised by William Empson and the New Critics was not real ambiguity. The critic seldom expressed any doubt as to what the author actually meant. Rather, the author was said to intend a dialectically synthetical truth made up of carefully tensioned theses and antitheses. Herrick's poem about going a-Maying showed a yearning to get back to a more pagan way of life which was richly and maturely balanced by a sense of the higher spiritual value of Christianity. Cf. Brooks (1947) 1968:54-62. There was never the slightest suggestion that there might be some strand of meaning, released by the text, that might escape the author's control, and the same is still true even of sophisticated and more recent work in reception aesthetics.[2] There are therefore only good interpretations and bad interpretations, the good critic having access to a fund of absolute reasonableness which enables him to decipher the true meaning. Confronted with a text that is genuinely ambiguous, traditional critics are sometimes trembling and dismayed. Their gut reaction is to interpret ambiguity away.

The new scholar claims, not to provide further interpretations, but to focus on interpretors, and on the codes by which they interpret. There is no such thing as a good or a bad interpretation. Any one interpretation is an arbitrarily coded reading-off. Others are open, for codes constantly intersect, and endless transcodings are possible. The great ambiguous texts of Modernism, sometimes so frightening to traditional critics, themselves begin to recognize this, and Post-Modern texts are deliberately philosophical to the same effect. From now on there is only endless story within story, frame within frame, meaning within meaning. Text is quite prodigiously dynamic. To read it, you actually have to write it, such reading-writing being sheer jouissance. Criticism, especially in Roland Barthes, itself becomes jouissance, criticism and its object enamoured of each other in ecstatic playfulness.

The new scholar accordingly practises a philology which the traditional scholar finds hard to countenance. The traditionalist assumes that there is literature, written by authors, telling us something about the world, in a way that can be specified. His fifth assumption is that one can study the author's language in order to help with this interpretative specification: language study will show us what is really meant. The new, deconstructive philology does not recognize literariness and authors, and its examination of the language of texts leads very far away from anything they might be thought to mean. Texts always fall short of meaning. They never, ultimately, "grasp" the world. The sense of presence they may give us is an illusion, an illusion we can pursue through endless transcodings. Everywhere différance: meaning nowhere. So a deconstructionist focusses precisely on how texts cannot mean, or refuse to mean. Deconstructive metalanguage reveals the invisible walls of the linguistic prison-house in which writer and reader are alike confined, or, in more Marxist versions, the mind-forged, unfelt ideological manacles.

A sixth traditional assumption has to do with biographical and historical information. Given an author, it seems "natural" to refer from the literary work to this man who made it, and to the period in which he made it; we may then return to the work itself with fresh insights into its meaning. Biographical and historical background can in fact be foregrounded as a type of hermeneutics on a par with traditional philology.

It is at this point that the new scholar and the traditional scholar perhaps come closest to each other, though not in the matter of biography. The writer of a literary text is so much the creature of the circumambient codes that the legitimacy of individualized biographical study is seriously questioned. On the other hand, traditionalist groupings of authors by style and genre, and the traditionalist studies of the ways in which ideas and tastes have changed, can fairly easily be re-written/read as studies of codes. There are, however, obvious differences of emphasis. For one thing, the new scholar is more thorough-goingly relativistic, very much, if he remains honest, applying his relativism to his own position: he knows he finds in history only what he is looking for; somebody looking for something else will find something else; history is a text, in the new sense. For another thing, whereas in traditional accounts history, though used in hermeneutics, was always of essentially secondary status, the new scholar gives no special primary status to works regarded as literary; he is interested in the cultural codes that designate them as literary in the first place, and in the codes on which they rely for communication.

Traditional scholars, especially those with more Leavisian leanings, could hardly be so unimpassioned about literature. A seventh assumption, which though always implicit in traditional work nevertheless had to struggle against traditional editorialism, philologicism, biographicism and historicism before it received a wide and explicit recognition, is that works of literature are something on which we place a very high valuation indeed, a valuation thrusting tentacular roots down into our entire philosophy of human life and society, down into our very moral fibre. Good literature, we feel, is good _for_ us, bad literature bad. Some good literature is even better than other, Shakespeare being on most accounts best.

The new scholar is often explicitly nihilistic, the debt to Nietzsche being clearly acknowledged. Nothing is more intrinsically valuable than anything else. A literary discourse cannot possibly be, in any real sense, better than an advertisement for toothpaste. _King Lear_ and _Peyton Place_ have the same rank. Unless, that is, a consensus confers the high-art lable on the one or the other.

An eighth now-traditional line of assumption also had to fight its way against biographicism and historicism. I'm thinking of the formalistic arguments of the New Critics and (though their impact in the West was much delayed) the Russian Formalists, arguments which, when closely examined, perhaps sort rather oddly with the Leavisian tendency whose bedfellow they find themselves in the practice of many English and American critics. The main point is that the work of art represents a heterocosm, with no necessary relation, either by genesis or effect, to the real world. All reference to an authorial intention or to a readerly response or evaluation is therefore tabu, the poem creating its own *raison d'être*. If it does tell us something about the real world, it is only by defamiliarization, by tensions or paradoxes which in ordinary life cannot normally be sustained. It reveals, precisely, what life is very often not. The traditionalist separation of literature from other texts is thus endorsed.

The new scholar, though his disbelief in authors will perhaps make him sympathetic towards New Critical castigation of the intentional fallacy, is not thereby prepared to surround the text with tight formalistic boundaries. The text that is culturally assigned literary status relates to the real world, if there is one, just as much as, though no more successfully than, any other text, and is no less determined by codes. Conversely, Roland Barthes takes just as much delight in a semiological analysis of an advertisement for Panzani pasta as Cleanth Brooks in a New Critical interpretation of Keats's Ode on a Grecian Urn.

A ninth traditional assumption is that the author of literary texts creates a new language. In its older form, the assumption presupposes that he has to do this in order to tell us the truth he wants to tell us. Sidney said: "Neither philosopher nor historiographer could at the first have entered into the gates of popular judgements, if they had not taken a great passport of poetry." Similarly, Wordsworth still said: "If the time should ever come when what is now called science, ... familiarized to men, shall be ready to put on, as it were, a form of flesh and blood, the Poet will lend his divine spirit to aid the transfiguration." In other Romantic and post-Romantic, as also in more formalistic, versions, the assumption stresses that the writer has, one might say, to create his truth as well: the truth isn't simply "there", waiting to be put into words. T.S. Eliot said: the highest development of the English language was a "perpetual slight alteration of language, words perpetually *eingeschachtelt* into meanings"; "I find words I never thought to speak". In Robert Frost's rather less well-known terms ((1931)1966): poetry educates us because *all* real thought is metaphor, a saying of one thing in terms of another; "the only materialist -- be he poet, teacher, scientist, politician or statesman -- is the man who gets lost in his material without a gathering metaphor to throw it into shape and order"; all metaphors break down somewhere, because one thing is not, ultimately, another; but poetry trains us in knowing how far we can go; it teaches us how we can come "with surprise to an end that ... <we> foreknew only with some sort of emotion." By such powerful advocates as Sidney, Wordsworth, Eliot, Frost, the traditional scholar is more than persuaded. The language of literature is seen as primary. The ordinary world and ordinary language are sadly derivative, a mere ceaseless falling away from literature's definitive grip on the real.

It is perhaps already clear how the new scholar will disagree with this. Not only does the writer not create new meanings. He does not create new language either. New writers, rather, are created by language. The perpetual slight changes of meaning are, precisely as Eliot himself also said, juxtapositions, a syntagmatic, metonymic putting of one thing next to another by linguistically predetermined association, rather than a brilliantly metaphorical, paradigmatic leap into the unknown. A cataeresis such as "the neck of the bottle" or "the legs of the table", metaphors which perhaps at one time seemed creatively to stretch language so as to say something new, can be explained by the straightforward contiguities of the code's associative networks, and so can even the boldest, the most "literary", the most exploratory-creative neologism in Finnegans Wake. Cf. Eco (1979)1981:78.

The traditional scholar remains convinced by Sidney, Wordsworth, Eliot and Frost, and this is not surprising. It is bound up with what is perhaps his most fundamental assumption of all: something which constitutes the the enabling condition of his entire enterprise, a matter of his very stance and position. I'm referring to the fact that traditional English studies take place within the tradition of literature and literary discussion defined as or by English literature itself. The tradition of literary studies has grown up within the larger tradition of English literature or English literary culture. To echo an expression I used earlier, the scholar acquiesces in that literature, that culture, unhesitatingly subjecting himself to its banes and benefits. Even for and English scholar who is not himself a native speaker of English, English literature becomes part of the air breathed: the scholar cannot exist unless surrounded by it, drawing it into himself to become part of his own system. His terminology, his realm of discourse, his experience, are internal, I repeat, to English literary culture itself.

The new scholar is tradition-external, or at least tries to be. Instead of perceiving and assessing writers in terms derived from within the literary tradition itself, he turns his attention on the linguistic and cultural operations by which the tradition was able to come into being. Literature, and the literary tradition, like any other channel of communication, depends on a coding system, and the new scholar tries to devise a meta-code that can pinpoint the literary code's necessary limitations and arbitrariness. One of the consequences is that he no longer feels much respect for the established monuments of literature. If the code had been different they would have been otherwise. His own detachment from the code, his metalanguage, readily becomes an assertion of its own superiority to literature as a way of grappling with whatever there is to grapple with in the world, if there is one. Criticism itself thus takes on the major truth-telling role traditionally reserved for literature. It sometimes even develops an astonishing linguistic brio of its own. Criticism is now primary, dictating the future for any literature that still dares to surface. Many American novelists are nowadays professors of literary theory, and their novels are not fiction, but metafiction, substantiating their own critical credos and prophecies.

So much, then, for the ten principles at stake in the current debate. Now for my promised two words of comment.[3] Personally, I have grown up within the traditional approach and shall never betray it. On the other hand, I also find much of value in the new scholarship. My own position would probably be described by the champions of both parties as an exercise in fence-sitting. Be that as it may, two observations force themselves upon me. First, nobody can be utterly rootless, and any attempt at total self-deracination is tantamount to spiritual suicide. Secondly, there is a habit of mind that may at first seem like self-deracination but is actually something very different: what I have in mind is rather a sort of spiritual self-awareness. This, it seems to me, is precisely what the new scholarship encourages, and it threatens our literary scholarship no more than an access of self-awareness threatens any other human activity. To suggest otherwise is superstitious obscurantism. We should all try to be new scholars now, just as we shall always be traditionalists, and just as, one might note, the new scholarship has very rapidly become ... literature.

NOTES

1. Literary theoreticians in different countries often seem to write in scant awareness of each other, and a certain degree of provinciality may even be almost inevitable -- a bibliography of Deconstruction alone would already contain over a thousand items. As introductions to Anglo-American versions of theory I should perhaps single out Culler 1975, Culler 1981, Culler 1983, Norris 1982 and Leitch 1983. As anthologies of theory and practice designed for Anglo-American consumption, there are Widdowson 1982, Bloom et al. 1979, Harari 1979, and Young 1981. All these offer further bibliographical assistance. As food for thought I should also recommend Reichart 1977, Weimann 1976 and Fish 1980.

2. Iser (1974), for instance, might at first seem to be looking at literature from the reader's end: he has much to say about the way the reader fills in the gaps of meaning left by the text. But the reader he envisages is, precisely, the "implied reader" mentioned in his book's title: a reader actually shaped by the text as the author has written it, a reader forced to answer certain questions in certain ways all predetermined by the author. The critic's specification of those questions and answers is either right or wrong.

3. I shall attempt to explain my own position in more detail in a forthcoming article. This will also touch on the implications for teaching in university departments of English, in both English- and non-English-speaking countries.

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WISE SAWS AND MODERN INSTANCES

Observations on the applicability of traditional and more recent concepts of comedy to 20th century drama.

It is a well-known experience that modern plays will not fit into the traditional categories of genre as readily as those of earlier periods. There has not, however, been a corresponding tendency among critics to dispense with the traditional categories. This appears from a number of fairly recent works on drama, among others J. L. Styan's The Dark Comedy (1962), subtitled the development of modern comic tragedy, and Cyrus Hoy's The Hyacinth Room; an investigation into the nature of comedy, tragedy and tragicomedy (1964).

As Styan points out, forms that defy traditional categorization are not a new phenomenon - they begin with Euripides. There seems to be an inadequacy of traditional comic theory to account for not only modern drama, but also for traditional types of play. It may be that L. C. Knights has a case when he claims in "Notes on Comedy" (1933)[1] that generalizations and abstract theories of comedy are at best a waste of time.

In this paper I intend to refer briefly to some traditional ideas on the nature and function of comedy and after that to consider some contemporary attempts to define comedy (by Elder Olson, Susanne Langer, and Northrop Frye) in order to assess their usefulness in relation to modern plays that have been labelled or regarded as comedies, or at least display prominent comic features.

A much simplified account of traditional theory of comedy from Aristotle to the Renaissance must stress the tendency to define comedy in terms of subject matter and purpose. Unlike tragedy, says Aristotle, comedy deals with ordinary people, characters of a lower type, presented in a manner to

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[1] Scrutiny, vol. 1, 4; repr. in Determinations, ed. F. R. Leavis (1934) and in The Importance of 'Scrutiny', ed. E. Bentley (1948)

make them appear ludicrous or base though not in a way that includes anything painful or destructive. So Aristotle's definition of comedy includes laughter; its subject matter is ludicrous, something that invites laughter because it is base and ugly. Laughter, apparently, that is derisory and unsympathetic, mocking.

What late classical, postclassical and medieval writers had to say about comedy tends to combine the sparse comments of Aristotle with the dicta of Horace, who is responsible for the emphasis on the usefulness of comedy in showing people what to do and more significantly what not to do, as for instance in Donatus (4th century A.D.):

> Comedy is a fable involving diverse arrangements or civic and private concerns, in which one learns what is useful in life and what on the contrary is to be avoided.[1]

We may note that there is nothing in this definition about laughter or about a peculiar structure or pattern in the plot towards the kind of resolution (happy ending) which we are accustomed to associate with comedy.

Other contemporary writers were, however, a bit more explicit on this score, such as Evanthius, who notes that just as the characters of comedy are men of middle fortune, so the dangers they run are - unlike tragedy - neither serious nor pressing, and their actions - unlike tragedy - lead to happy conclusions. The plots are based on misunderstandings and the discovery is the turning round of things to happy issues - in the manner we are so familiar with from Latin writers of comedy as well as from Shakespeare.

But in what is perhaps the most interesting part of his comment, Evanthius goes beyond the narrowly didactic view of the function of comedy as moral teaching and the simplest imaginable definition in structural terms of a pattern from misery to joy, unlike tragedy's pattern from weal to woe. Evanthius adds: "then again (be it noted) that in tragedy is expressed the idea that life is to be fled from, in comedy, that it is to be grasped".[2] There is in this, vague as it may be, something that anticipates much later attempts to define comedy in terms of an attitude to life in general, to

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1. Quoted (in a translation by G. Miltz) from Theories of Comedy, ed. by Paul Lauter, New York 1964.

2. Quoted from Nevill Coghill, "The Basis of Shakespearian Comedy", printed in Essays and Studies, new series, vol. 3, 1950.

focus on 'the spirit of comedy'.

All this is taken over by writers on comedy in the English Renaissance, who very much stress the didactic element, the profit men derive from attending comedies if they take them in the right spirit, as cautionary tales teaching them to embrace virtue and shun vice. Thomas Elyot is representative in this respect:

> [Comedy is] a mirror of man's life, wherein evil is not taught but discovered; to the intent that men beholding the promptness of youth unto vice, the snares of harlots and bawds laid for young minds, the deceit of servants, the changes of fortune contrary to men's expectations, they being thereof warned may prepare themselves to resist or prevent occasion.[1]

His attitude is echoed in a better-known passage from Sidney's Defence of Poesie:

> Comedy is an imitation of the common errors of our life, which he representeth in the most ridiculous and scornful sort that may be; so as it is impossible that any beholder can be content to be such a one.

The source of this quotation is significant. Much of what was written about comedy was intended as a defence against Puritan attacks on the lewdness and immorality of the stage, it was special pleading, and as such it did not really represent the nature of Elizabethan comedy, or the spirit in which it was produced and consumed. Occasional voices suggest a different attitude, shifting the emphasis from Horace's 'utile' to the 'dulce', from instruction to delight. Thus Nicholas Udall states the case for 'mirth' in the prologue to his Ralph Roister Doister, offered as a mirthful interlude:

> For mirth prolongeth life and causeth health.
> Mirth recreates our spirits and voydeth pensiveness.[2]

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[1] Quoted from M. C. Bradbrook, The Growth and Structure of Elizabethan Comedy, Penguin Books 1963, p. 38. The quotation is from The Book Named the Governor (1531), book one, ch. 13.

[2] Ibid., p. 40

This is also a kind of apology for comedy, based, however, not on the moral argument that comedy teaches men to embrace virtue and shun vice, but on the curative power of merriment.

Sidney is thinking along the same lines when he takes the English comedians to task for believing that there is no delight without laughter. It is, he claims, necessary to make a distinction between laughter which "hath only a scornful tickling" and delight which "hath a joy in it, either permanent or present". The laughter he has in mind is the mockery, the chastisement and the ridicule directed at victims, whether offensive or inoffensive, the crook and the cripple. Delight is sharing in the happiness and good fortune of characters we can sympathize with. It is true that for Sidney in the argument he is conducting in his Defence the delight is commendable because it is "teaching", it serves a didactic purpose. But in making the distinction between delight and laughter he maps out the area of response comedy addresses itself to, the dual response of laughing with and laughing at the characters, the area we might say that Shakespeare and Jonson divide between themselves.

At the same time we may sense an echo - though hardly a conscious one - of Evanthius' notion that comedy "expresses the idea that life is to be grasped", that is, that comedy embodies an attitude to life, that there is something like a comic spirit which permeates the world of comedy. If we want to find out what is meant by that intangible phenomenon, we are more likely to find an answer in the comedies of the period, especially Shakespeare's, than in the writings on comedy. More quotations from these, e.g. Ben Jonson's, might bring out a variety of additional ideas about propriety and the elements, the subject matter and the purpose of comedy, but they would not significantly change the impression that for the English writers of the Renaissance period comedy is defined by its subject matter (i.e. the kind of characters it presents), its plot structure - but only in the vaguest sense as a story that moves towards a happy conclusion - and above all by its instructive intention.

Whereas there is obviously some truth in what these people have to say about comic theory and practice, their views are clearly inadequate to account satisfactorily to our taste for the nature and effect of the kind of comedy they knew, and even more so the plays of more recent times that are labelled as comedies, but which are based on plots and characters that seem to refuse to fit into the didactic and structural formulae of earlier ages. The borderline between tragedy and comedy has become blurred in modern drama, and though my outline has not taken into account the awareness in earlier theory of mixed forms, kinds of tragi-comedy, or of attempts to come to grips with the nature of laughter or what is meant by the ridiculous, we need more refined critical tools to deal with the plays of our own ironic times where the sense of absurdity and futility generates a new kind of drama - like Beckett's Waiting for Godot, which can be played as both comedy and tragedy - and generates also a new kind of critical insight.

20th century criticism of comedy has benefited from the insights of modern psychology and anthropology. To-day we know more about what goes on when we respond to something by laughing. And Cornford's The Origin of Attic Comedy from 1914 has inspired much fruitful thinking about comedy in relation to ritual and myth, which helps to explain both the nature and the social value of comedy in terms of festivity and celebration, and more specifically in terms of Saturnalia and carnival. This has to do with putting on masks and acting out repressed tensions of a psychological and social kind, letting off steam, in ceremonies centring on a Lord of Misrule, which involve inversion of everyday relationships and patterns of behaviour, turning things upside-down for a limited period of licence. It may well be that comedy is by nature subversive in that it exposes, pokes fun at and ridicules authority in all its guises, as the Platonic argument and the Puritan attacks on the stage would have it. But it is equally possible to argue that it is essentially conservative in that it provides an outlet for anarchic feelings and helps restore equilibrium.

Leaving aside much that is interesting and relevant in comic theory from the 17th to the 19th century, I take another great leap across the centuries and go on to take a quick look at three contemporary essays on the nature of comedy, in an attempt to assess their usefulness in dealing with contemporary plays.

The first one has nothing to do with the trends I have just outlined and is in fact very Aristotelian in its approach and terminology. It is Elder Olson's The Theory of Comedy from 1968.

Elder Olson begins his inquiry by defining the adjective 'comic' (used generally, not about a literary form). The comic comprises a variety of responses, which belong to either of two categories, distinguished as what we laugh at and what we laugh with. The latter comprises the witty and the humorous. The former comprises what is ridiculous or ludicrous. The experience of something - or perhaps rather someone - as ridiculous depends on an awareness of both similarity and difference between ourselves and what we respond to, an awareness of his being inferior. It arises from a recognition of the sheer absurdity of taking him seriously at all. The response is an emotion which Olson defines as follows: a relaxation - or katastasis - of concern due to a manifest absurdity of the grounds for concern - which is a pleasant reaction, a return from the kind of tension brought about by concern of any kind. The definition is later expanded to cover both the categories of comic, as follows: "a minimization of the claim of some particular thing to be taken seriously, either by reducing that claim to absurdity or by reducing it merely to the negligible in such a way as to produce pleasure by that very minimization".

This insight into what constitutes our experience of elements in the world around us as comic Olson makes the basis of his definition of comedy as a dramatic form (proceeding in Aristotelian fashion and terminology). He sets up a distinction between tragedy and comedy based on the attitude to what is being presented or imitated. They consist of the same ingredients, and the difference lies neither in the quality of what is imitated nor in the outcome.

Tradegy imitates an action which it makes serious. Comedy imitates an action which it makes a matter for levity. In the latter there is, according to Olson, no catharsis of any kind: comedy removes concern by showing that it was absurd to think that there was ground for it. Proceeding from this distinction he arrives at a definition of comedy as "an imitation of a valueless action, effecting a katastasis of concern through the absurd" - valueless, or worthless means for Olson in this context: not serious, unimportant.

Not all serious actions are tragic, not all 'worthless' actions are comic. Tragic is the serious action which arouses and catharts pity and fear. Comic is the 'worthless' action which involves laughter and effects katastasis.

This does not rule out the possibility that there are things in a comedy which we would normally take seriously, nor does it exclude terrible episodes (rape, unhappiness etc.). Nor is it a question of happy ending, a serious action may have that too. Essentially, says Olson, you could call all comedy: much ado about nothing. The key-term is 'absurd', and it is a weakness in Olson's argument that whereas he on the whole is very careful to define his terms, e.g. 'serious', it is difficult to extract from his theory a precise definition of 'absurd'.

The rigour of Elder Olson's argument leads him to the conclusion that what does not fit his definition is not a comedy. This excludes many of Shakespeare's so-called comedies, among them Much Ado About Nothing! If that play was clearly about Beatrice and Benedick, if the story concerning them was clearly the play's main plot, it would be an action that was a matter for levity, something it was absurd to take seriously. But it is not. The story concerning Hero is equally important, and that is certainly not much ado about nothing. So the play is not a comedy, but a play with comic scenes. Sticking to his guns Elder Olson ends up with the conclusion that only five of Shakespeare's plays are comedies in his sense of the word: The Merry Wives, The Comedy of Errors, Love's Labour's Lost, A Midsummer Night's Dream, and The Taming of the Shrew. This is of course neat and handy, but it does seem to leave a wilderness of undefined drama outside a tidy and clearly bounded little garden, and thus to be something of a dead end for anyone trying to come to terms with many sorts of modern plays that invite laughter, and to assess the usefulness of comic theory to present - day drama.

Since 'absurd' is one of Olson's key terms it would seem relevant to know what he has to say about what has been labelled absurd drama. The second half of his book is a historical survey from the ancients via Shakespeare and Moliere up to Wilde and Shaw, and ending with playwrights like Beckett and Ionesco. These latter dramatists, says he, depict a world and a human condition that is absurd, and they use the devices of comedy, but not to bring about a comic effect. It is "a serious absurd", not the imitation of an action that is made a matter for levity. This may well be true, and Olson's whole theory may be said to be an effective way of solving a Gordian knot, but one that leaves us with some disconcerting loose ends. Much modern drama, from, say, Chekov and onwards, that seems to justify labels like comic and comedy, is left undefined. In our own century we have a great variety of plays in which comic means are used to serious ends, plays which may be said to reflect an ironic attitude to existence, which has to do with, grows out of, a disintegration of values. If the end (meaning purpose) is serious, shall we have to conclude with Elder Olson that then they are not comedies, but something else, which may be equally respectable and worthwhile? Or is it possible to find another concept of comedy, which is more comprehensive, but which finds the essence of comedy in something other than the attitude to what is being presented and the response that is called for?

A very different approach is to be found in Susanne K. Langer's book Feeling and Form from 1953. In a chapter entitled "The Great Dramatic Forms: The Comic Rhythm", she defines comedy not by its point of view, meaning the attitude to an action adopted by the poet and suggested to the audience, but by something that 'goes deeper'. The basic structures of tragedy and comedy are different. Tragedy, she claims, is the image of fate, whereas comedy is the image of fortune. What she means by that is explained later, where she says that the comic pattern is not a complete, organic development reaching a foregone, inevitable conclusion, but is episodic, restoring a lost balance and implying a new future. And elsewhere she says that comedy "is an image of human vitality holding its own in the world amid the surprises of unplanned existence". The underlying feeling of comedy is a pure sense of life, a vital feeling, a feeling of heightened vitality. The comic type par excellence is the buffoon, the personified élan vital. The rhythm of comedy is the basic rhythm of life. It would seem that Susanne Langer places the essence of comedy in an organic, instinctual spirit of survival, which is akin to Evanthius' notion that comedy expresses the idea that life is to be grasped, not fled from. This may be quite plausible, but at the same time it is so generalized and vague that it merits L. C. Knights' censure of comic theory as particularly unhelpful in dealing with specific texts.

So without having done full justice to her argument I shall leave it aside in order to turn to something which has more substance, namely Northrop Frye's theory of comedy. It must of course be seen as part of his over-all theory of literature set forth in his Anatomy of Criticism (1957), but as his whole conceptual framework is widely known, I shall extract ruthlessly from the entire structure a few ideas that I find relevant and helpful to the investigation in hand.

According to Frye the essential distinction between tragedy and comedy lies in plot or structure, though he has also something to say about comic mood. The actual plot reflects a mythos of a certain kind, a fable that follows a pattern, that of comedy moving towards integration, inclusion, that of tragedy moving towards isolation of the protagonist. "Comedy", says Frye, "ranges from the most savage irony to the most dreamy wish-fulfilment romance, but its structural patterns and characterization are much the same throughout its range".

The basic structural pattern which moves towards integration, which turns from misery to prosperity, concerns the removal of obstacles, which may be in the form of restrictive and overbearing characters, like strict father-figures, or some law or rule which keeps the protagonist in bondage, it may even be something in the protagonist himself. The bondage is based on some kind of delusion, and the liberation or release that is achieved may thus take the form of or be accompanied by new insight. The liberating effect of the comic pattern is, I believe, very important. It is related to the liberating effect of the carnival or saturnalia where authority is flaunted, except that the outcome of the comic action is normally supposed to be more lasting. The difference between the different kinds of comedy (as e.g. those associated with the names of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson) is a matter of where you put the emphasis. In Ben Jonson the blocking characters (the humours) hold the foreground, whereas in Shakespeare the emphasis is on the removal leading to reconciliation, celebration and harmony. The difference in emphasis is worked out in more detail by adding to the basic pattern the concepts of mode and phase. The range of comedy from savage irony to dreamy romance is divided into six phases. The middle ones display the pattern we find in Shakespeare's comedies, victory over bondage and assertion of a better world (a green-world contrast). The first phases show either the bondage (the humorous characters) triumphant, or the hero escaping from rather than overcoming and transforming a humorous society. By thinking in cyclical terms and operating with four major categories (associated with the seasons): comic, romantic, tragic and ironic, in which tragedy and comedy both overlap at either end of their range with irony and romance respectively, he widens the scope of both major forms while still preserving a core concept which is more solid, more recognizable and verifiable than the identity which resides in an attitude or a spirit.

This crude and inadequate presentation of Frye's elaborate complex of ideas may suggest that for him comedy is not essentially a laughing matter. That would not be quite true, though it is true that his definition of comedy in structural terms leaves room for comedy where there is not much to laugh at. If we follow Elder Olson and say that we have only comedy where actions and characters are shown which are made a matter for levity in such a way that it would be manifestly absurd to take them seriously, that would be much too narrow a view for Frye. But laughter, stemming from sympathy as well as ridicule, laughing with as well as laughing at the characters, is an important element in Frye's theory. The blocking characters in comedy are on the whole absurd rather than villainous, they are humours, stuck in one groove, and repetition makes for laughter.

And the staple in his definition of comedy is both structure and characterization. Now, character depends on function, function depends on structure, and structure depends on the category of the play. If it is a comedy, its structure will require a comic resolution and a prevailing comic mood. Both aspects are fulfilled by the four basic types of comic characters that Frye reduces the multitude of individualized or typical comic characters to.

The comic action is worked out in the interplay between eiron and alazon. The other two, the buffoon and the churl, are contrasted in their contribution to the comic mood, the buffoon (mentioned by Susanne Langer as the comic type par excellence) being "a master of ceremonies, a centre for the comic mood", and the churl being a sort of refuser of festivity. So clearly characters and situations that create merriment have their natural place in Frye's comic world.

In the last section of this paper I intend to apply these critical insights to contemporary drama and test their usefulness. As limits of space have obliged me to consider just one text, I have chosen a play that is not outstanding in any way, but a good play that has been performed successfully in many places, namely Peter Nichols' A Day in the Death of Joe Egg (1967). It is not particularly avant-garde and certainly not absurdist, though unconventional in its breach of naturalistic conventions, especially in the way the characters address themselves directly to the audience. In its choice of subject matter and in its handling of the material it is a fairly typical specimen of a trend in contemporary drama.

It is not a standard comedy, rather a problem play, the problem being how to live with a brain-damaged child, a real and acute problem with no obvious solution. There is, on the face of it, nothing funny about that, it is not an obvious matter for levity - it is a very painful matter, in fact - and yet there is much to laugh at in the play.

The agony is concealed behind comic masks, made bearable through buffoonery and role-playing, a playful modus vivendi that covers up tensions immediately beneath the surface. The initial impression of a fairly ordinary couple is broken by the surprise or shock effect of bringing on stage the ten-year-old absolutely helpless and undeveloped human vegetable. We are shown glimpses of daily routine round the child based on an elaborate game of make-believe to make the pain of it bearable, which gives way to a section of direct address from characters to audience, explaining background in the form of sketches with the father, Bri, playing various caricature parts, a G.P. doctor, a pediatrician, a vicar - funny, but painful, also a part of the daily routine.

So far the play is very static, there is no development, no plot.

Act II takes place the same day, late in the evening. It adds to the cast a well-meaning, but heavyhanded couple Sheila has brought home for coffee, and later Bri's mother, who turns up unexpectedly.

Sheila has been out for a rehearsal at a local amateur theatre, Bri has stayed at home looking after the child. There is a tense, uncomfortable atmosphere, largely due to Bri's sensitivity and protective guise of insulting and provocative remarks and behaviour. This is also rather static until Joe is brought down and it appears that there is something special the matter with her, and suddenly things begin to happen very rapidly and they all start rushing around to get medicine, an ambulance, etc. In all this confusion Bri takes the child away and leaves it in the car in the cold night in a confused desire to make it die. At the end of the play we learn that it has survived. Next morning Sheila brings it back, hoping and planning for a new modus vivendi, giving Sheila and Bri spells of ordinary life by sending the child to an institution for some weeks every year.

This - though not exactly a happy-ending because obviously there is no happy-ending to such a condition - might suggest that through a crisis, involving a symbolic death of the child, the family emerges with a new and better grasp of their situation.

This ray of optimism is, however, dulled by what has happened with Bri in the meantime. As he explains to the audience immediately before she returns, he has made up his mind to run away from it all. As he leaves at the very end, the outcome is uncertain. If we so desire, we may believe that Sheila has lured him away from his decision to escape, that he only goes to call his school and say he won't come to work to-day, or we may believe that he sticks to his decision and leaves, not to return. In this sense the play is very open-ended, but also in the sense that this departure, if that is what in fact takes place, may be viewed in two different ways: either as conforming to a sort of tragic pattern, an action leading to defeat and isolation of the protagonist, a sense of failure and waste. Or it may be viewed as a kind of comic solution, involving release from bondage. It is not a very creditable action on the part of the hero to be sure, but perhaps a necessary one. As the play has unfolded, it has become increasingly clear that it is a play about not just one case of stunted growth, but two. The father is in his way as undeveloped, as immature as his child. The purpose of adding his mother to the cast is obviously to make it abundantly clear what is hinted early in the play, that she is the comic villain of the piece. She has smothered and stunted her son with her protective and possessive, suffocating love and made him into a self-centred, self-pitying overgrown baby. And Sheila, for all her sweetness and strength, or perhaps because of it, at least under the circumstances, has impeded rather than furthered his delayed process of growing up. Through the confrontation and crisis that the play moves towards Bri achieves a truer understanding of himself and his position, he reaches through to an insight and a decision which are liberating. The plot, the sense of development and change from the initial situation concerns him, not the child. For him the play's action leads to a release from bondage, to his surroundings and to the roles he has created for himself. Seen in that light the play may be said to fit into Frye's formula for comic structure. There is certainly no joy, no celebration at the end, it is a moment of separation or disintegration, and it is easy to condemn Bri for running away and leaving Sheila alone with the burden. But the way she is presented suggests that she has the strength to shoulder it, and that it may even be the right solution for her also. To support the perhaps surprising and not immediately acceptable notion that we are offered a pattern with a comic resolution, I might suggest a parallel with Synge's The Playboy of the Western World. There the audience is also cheated of a happy ending in the form of a union in marriage of hero and heroine, and the final image of Pegeen is a painful one, of loss and grief. And yet the outcome is a comic solution in that it shows the protagonist reaching through to independence and selfrespect, release from bondage in the form of an overbearing parent and the delusions imposed by his self and his surroundings. Thus there is in both plays a correspondance between a prevailing comic mood and a comic solution or pattern.

Thus, if I am not only to bring this paper to a conclusion, but also to reach some conclusion, however tentative, about comic theory and comic practice in the theatre of to-day, it must be that the emphasis in traditional concepts on the moral and didactic aspect of comedy makes them inadequate for dealing with plays without a clear satirical bent. But in the hint from Evanthius about tragedy versus comedy there is an insubstantial but nevertheless noteworthy notion: in Nichols' play Bri's decision is for him life to be grasped, not life to be fled from. There is in this, as in Susanne Langer's theory something that is applicable to comedy as we meet it in present-day writers, but probably little that is directly useful in the analysis of individual plays. Elder Olson's theory, though stringent enough, seems too narrow to be of much help as soon as we move to borderline cases. The subject matter of this play is not a matter for levity, and the way it is presented does not aim to remove concern by showing it to be absurd or negligible. The situation is painful, and the comedy grows out of despair. It is certainly not much ado about nothing. Comic means are used to serious ends, after the fashion of much modern drama where the human predicament and human inadequacy are presented in a comic light, as stuff for laughter rather than tears - laughter, that is, that is sympathetic rather than derisory. At the same time the comedy seems so pervasive in the approach, so ingrained in the pattern that it seems perverse to rule it out. And here Northrop Frye's theory in allowing for scope of classification through his combination of a basic pattern and a variety of phases offers us at the end of the range where comedy overlaps with the ironic, and where the outcome shows the hero escaping rather than transforming what holds him in bondage, a conceptual framework for comedy which - though perhaps not adequate to account quite satisfactorily for this play and others - is serviceable in dealing with modern drama and holds promise that it will not, as L. C. Knights would have us believe, be a waste of time to think in terms of abstract theories nor be necessary to discard traditional labels altogether.

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE ART OF PORTRAITURE IN MEDIEVAL LITERATURE: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE USE OF ETHOPOEIA OR ADLOCUTIO

If one examines the characters of medieval literature two prevailing techniques of characterization may be distinguished, corresponding in some respects to the modern critical categories of "telling" and "showing". Thus, one medieval strategy consisted in the so-called "formal portrait", which might be defined as an essentially static mode of description with affinities to the modern critical "telling". The "formal portrait" was made up of a meticulous enumeration of largely conventional details of outward appearance; the features selected would usually be arranged in a top-to-toe sequence, and were often supplemented by a list of equally conventional traits of moral character. The other predominant procedure might be described as a more dynamic technique of characterization, related to the modern "showing". It was achieved through the representation of the speech, actions, and gestures of the object of portrayal. It is the purpose of this paper to examine a sub-species of dynamic characterization called ethopoeia or adlocutio, and to suggest how knowledge of this rhetorical form may help to structure and, hopefully, better understand the art of character portrayal in medieval literature. I shall confine my literary examples to the works of Geoffrey Chaucer, which in this respect may be taken as representative of much medieval narrative literature.[1]

Ethopoeia appears in literature in the shape of a formal, introspective, and essentially non-naturalistic monologue; this is the well-known soliloquy attributed to the fictional hero or heroine which interrupts the narrative movement in order to dwell at length on the speaker's immediate thoughts and emotions in a given situation, thus simultaneously bringing out the motives and qualities of the speaker's general character. In medieval characterization this strictly speaking non-naturalistic monologue was a staple and apparently popular device. It constituted what may have been considered a convenient half-way station between the completely static "formal portrait" on the one hand, and the fully-fledged dynamic mode of characterization on the other.

In addition to its obvious value as a tool of psychological analysis (in which respect it might almost be considered a precursor of the stream-of-consciousness technique in modern fiction) the general formality of its style made it useful also as a means of stylistic heightening. Finally, it had the general merit, from a medieval point of view, of being useful for the purpose of adding length and depth to the traditional story material from which the writer would usually be recreating his own narrative.[2]

The technique involved in the production of ethopoeia might be studied in classical and medieval manuals on rhetoric and grammar (including poetics), as well as in the fictional writers whose works formed part of the school curriculum.[3] Thus, the Rhetorica ad Herennium describes the imaginary monologue as a means of characterization (and personification) under the rhetorical "figures of sense".[4] It is here designated as conformatio, and is defined as the act of "representing an absent person as present" or "making a mute thing or one lacking form articulate, and attributing to it a definite form and a language or a certain behaviour appropriate to its character". The author adds that this rhetorical figure is particularly "useful in ... Amplification and in Appeal to Pity", two subdivisions of the judicial speech which were designed to appeal to the emotions and moral conscience of the hearers.

The transition from the imaginary monologue to the fictional dialogue was apparently regarded as fluid by some rhetoricians.[5] Thus, Quintilian treats the two together under the heading of fictiones personarum, or "impersonation".[6] His definition of the form, moreover, embraces "imaginary writings" reflecting the character of the writer, as well as fictional speeches (IX.ii.34). By the figure of "impersonation", he says, "we display the inner thoughts" of our fictional characters, "as though they were talking with themselves" (IX.ii.30). But, he adds, "we shall only carry conviction if we represent them as uttering what they may reasonably be supposed to have had in their minds" (ibid.). Thus, given the appropriate circumstances, we may "put words of advice, reproach, complaint, praise or pity into the mouths of appropriate persons" (ibid.). The relevance to literature of the figure of "impersonation" is clearly recognized by Quintilian, who, in a previous book, claims that exercise in this form, being indispensable for the future orator, "is also of the greatest use to poets and historians" (III.viii.49).

The emphasis on appropriateness in "impersonation" harks back, of course, to Horace's injunctions in the Art of Poetry concerning decorum with respect to the speaker's emotions, mood, fortune, age, condition, sex, occupation, nationality, and place of origin.[7] The crucial importance of the observance of decorum in this form is further expounded in the fifth century by the rhetor Emporius, who refers to "impersonation" by the Greek ethopoeia, which he translates into Latin as adlocutio.[8] This rhetorical device "brings out the character or the emotional state of the speaker", thus furnishing "an opportunity for discipline in choosing an appropriate style". For in the imaginary monologue "we should express in every phrase the life-style of him whose words are being created". Emporius illustrates these remarks by a lengthy enumeration of the most generalized characteristics of the speech of a wide variety of types of character.

The twelfth and thirteenth century Latin "arts of poetry" define and exemplify "impersonation" under one of several "figures of sense". They point out its value for the purpose of literary "amplification" or expansion, but they add little or nothing to the definitions provided by the classical rhetorical manuals, which they mostly repeat or echo.[9]

The fullest and most informative theoretical treatment of ethopoeia is that which is contained in the Progymnasmata of Hermogenes, which was written in the second century in Greek.[10] This work was transmitted to the Middle Ages in Priscian's sixth century Latin translation called the Preexercitamina, which was often appended to Priscian's grammar.[11] The ninth of the elementary school exercises making up this rhetorical manual was called "ethopoeia" by Hermogenes, and "adlocutio" by Priscian. Priscian defines this exercise in the composition of imaginary monologues as "the imitation of speech accommodated to suit assigned persons and situations". He then proceeds to define two subdivisions of adlocutio: first, prosopopoeia or personification proper, "when speech is simulated contra naturam"; secondly, eidolopoeia, "when words are put into the mouths of the dead". A distinction is made between impersonation of "definite" persons, such as Achilles, and that of "indefinite" ones, such as "a man". Specific instances of "impersonation" may, moreover, be distinguished as "single" in nature, when a character is making a speech to himself; or they may be "double", when he is imagined as addressing somebody else. Literary decorum is enjoined in relation to the speaker's age, mood and other attributes. One sub-species of "impersonation" strives primarily to reflect the speaker's general character or habit of mind; the example adduced reads: "What words an inland peasant might utter on first seeing a ship". Another sub-species focuses on the immediate emotions occasioned by a given situation: "What words Andromache might use on Hector's death". Finally, a mixed category is distinguished, imaging forth both the speaker's character and immediate emotional reaction: "What words Achilles might address to Patroclus after the latter had been slain".

Concluding his exposition of the pattern of "impersonation", Priscian recommends due observance of the so-called "three times", that is, a procedure which includes consideration of the speaker's present situation as well as of his past and future.

The elements which had to be considered in the literary application of *ethopoeia* were conveniently, and concisely, summed up in the twelfth century by the anonymous "Art of Poetry" of Saint-Omer.[12] In a section devoted to the theory underlying character portrayal, the author, having stressed the need for literary decorum, sums up the elements of a character sketch in the following terms:

> Tempore quo, quis, ubi, coram quo quisque loquatur,
>   De quo sit sermo, tempore quo, quis, ubi;
> Quid faciat, quid aget olim, quid fecerit ante,
>   Quidque pati possit, quid faciat, quid aget.[13]

> The time at which a person speaks; his identity; the place and in whose presence he speaks; the subject discussed; the when, the who and the where; what the speaker is doing, what he will do in the future, what he did previously; what he may have to endure, what he is doing, and what he will do.

On the basis of Priscian's exposition and the topics he suggests as suitable themes for school exercises we may imagine the probably rather stereotyped and formal imaginary monologues which would issue from the quills of classical and medieval schoolboys following the instructions on *ethopoeia* or *adlocutio* set forth in the *Preexercitamina*. We may obtain a probably pretty accurate idea of what the results of such puerile efforts might in fact amount to by looking at the model themes which were appended by other collections of progymnasmatic exercises. These model themes clearly represent a type of composition which underwent little change from century to century, let alone from author to author.

The *Progymnasmata* of Aphthonius, dating from the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries, which, like Priscian's *Preexercitamina*, was closely based on Hermogenes, provides an interesting model characterization on the theme: "What words Niobe might utter after her children were murdered", here reproduced in a translation by Ray Nadeau.[14] Nadeau also provided the rubrics indicating the formal divisions into which this monologue falls, in accordance with the pattern of the "three times".

> [Present] Childless now, who seemed blest with many children before, what kind of fortune am I exchanging for others? And the great number has become a want and I have become the mother of not a single child, I who appeared to be the foremost of many in this regard, so that it was better to have lacked the power to give birth than to give birth for tears! Those robbed [of children] are more unfortunate than those not giving birth, for through the rivalry [with Leto] I have come to a grievous loss.
> [Past] But woe is me! I am bearing a misfortune akin to that of the one breeding me; I was descended from Tantalus, who once lived with the gods but he was then banished from the society of gods. And descended from Tantalus, I confirm the relationship by these misfortunes. I was associated with Leto; I fare badly because of her, and I have brought that association to the destruction of children; connection with a goddess brings me to misfortune. Before I entered into the rivalry with Leto, I was a happier mother but, having become well-known, I am at a loss for offspring, which I had in abundance before the rivalry. And now weeping for each child falls to my lot and also bewailing the loss of what was a great source of pride.
> [Future] Whither may I turn? To what things shall I cling? What kind of tomb will be of use to me in the face of the destruction of all the fallen children? The honours have ended in misfortunes. But why do I mourn for these things, since it is allowed to ask heaven that another nature be given in exchange? I have seen an only escape from the misfortunes, namely, to withdraw toward that state which is insensible of anything. But I am more fearful lest, appearing in that form, I should continue weeping.

Nadeau's translation probably gives a fairly accurate impression of the formal and heavily rhetorical tone and style of the original.

That this highly stylized tone was characteristic of the school exercise in ethopoeia is confirmed by a glance at the example furnished by Richard Rainolde's Foundacion of Rhetorike, dating from 1563.[15] His example is entitled "What lamentable oration Hecuba Quene of Troie might make, Troie being destroied". Hecuba, who has just witnessed the bloody slaughter of her husband and sons, is to be imagined as surviving in the ruins of burning Troy amidst the looting, ravishing, and murdering Greeks. The opening lines of this desperately afflicted woman's speech are, nevertheless, the following:

> What kyngdome can alwaies assure his state, or glory? What strength can alwaies last? What power maie alwaies stande? The mightie Okes are somtyme caste from roote, the Ceadars high by tempestes falle, so bitter stormes dooe force their strength. Soft waters pearseth Rockes, and ruste the massie Iron doeth bryng to naught. So nothyng can by strength so stande, but strength maie ones decaie: yea, mightie kingdoms in time decaie haue felt. Kingdomes weake haue rose to might, and mightie kyngdomes fallen, no counsaile can preuaile, no power, no strength or might in lande. God disposeth Princes seates, their kyngdome there with standes.... (fol. 50^{v})

In this vein Hecuba continues her highly strung philosophical discourse on the fickleness of Fortune for another ten lines or so, before she proceeds to bewail her present situation, the loss of her glorious past, and the dire fate which the future seems to hold in store for her - all in the same formal, rhetorical, tightly organized, and unmistakably non-naturalistic style.

The popularity of the device of ethopoeia in classical literature and oratory hardly needs demonstrating, and must not detain us here.[16] That Geoffrey Chaucer was well aware of the exploitation of this rhetorical form by his predecessors and models can hardly be questioned either. In fact, the legends of Dido and Medea, in his Legend of Good Women, both end on the opening lines of passionate letters which in Chaucer's source had served to convey the emotional turmoil, bitterness at the past, and despair of the future of these two heroines.[17] As Chaucer acknowledges when breaking off these letters, both documents were copied from Ovid's Heroides, which, however, in Chaucer's words, "were as now to long for me to wryte" (F, l. 1679). Ovid's youthful Heroides, as is well known, form a lengthy collection of such plaintive imaginary letters, ostensibly written by a variety of legendary women wronged in love.[18] Clearly reflecting the style and pattern of ethopoeia, which would have been instilled in Ovid at school, as these letters do, they may, as Donald Lemen Clark has observed, arguably be considered as little more than advanced examples of school exercises in ethopoeia, composed on the themes, respectively, of "What words Dido might write to Aeneas when the latter was leaving Carthage", and "What Medea, cast off by her former lover, might write to Jason".[19]

An instance of Chaucer's own use of this form as a method of characterization and a means of stylistic heightening is afforded by the moving monologue attributed to Criseyde in Troilus and Criseyde, Book V, ll. 1054-85. In the light of my previous discussion, I would suggest that this soliloquy might profitably be considered from the point of view of an advanced and highly competent exercise in "impersonation", conceived and composed on a theme which the author may have formulated (consciously or unconsciously) as: 'What words Criseyde might utter, having cast off Troilus in favour of Diomede":

..."Allas! for now is clene ago 1054
My name of trouthe in love, for everemo!
For I have falsed oon the gentileste
That evere was, and oon the worthieste!

Allas! of me, unto the worldes ende, 1058
Shal neyther ben ywriten nor ysonge
No good word, for thise bokes wol me shende.
O, rolled shal I ben on many a tonge!
Thorughout the world my belle shal be ronge!
And wommen moost wol haten me of alle.
Allas, that swich a cas me sholde falle!

Thei wol seyn, in as muche as in me is, 1065
I have hem don dishonour, weylaway!
Al be I nat the first that dide amys,
What helpeth that to don my blame awey?
But syn I se ther is no bettre way,
And that to late is now for me to rewe,
to Diomede algate I wol be trewe.

But, Troilus, syn I no bettre may, 1072
And syn that thus departen ye and I,
Yet prey I God, so yeve yow right good day,
As for the gentileste, trewely,
That evere I say, to serven feythfully,
And best kan ay his lady honour kepe"; -
And with that word she brast anon to wepe.

"And certes, Yow ne haten shal I nevere; 1079
And frendes love, that shal ye han of me,
And my good word, al sholde I lyven evere.

And, trewely, I wolde sory be 1082
For to seen yow in adversitee;
And gilteles, I woot wel, I yow leve.
But al shal passe; and thus take I my leve." 1085

The highly stylized and predominantly non-naturalistic form of this monologue immediately suggests its rhetorical origin. It abounds in rhetorical figures like exclamatio (i.e., emotional outcry, e.g., "Allas! etc.", ll. 1054-55); repetitio (i.e., anaphora, e.g., "Allas! etc.", ll. 1054, 1058, 1068, or the lines beginning with "And", ll. 1077-82); interpretatio (i.e., expressing the same meaning repeatedly but in different ways, e.g., ll. 1054-62); significatio (i.e., word or phrase signifying more than is actually expressed) and translatio (i.e., metaphorical expression; for an example of the latter two, cf. "my belle shal be ronge", l. 1061); denominatio (i.e., metonymy, e.g., "thise bokes wol me shende", l. 1060); ratiocinatio (i.e., reasoning with oneself by question and answer, e.g., ll. 1065-71), and adnominatio (i.e., word-play or punning, e.g., "leve" / "leve", ll. 1084-85), to mention just a few. The syntactic structure of the passage varies from the exclamatory and syntactically fairly complex attempted reasoning of ll. 1054-78 (cf. the numerous constructions beginning with "syn" and "for") to the fairly simple paratactic structure of the disjointed statements (beginning with "and") which conclude Criseyde's monologue. The speech, moreover, contains a number of bookish phrases like: "Allas! of me, unto the worldes ende, / Shal neyther ben ywriten nor ysonge / No good word, for thise bokes wol me shende" (ll. 1058-60); and at the very end, almost with the effect of an actress leaving the stage: "But al shal passe; and thus take I my leve" (l. 1085).

The style and form of this soliloquy make it clear that although no medieval poet was better capable than Chaucer of imitating everyday speech in a naturalistic manner, when he so chose, his objective in a case like this was character portrayal of a different order. Couched in the traditional form and style of ethopoeia as this monologue is, even to the point of observing due consideration of the speaker's present, past and future, Criseyde's speech eminently fulfills the primary function outlined for it in classical and medieval rhetoric, that of reflecting the speaker's immediate emotions and general moral character. For if we know, and accept, the literary and rhetorical tradition within which this speech was composed, we have no difficulty in recognizing the psychological truth about Criseyde which is here conveyed, albeit in a predominantly non-naturalistic manner. Thus, her emotions are arguably reflected in the syntactic structure and high stylistic tenor of her speech, as well as in her apparently sincere remorse at having betrayed her beloved Troilus, towards whom she still nurses tender feelings; for, as she says, "trewely, I wolde sory be / For to seen yow in adversitee; / And gilteles, I woot wel, I yow leve" (11. 1082-84). Her moral character, on the other hand, flawed by timidity or "sliding courage", as we have previously been shown (and told, in V, 1. 825), arguably shows in the steadily increasing syntactic and logical incoherence of her discourse, and in her non-realistic anticipation of her future, world-wide literary fame, as well as in her pathetic resolve now, at least, to remain faithful to her *new* lover: "To Diomede algate I wol be trewe" (1. 1071).

If we try to evaluate Chaucer's attitude to the introspective monologue as a device of literary characterization, it is interesting to note that his primary source for *Troilus and Criseyde*, Boccaccio's *Il Filostrato*, has no corresponding passage at this point in the story.[20] One of their common sources, however, the twelfth century *Roman de Troie* by Benoit de Sainte Maure, does contain a typical example of *ethopoeia* here, uttered by Benoit's Briseida.[21] So it seems that we are justified in imagining Chaucer as reaching back beyond Boccaccio's recent, concentrated redaction of this passage to an earlier, non-naturalistic, and, in a sense, more medieval form, because *this* form lent itself so eminently to Chaucer's immediate purpose in the context: that of mitigating our moral judgement of Criseyde by a close analysis of her gentle and remorseful feelings and her pathetic state. By adopting the traditional form of *ethopoeia* for this purpose, Chaucer simultaneously placed Criseyde at the end of a long line of literary predecessors, including Ovid's afflicted heroines, thus underlining the representative nature of Criseyde's emotions, character, and fortune.

From a technical point of view, Chaucer's use of *ethopoeia* in this as well as in other passages of the *Troilus* and elsewhere in his works may thus perhaps best be seen as part of that "medievalization" of his sources which C. S. Lewis so acutely diagnosed as characteristic of Chaucer's literary habits.[22] Criseyde's monologue, together with the many additional examples which may be adduced demonstrating Chaucer's subtle exploitation of the formal, introspective, and predominantly non-naturalistic monologue, certainly suggests that Chaucer clearly recognized the particular nature and value of this special mode of literary characterization.[23] In consequence of this, I have tried to show that the rhetorical figure and exercise of *ethopoeia* should probably be accorded a more prominent place than hitherto recognized among the formative influences on the art of character portrayal in Geoffrey Chaucer, as well as in much other medieval narrative literature.

NOTES

1. I wish to acknowledge my general indebtedness in this paper to the critical approach and distinctions of Charles Muscatine, Chaucer and the French Tradition (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1957) and Robert O. Payne, The Key of Remembrance: A Study of Chaucer's Poetics (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1963); neither of these fundamental studies of medieval poetics, however, examines the rhetorical background of the non-representational monologue as a device of literary characterization. Claes Schaar, in The Golden Mirror: Studies in Chaucer's Descriptive Technique and its Literary Background (Lund: Gleerup, 1967), shows awareness of the literary use of the introspective monologue in character portrayal, but deliberately excludes himself from an examination of its nature and background by confining his chapter on "Description of Emotions" (pp. 19-166) to "such paragraphs as deal with emotions in the third person. No pieces of introspection, where people give vent to their feelings in the first person, will be included ..." ("Introduction", p. 17). The only earlier, reasonably full treatments of aspects of *ethopoeia* are, to my knowledge, Donald Lemen Clark's discussion of the rhetorical exercise by that name, in Clark's Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1957), pp. 199-201, and Edmond Faral's discussion of its medieval counterparts, in Faral, Les Arts Poétiques du XII^{e} et du XIII^{e} siècle: documents sur la technique littéraire du Moyen Age (1924; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine, 1982), pp. 72-73.

2. On the imaginary introspective monologue in the medieval "Arts of Poetry", see n. 9 infra.

3. Cf. Faral, Les Arts Poétiques, pp. 72-73, 99-103; G. Paré, A. Brunet, P. Tremblay, La renaissance du XII^{e} siècle: les écoles et l'enseignement, Publications de l'institut d'études médiévales d'Ottawa, Vol. 3 (Paris: Vrin, 1933), pp. 109 ff., et passim; and Ernst R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages (1948); tr. Willard R. Trask (1953; rpt. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979), pp. 36-78, 446-67, et passim.

4. Cicero, Ad C. Herennium, tr. Harry Caplan, The Loeb Classical Library (1954; rpt. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1977), IV.lii.66.

5. See also below, n. 9.

6. Quintilian, Institutio oratoria, tr. H. E. Butler, The Loeb Classical Library (1921; rpt. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1976), IX.ii. 29-37.

7. Horace, Ars poetica, in Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica, tr. H. Rushton Fairclough, The Loeb Classical Library (1926; rev. and rpt. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1978), ll. 99-118.

8. Emporii Oratoris, De ethopoeia, in Rhetores latini minores, ed. Karl Halm (Leipzig: Teubner, 1863), pp. 561-63. The translation quoted below is by Joseph M. Miller, in Readings in Medieval Rhetoric, ed. Joseph M. Miller, Michael H. Prosser, Thomas W. Benson (Bloomington & London: Indiana Univ. Press, 1973), pp. 33-36.

9. Cf. the anonymous treatise on rhetorical figures preserved in a manuscript at the municipal library of Saint-Omer (Bibliothéque municipale, MS. 115, f. 53), ed. Charles Fierville, Notices et extraits, 31,1 (1884), 99-112, p. 110, on *conformatio*; Geoffrey of Vinsauf, Poetria nova (c. 1208-13), ed.

and tr. Ernest Gallo, in The Poetria Nova and its Sources in Early Rhetorical Doctrine (The Hague: Mouton, 1971), ll. 264-531 (prosopopoeia and apostropha), ll. 1270-71 (the imaginary monologue and dialogue), ll. 1272-74 (prosopopoeia or conformatio); idem, Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi (later than the Poetria nova), tr. Roger P. Parr (Milwaukee, Wisc.: Marquette Univ. Press, 1968), II.24 (apostrophatio); Eberhard the German, Laborintus (probably before 1250), ed. Faral, Les Arts Poétiques, pp. 336-77, ll. 321-24, 559-60 (prosopopoeia and conformatio); John of Garland, Parisiana poetria (c. 1250), ed. and tr. Traugott Lawler (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1974), pp. 76-77 (prosopopoeia), pp. 132-33 (conformacio and sermocinacio); and idem, Exempla honestae vitae, ed. Edwin Habel, in "Die Exempla honestae vitae des Johannes de Garlandia, eine lateinische Poetik des 13. Jahrhunderts", Romanische Forschungen, 29 (1911), 131-54, ll. 241-43 (sermocinacio).

10. Translated by Charles Sears Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic (to 1400) (1928; rpt. Gloucester, Mass.: Smith, 1959), pp. 23-38. On the topic of progymnasmata or elementary rhetorical exercises, see Baldwin, op. cit., pp. 8 ff.; Curtius, European Literature, p. 442; Clark, Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education, pp. 177-261; George Kennedy, The Art of Persuasion in Greece (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1963), pp. 269-70; Paul Salmon, "Über den Beitrag des grammatischen Unterrichts zur Poetik des Mittelalters", Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, 199 (1963), 65-84; Douglas Kelly, "The Scope of the Treatment of Composition in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century Arts of Poetry", Speculum, 41 (1966), 261-78, esp. p. 277 n. 61; and Francis Cairns, Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 1972), pp. 73, 75, 89-91, 130, 158-59. Also Donald Lemen Clark, "The Rise and Fall of Progymnasmata in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Grammar Schools", Speech Monographs, 19:4 (1952), 259-63; and Peter Stotz, "Dichten als Schulfach: Aspekte mittelalterlicher Schuldichtung", Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch, 16 (1981), 1-16.

11. Cf. Heinrich Keil, ed., Grammatici latini, 7 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1857-80), III, 387. For editions of Priscian's Preexercitamina, see Keil, op. cit., III, 430-40; and Halm, ed., Rhetores latini minores, pp. 551-60; an English translation by Joseph M. Miller is now available in Miller, Prosser, Benson, eds., Readings in Medieval Rhetoric, pp. 52-68. On the popularity, use, and wide circulation of Priscian's grammar in the Middle Ages, see Louis J. Paetow, The Arts Course at Medieval Universities: With Special Reference to Grammar and Rhetoric (Urbana-Champaign: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1910), pp. 33-47, 50-51, 59, 64 n. 63; Curtius, European Literature, p. 43; R. H. Robbins, Ancient and Medieval Grammatical Theory in Europe (London: Bell, 1951), pp. 63-68, et passim; and Margaret Gibson, "Priscian 'Institutiones grammaticae': A Handlist of Manuscripts", Scriptorium, 26 (1972), 105-24. It is interesting to be able to establish that the school at St. Paul's Cathedral, which Chaucer may have attended before he entered into service, definitely possessed in its library at least one complete copy of Priscian's grammar, which was bequeathed to the school in 1328 by a former schoolmaster (cf. Edith Rickert, Chaucer's World [1948; rpt. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1961], p. 121); moreover, in 1358 a later master of St. Paul's left another complete Priscian to the school, together with a "Priscianus minor" and Priscian's Construcciones (ibid., pp. 122-24; cf. also Edith Rickert, "Chaucer at School", Modern Philology, 29 [1932], 257-74; D. S. Brewer, Chaucer, 2nd ed. [1960; rpt. London: Longmans, 1967], pp. 9-11; and idem, Chaucer in his Time [London: Nelson, 1963], pp. 125-27). The present exposition of ethopoeia/adlocutio is based on Halm's edition of Priscian in Rhetores latini minores, pp. 557-58 (my translation).

12. Ed. and tr. Michael Chesnutt and Henrik Specht, from Saint Omer, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 115, f. 97 (unpublished); an earlier edition of this poetic treatise was published by Charles Fierville, Notices et extraits, 31,1 (1884), 132-35.

13. 11. 65-68.

14. Ray Nadeau, "The Progymnasmata of Aphthonius in Translation", Speech Monographs, 19:4 (1952), 264-85, pp. 278-79.

15. Richard Rainolde, The Foundacion of Rhetorike (1563), reproduced in facsimile, ed. R. C. Alston (Menston: Scolar Press, 1972), fols. 50^{v}-51.

16. Cf., e.g., Quintilian's exposition and examples in Institutio oratoria, III.viii.49-70, and Faral, Les Arts Poétiques, pp. 72-73.

17. In F. N. Robinson, ed., The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, 2nd ed. (1957; rpt. London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1970), pp. 480-518. All Chaucer references are to this edition.

18. Ovid, Heroides and Amores, tr. Grant Showerman, The Loeb Classical Library (1914; rpt. London: Heinemann, 1971), pp. 1-311.

19. Cf. Clark, Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education, p. 201.

20. Cf. Chaucer's Boccaccio: Sources of Troilus and the Knight's and Franklin's Tales, ed. and tr. N. R. Havely, Chaucer Studies, Vol. V (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, Rowman & Littlefield, 1980), pp. 85-86.

21. Ibid., pp. 180-81.

22. C. S. Lewis, "What Chaucer Really Did to Il Filostrato", Essays and Studies, 17 (1932), 56-75.

23. For other examples of Chaucer's subtle exploitation of ethopoeia, cf. Criseyde's Boethian soliloquy interrupting the bedroom scene in Troilus and Criseyde, Book III, 11. 802-40; and see the much debated complaint uttered by Dorigen in "The Franklin's Tale", F, 11. 1354-1456.

Gerald Porter
Vaasan korkeakoulu

DISINTEGRATION IN LITTLE SON HUGH

Introduction

When a star of a type much larger than the sun has passed in its conversion of elements from hydrogen to iron, it reaches a point of stasis, having no more energy to convert. Then it becomes a supernova, flinging out the higher elements like gold and silver, and at the same time collapsing inward to become a neutron star. All the precious elements on our planet were once part of such an explosion.

It is my contention here that the ballad Little Son Hugh - no. 155 in Child's collection - has developed in the same way. This beautiful, chilling and widely-collected song is in the grip of two opposed forces: the first is an inner coherence which each ballad 'maker' must have for the purposes of performance, in this case centred on a core which is not anti-Semitic but clearly a love-and-death ballad of the George Collins type. The second, opposed force is that which makes for cultural specificity; the ballad in its countless versions is constantly extruding new and conflicting features which make nonsense of the core-structure and threaten to tear the poem apart.

Jonathan Culler says (1975:244),

> When one speaks of the structure of a literary work, one does so from a certain vantage point: one starts with notions of the meaning or effects of a poem and tries to identify the structures responsible for those effects. Possible configurations or patterns which make no contribution are rejected as irrelevant.

With oral poetry, and probably with all literature, such confident distinctions between 'relevant' and 'irrelevant' patterns are impossible. Indeed, differences between versions of the same song are so great that this approach could only possibly be acceptable in the context of a single performance, the so-called 'event'. What Heraclitus said of rivers applies to oral poetry as well - we can never experience the same event twice - but the continuity of a ballad is as undeniably there as the settlements on the river bank. When Mrs Brown of Falkland, one of the great unacknowledged poets of the English language, sang her two versions of the Lass of Roch Royal in 1783 and 1800, she undermined any theory of oral poetry based on ideas of some primeval Big Bang followed by an inevitable decline accelerated by lapses of memory but delayed by mysterious injections of 'formulaic phrases' (Buchan, 1972:155ff). Instead, we have a dynamic process of renewal, often greatly improving the original, and an internal tension between structural unity and event-specific detail that I propose to examine here.

Little Son Hugh

The version I am using here is an American one collected by Cecil Sharp in the Southern Appalachians and published by him in 1917 (see Appendix). It is recognisably the same song that Stephen Dedalus sings to Bloom in Eccles Street (Joyce, 1969: 611f). Child prints twenty one versions as no. 155: Sir Hugh (1888: 233-54). However, the ballad has long attracted particular interest because, although it was not collected before the eighteenth century, it is a clear analogue of Chaucer's Prioress's Tale. Both tales are related to a story about Hugh of Lincoln in the Annals of Waverley for 1255 describing an incident invented by debt-ridden Crusaders to discredit Jewish communities. Like the ballad; Chaucer's tale is unmistakably anti-Semitic, and uses the pathos of child murder in a way frankly nauseating to modern readers - all the more so for being skilfully done.

Chaucer's use of the calumny has puzzled critics - after all, most Jews had left England by the time Chaucer was writing. The slander (for this was an oral tradition) must have meant even less to Irish and Scottish singers of the eighteenth century. Most modern singers, both traditional and revivalist, change the protagonist, although not always improving matters much, as when a negro nurse or a gypsy is the murderer (Friedman, 1977: 65). More commonly there is a less racist solution, involving a verbal echo ('the jeweller's daughter') or republican sentiments - Sir Hugh becomes 'son Hugh' as in Sharp's version, and the murderer a wicked Queen or Duke. Finally, Thomas Coffin lists versions used as lullabies or children's games, a fate usually reserved only for the most violent and bloody songs (1950: 111).

However, it is my contention that research along these lines has drawn discussion away from the real nature of the ballad, which is of the love-and-death type and involves an avenging mother, not a redemptive one as in the Chaucerian analogue. These ballads undoubtedly have roots older than the Hugh of Lincoln fraud, which is an adaptation of an originally continental tale.

Evidence of origins in oral poetry is notoriously liable to 'massage' to suit a particular thesis, but in this case we seem to be on firm ground. For example, the Christian elements so central to Chaucer's tale appear here only in a couplet in the last verse, a couplet which is itself a 'floater' to be found in many other ballads. Our Lady's draw-well of the Prioress's Tale is just a well; the saintly body sings no hymns.

On the other hand, the mother's role is full of contradictions. Far from being an agent of divine justice, she is associated emblematically with the murderess herself:-

For if my mother were to know,
The red blood she'd make fall ...

His mother broke a birch rod in her hand,
Went walking down the road,
Saying: If I find my little son Hugh,
O I will whip him home.

This has the effect of destabilising the text: in Sharp the Jew's daughter bafflingly calls Hugh her little son (11), and in a version collected in Somerset, the mother is the murderess (Renwick, 1980: 41). Clearly we have here the remnants of a courtship ballad in which the mother's opposition leads to the death of one or both the lovers.

This core-ballad was later adapted to the Hugh of Lincoln story, but it retained elements which are common to a large group of ballads of the love-and-death type, such as Clerk Colvill (Child no. 42). These include trespassing on tabooed ground, especially associated with water, the ritual shedding of innocent blood, and the introduction of the horizontal of the grave as a mocking parody of the marriage bed. These appear in all the complete versions printed by Child. In addition, the presence of a line like

She took him by the lily-white hand

reinforces the sense of dislocation - lily-white hands are the conventional property of female lovers. In this context it is worth noting that this is the only one of Mrs Brown of Falkland's ballads that is not amatory.

Structural Unity and the Transmission of Little Son Hugh

Despite these contradictions, there is no question that Little Son Hugh is a harmonious whole, and was seen as such by the makers. One reason for this is the integration of the structural markers into the narrative scheme. These markers are maintained with startling consistency in those versions where transmission can be shown to be recreative rather than memorial. They illustrate the way in which tradition can be both conservative and radical, for in the present poem they undoubtedly prevent the narrative from falling apart completely.

Literary critical analysis might well begin with the imagery of the first verse, which is almost identical to that of the Bitter Withy, the apocryphal story of Jesus as a boy drowning three young noblemen who had disdained to play with him. But this floating verse is here perfectly integrated with the poem's main imagery. The falling dew (rain), an image of sexual release in the love ballad, has here come to foreshadow the well which is to be Hugh's watery grave. The game of ball, which opens five Child ballads, here becomes a life-game in deadly earnest, with the apples as tokens and death the culmination.

Hodgart comments (1950: 36)

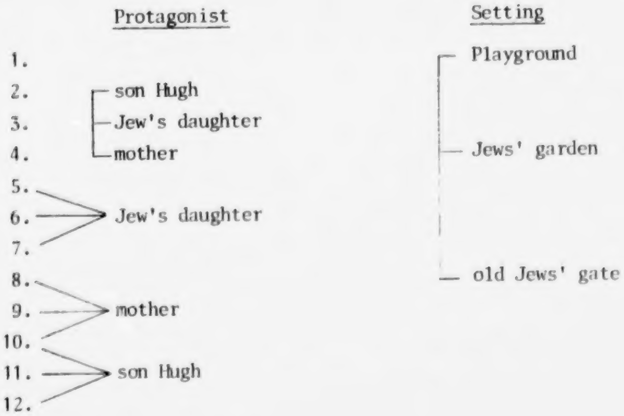
> This is surely an allusion to the Garden of Eden, and to the Apple - little Sir Hugh is tempted by Antichrist and is punished - an allusion which greatly widens the ballad's range of meaning (it is comparable to the more coherent allusion to Paradise in Marvell's 'Garden')

It is quite true that this widens the ballad's range of meaning, but within the organisation of the poem, the apple is assimilated into the sequence ball-apple-bowl with a suggestive intensity that overwhelms the listener. This has nothing to do with the antisemitic tradition of collecting gentile blood for Paschal rites - as Child comments 'a most unhappily devised slander, in stark contradiction with Jewish precept and practice' (p. 240). It is in fact the silver dish that refers us back to another tradition found in the ancient poem 'Who killed Cock Robin?':

> Who caught his blood?
> 'I', said the fish,
> 'In my little silver dish,
> I caught his blood.'

We don't have to dig far into what Philip Larkin calls the 'myth kitty' to find analogies with the gathering of the blood of victims brave (Roman centurions), innocent (Lamkin) or divine (the Mass). Far from being ritualistic, this is a transfusion of virtus in the sense of moral and physical strength.

Emblematically, the poem changes stride here, and in performance we have found it dynamically right to take a break at line 28, where the version in Ulysses in fact ends. Structurally, however, the thrust of the song is different. It is organised in triads, a crucial part of the oral process:-



These triads represent a very stable element in the ballad's transmission, as do the rhyme-words: in less than half the stanzas do the rhyme-lines carry information essential to the narrative. Hence the narrative scheme could be varied without disturbing the metrical framework; new wine could be put in old bottles, but at the risk of transmuting both, as has happened with Little Son Hugh.

Conclusion

The overlapping of erotic, positional and culture-specific markers has pulled the ballad in the directions, making it impossible for us to answer the question - Has the theme suggested the signifiers or vice versa? It is my case that this unstable element in the patterning, this tension between the collapsing traditional element which must be reworked, the vital structural code which makes transmission possible, and the 'supplementarity' of the singer who seeks to recreate the ballad in his (or more likely her) cultural idiom, is the very element which has made possible a vigorous oral tradition. As a result, the traditional singer today is not like Arnold,

> Wandering between two worlds, one dead,
> The other powerless to be born.

He is rather a conscious maker of a new tradition in the shell of the old, where son Hugh is no longer the victim of a fiendish Jewish conspiracy fabricated by racists, but an archetypal victim. An Stephen Dedalus puts it (Joyce, 1969: 612):

> One of all, the least of all, is the victim predestined. Once by inadvertence, twice by design he challenges his destiny. It comes when he is abandoned and challenges him reluctant and, as an apparition of hope and youth holds him unresisting. It leads him to a strange habitation, to a secret infidel apartment, and there, implacable, immolates him, consenting.

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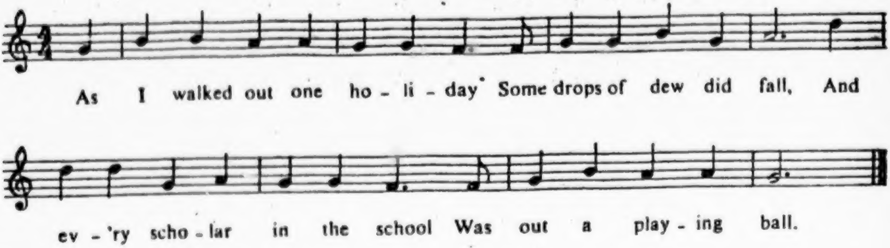
LITTLE SON HUGH

(*Sir Hugh*)


As I walked out one ho - li - day Some drops of dew did fall, And
ev - 'ry scho - lar in the school Was out a play - ing ball.

They tossed the ball both to and fro,
To the Jews' garden it flew;
There was none so ready to bring it out
But our little son Hugh.

The Jews' daughter came stepping along
With some apples in her hand,
Saying: Little son Hugh, come go with me
And some apples you may have.

I cannot go, I will not go,
I cannot go at all,
For if my mother were to know,
The red blood she'd make fall.

She took him by the lily-white hand,
She drug him from hall to hall,
And took him to a great stone wall
Where none could hear his call.

She sat him down in a little arm-chair,
And pierced his heart within.
She had a little silver bowl,
His heart's blood she let in.

She took him into the Jews' garden,
The Jews were all asleep;
She threw him into a great deep well,
Was fifty fathoms deep.

His mother broke a birch rod in her hand,
Went walking down the road,
Saying: If I find my little son Hugh,
O I will whip him home.

And when she came to the old Jews' gate,
The Jews were all asleep,
She walked on to a great deep well,
Was fifty fathoms deep.

Saying: Little son Hugh, O are you here,
As I suppose you to be?
O yes, dear mother, I am here
And stand in the need of thee.

With my little penknife pierced through my heart
And the red blood running so free.
O mother, O mother, dig my grave,
Dig it long, wide and deep.

Go bury my Bible at my head,
My prayer book at my feet;
And if any of the scholars ask for me,
Pray tell them I'm asleep.

- reprinted from Cecil Sharp, Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, 1917

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MACBETH AND THE FOLKTALE THE FISHER AND HIS WIFE

There is a story that when Tyrone Guthrie produced Macbeth at the Old Vic in 1934, cutting the first scene in apparently grateful compliance with a scholarly theory that it was inauthentic, a member of the audience, shocked to find that the first words of the play were not the weird sister's 'When shall we three meet again?' but Duncan's 'What bloody man is that?', whispered to his neighbour

> "What bloody nonsense is this?"

I am conscious that similar foul whisperings may be abroad this afternoon. A new source for Macbeth? What bloody nonsense is that?

There was once a poor fisherman who used to spend long days away from home a-fishing - until one morning he catches a talking fish, who explains that he is not really a fish at all but an enchanted prince. The fisherman says he will have nothing to do with a fish that can talk and lets the fish go. The fish swims away, leaving behind him a great streak of blood in the calm clear water of the ocean. When he returns to the lowly hut in which he lives with his wife, he tells her how he had let the fish go and she is furious with him. "Didn't you ask it for anything?" she says. The wife orders him to return - much against his will - and ask the fish to give them a pretty little cottage. He comes to the shore, where the sea has already changed colour, and recites a rhymed incantation, the gist of which is that his wife must have her will. When he gets home he finds his wife standing at the door of a beautiful cottage. But the wife is not satisfied and now says they must live in a stone castle. The process of ambition continues, and the man, with increasingly heavy heart and growing fear, keeps on repeating the magic formula each time he reaches the shore to make the next request. Each time he gets there the sea is more stormy and troubled, it changes colour from green to yellow to blue and violet and finally black, with ships tossed about in distress in the churning waves. The man feels faint and trembles, his knees knock together, but he goes on his errand. The wife's demands make her successively king, emperor and pope. The glory and pomp surrounding her becomes more and more extravagant and as pope she sits on a throne of gold and diamonds two miles high. But she is less and less satisfied and ambition will not let her sleep. After one sleepless night she becomes angry at the sunrise and finally insists that she must be just like God, able to command the sun and moon. After a terrible scene with his wife the man runs off like one demented; a great storm is raging; the man can hardly stand, houses and trees are torn down, the hills shake, great fragments of rock roll down into the sea, the sky is black as pitch and the waves as high as mountains or church steeples. Hardly able to hear his own voice against the tumult he shouts out the incantation as best he can

> Oh fish in the sea, pray listen to me
> For my wife won't let be, as I'd have it be

When the fish learns what the lady wants he says to the fisherman "Just go home, back to your lowly hut. She's there already." And there of course they remain.

Folktales have, I think, a fair claim to be considered the truest form of literature - certainly the most indestructible, and possibly the most influential. Such tales have been shown to underlie the most varied works and The Fisher and His Wife (AT 555, BP I, 138), which I have outlined above, is the fundamental inspiration of the recent long and complex novel by Günter Grass, Der Butt. The latter is of course a deliberate reworking of folktale material. For Shakespeare's possible debt to the same tale in Macbeth it is necessary for us to imagine a sixteenth-century child's-eye view of the universe and to test the plausibility of our hypothesis by at least listening to the whole tale read aloud. In considering Shakespeare's sources scholars have a tendency to omit all reference to the deepest level of experience, the pre-literate impressions of childhood. Almost without exception they deal with written sources only, forgetting that Shakespeare himself was brought up in an illiterate household in a society where oral memory was enhanced and memory itself something quite different from what it is for us. I offer the following speculations as a corrective.

We may note right away that The Fisher and His Wife, like Macbeth, concentrates essentially on two figures only - a frightened man and his ambitious wife - but also of course their relationship with a mysterious oracular power, in the folktale the fish who knows the future before the fisherman can verify it, in Macbeth the witches. I hardly think we shall run contrary to most impressions of the play if we say that its main emphases are very similar to those of the tale. Students of the sources of Macbeth all draw attention to the fact that in Holinshed the two references to ambitious wives are the merest sketches and the female figures are not developed at all. Bullough (1973:448) observes that Lady Macbeth's character is 'almost entirely created by Shakespeare' who went to work 'with such tempestuous chiaroscuro as to make Goneril and Regan seem cardboard figures by comparison'. I want to suggest that in all essentials Shakespeare found Lady Macbeth ready made in the figure of the fisherman's wife. The unrelenting sweep of her ambition, the discontent which increases as her desires are satisfied - culminating in sleeplessness, the fundamental nature of the marital relationship and finally her relationship with the occult and her utter certainty that the mysterious fish can bring to pass whatever she wants - all these can I believe be found, transmuted, in Macbeth.

We need, however to bear two things in mind if we are to see how the folktale may have influenced the play. First, as I have said, the nature of the child's imagination. How, we may ask, would the child Shakespeare have responded to the vision of the fisherman sitting all day alone, gazing out over the blank expanse of the ocean? What images would have come into his mind as the fisherman goes trembling with fear to the water's edge, finding the sea each time more troubled and murky and restless? How would he have pictured the lady's throne of gold and diamonds, two miles high? What phantasms of Doomsday might have accompanied the final crescendo of storm, shipwreck and destruction? And what sort of vision of a wicked wife would such a tale have left for ever in his consciousness? It is impossible to say, but we cannot doubt that the great naked effects of the story would have left an indelible mark, would have become part of the furniture of his mind. If my hypothesis is correct, the folktale may I think have contributed to the play something of its dimension of immensity, something of the great sweep of its cosmic visual utterance. Macbeth would then be, in part, a revelation of the secrets of a child's imagination. Secondly, we must remember that a strictly verbal element in the source may create a visual element in the play, and vice versa. Especially in poetic drama one cannot of course finally separate the two concurrent streams. We shall not therefore expect to find the precise verbal echo, so beloved of literary scholarship, but rather something vaster, the salient moments of the tale (something quite different from the words of the tale) being transfigured, perhaps inverted, in the poetic fabric of the drama, emerging or surfacing at pivotal moments.

Among the similarities of structure, we begin in the folktale with a husband who spends long hours away from home a-fishing: in Macbeth the husband spends long hours away from home a-soldiering. Both husbands are suddenly confronted while about their professional business by an unnatural (Macbeth calls it supernatural) and ambiguous agent who possesses 'more than mortal knowledge'. In both cases it is pre-eminently the wife who is excited by the possibilities this appears to open up. (It is true that the fisherman says he will have nothing to do with a fish that can talk whereas Macbeth desperately questions the witches after they have volunteered disturbing information: but this is essentially only dramatic compression). In both the tale and the play the husband is frightened and the wife entirely confident that she can have what she wants. Freud's idea (1957:323-324), developed from an insight by Ludwig Jekels, that Macbeth and Lady Macbeth are "like two disunited parts of a single psychical individuality" seems of particular relevance when we consider how the folktale may have influenced Shakespeare. It will be remembered that Freud speculated upon the possibility that they were both copied from a single prototype. Certainly it has many times been remarked that Macbeth begins in fear but goes beyond it, whereas Lady Macbeth begins without fear only to become later enmeshed by it. Macbeth may have terrible dreams but the prophecy that he shall 'Sleep no more!' is, as Freud pointed out, far more realized in his Queen.[1] The idea is at least attractive that the germ of both characters can be found in the wife of the tale, who does not aspire to become Queen, but King; does not want to become Empress but Emperor; wants to be Pope - and finally God. But the character of Macbeth seems to me nevertheless to preserve much, at least in the early part of the play, of the character of the fisherman. In the tale the husband's knees knock together, in Macbeth his 'seated heart' knocks at his ribs. Whatever our final evaluation of the character of Macbeth, and we do well to remind ourselves that characterization is only an element in Shakespeare's art, there is surely more than a residue of the man who is totally at the mercy of an evil an ambitious wife - the type of the folktale. He makes the same feeble and unsuccessful effort to resist her and some of the dialogue (necessarily omitted from my summary) is almost identical.

In both the tale and the play, after first being confronted by the occult agent, it is the husband, not the wife, who subsequently seeks it out. There is nothing in Holinshed about Macbeth's visit to the witches. Indeed how did he know where to find them? (This too could be seen as one of the notorious loose ends in Macbeth, but also as a possible influence from the structure of the folktale). In Macbeth of course the agent is not sought out at the wife's instigation but on the husband's own initiative. Or do we really know? So much that is unspoken may be even more important than what is "in the text". In the play the question of who first proposed the murder surely remains, like so much else, an enigma? There would be no drama without these ambiguities and it is all part, as I see it, of Shakespeare's double investigation in Macbeth of who is responsible for what in the intimacy of marriage and, equally, not simply the question of when an action may be said to be done, but also of when an action begins - which is surely every bit as mysterious.

There is no actual banquet in the folktale, but in all the versions I have consulted there are descriptions of tables loaded with costly viands in the castle and also, interestingly, stables with horses and a great park several miles long. We might remember here the inchoate first banquet in Macbeth, with servants moving over the stage with 'dishes and service', Duncan's horses, and the mile-long route taken by Banquo on the night of his murder.

So far as I know, no model has ever been found for the sleepwalking scene and it is generally thought to be entirely Shakespeare's creation. Bullough's remark (1973:465) that the scene was invented in order to bring Lady Macbeth back into the play is hardly very helpful. Indeed I believe we may be wrong to suggest that it was created ex nihilo, for the idea for such a scene is latent in the folktale. On the night before she sends her husband off on his final mission to the fish, the wife, who is by now pope, suffers the agonies of insomnia. Ambition will not let her sleep. "She kept throwing herself from side to side the whole night long and could not sleep at all. She kept considering what she might become, and could think of nothing." In due time the sun begins to rise and she cannot bear the thought that she is unable to command it. She digs her husband in the ribs to wake him up. "Go to the fish at once and tell him I want to control the sun and moon." Lady Macbeth is, I suppose, intended to be full of remorse (it was Freud's view that what Macbeth feared in his conscience comes to fulfillment in his Lady) though the scene is hardly simple. Shakespeare's lady is of course 'in a most fast sleep', but dramatically she is wide awake and ambition is the root cause of the disturbed nights in either case. We may note, moreover, that in both the play and the tale it is also the last time we see the lady. In sequence therefore this might be seen as the last of the basic structural parallels, but if I am right in proposing a global influence - and there is clearly a global influence or none at all - then I do not believe it too fanciful to see the climactic scene in the tale, combined with elements from the fisherman's penultimate visit to the shore, as being displaced backwards in time and emerging, not even greatly changed as to substance, in the great scene where Macbeth hurls defiance at the witches. The resemblances are at the least uncanny, and we should observe that in both the tale and the play there is at this point an almost identical feeling of a single lonely man pitted against the unleashed powers of the universe and that in both cases the climax is a desperate cry to an oracle for an answer. In the tale, the storm mounts progressively: the wind is moaning over the land (in some versions the water is said to have hissed as if it were boiling, and we are reminded that it is in this very scene that the cauldron bubbles), ships in distress are being tossed and knocked about on the waves, and the fisherman can hardly stand on his feet: houses and trees are torn down, the hills shake, great rocks roll down into the sea, the sky is black as pitch, lightnings play and thunders roll, the sea rises in great black billows as high as mountains or church steeples and against this hurly-burly the husband cries out for an answer. Macbeth's great speech at IV.i.49, where we have winds fighting against the churches, yesty waves which confound and swallow navigation up, trees blown down, castles that topple on their warders' heads, palaces and pyramids that do slope their heads to their foundations, certainly paraphrases all this remarkably closely.

From the very beginning of Macbeth there is a persistent chain of images of sea, storm and shipwreck. There is hardly a mention of the sea in Holinshed, beyond an occasional reference to the isles, and one to Sueno's ships lying at anchor in the mouth of the Tay. In the folktale it is almost a character in the action. Let us try again to imagine a child's response to certain scenes in it: first of all, his possible vision of the lone fisherman looking out over the expanse of the ocean, the 'bank and shoal of time' as we might say. Frightened, and in some versions disgusted, the fisher releases the fish, and as it swims away the sea fills with blood. In the chronology of the folktale therefore, blood is the first great primary image. There is some mention of blood in Holinshed at the murder of King Duff: the bed for instance is said to have had 'cakes of blood' in it (dry blood let it be noted) but Holinshed's whole manner is dull and undramatic compared to the tale. We should recall that Shakespeare was no longer a child when he read the Chronicles and there is in my view nothing in them that could have inspired, particularly in an adult mind, the kind of imaginative blood imagery which suffuses the play. Now Macbeth, like the folktale, begins with a great splash of blood ... a bloody man, in fact, framed in his own emphatic sea imagery, though the bleeding captain seldom or never seems to be given the visual prominence I believe he requires in stage presentations. We have then this great effect of blood at the beginning of both: when we find later, in the lines after the murder of Duncan about 'great Neptune's ocean', that the specific image of blood in the sea emerges, I am compelled to speculate whether it may not be to Shakespeare's childhood memory of the tale that we ultimately owe Macbeth's horrendous picture of his hand colouring the whole ocean red.[2]

If we turn now to the tremendous image of the lady sitting on her throne of gold and diamonds two miles high I should like to suggest that it may well be reproduced in the Banquet Scene in Macbeth where, in her moment of queenly glory 'Our hostess keeps her state'.[3] This too is surely intended by the dramatist to be another supreme visual moment, though once again it is seldom given the attention it deserves in stage performance, and indeed in reading the play it can easily be overlooked altogether. We might remember also that in the folktale the lady's throne is flanked, when she is Pope, by two rows of burning candles, of all sizes, "the greatest as large as the highest and biggest tower in the world, and the smallest no larger than a little rushlight". Is it just an accident, I wonder, that in the play we have Macbeth's great image of life itself as a candle, counterpointed by the slender taper carried by his Lady in the sleep-walking scene? Once again, may it not be that an attribute solely the lady's in the source has twinned in the play into these separate images?

In every version I have consulted there is a striking moment in the middle of the folktale, when the fisherman is making his last visit to the shore. "On the horizon all was red, as if a dreadful storm were rising, but in the middle of the heavens there was a little piece of blue sky." The time of day is not stated, and in one version the sky is said to be red in the south, but there is an overwhelming feeling of evening and sunset. As it is led up to by the sequence of episodes in which the weather deteriorates and the disturbances in nature increase, the moment is intensely vivid and dramatic. At an equally, or more, dramatic moment at the heart of Macbeth I believe this image re-appears. As the murderers lie in wait for Banquo and Fleance we are given one of the most beautiful examples of atmospheric scene painting in all Shakespeare

> The west yet glimmers with some streaks of day
> Now spurs the lated traveller apace
> To gain the timely inn (III.iii.5-7)

and Banquo, a few lines later, with his 'It will be rain tonight' brings back the imagery of storm.

Like the sea, the sun is a great background power in Macbeth. 'That will be ere the set of sun' (I.i.5), pointed by the rhyme, begins it. But almost immediately we also have the Captain's lines

> As, whence the sun 'gins his reflection
> Shipwracking storms and direful thunders break
> (I.ii.25-26)

where sun and sea are associated. The darkening of the sun is found in both Holinshed and the folktale, though a more important source than either for the darkness after Duncan's murder is no doubt the Gospel account of the crucifixion. But the sun occurs in two other crucial speeches in the play, one by Macbeth himself and one by his Lady. I am tempted by the thought, especially if we remember again Freud's idea of a common prototype, that both might be traced to the tale. We recall that the fisherman's wife could not bear to see the sun rise and wished to be able to command it. When Lady Macbeth asks her husband when Duncan 'goes hence' Macbeth replies 'Tomorrow as he purposes', to which he gets the imperious response

> O never/ Shall sun that morrow see (I.v.58-59)

And at the end of the play, when he is embattled at Dunsinane - but it is impossible to convey the searing dramatic effect out of the context of the whole speech - we get Macbeth's almost convulsive outburst

I 'gin to be aweary of the sun (V.v.49)

underscored by one of those haunting Macbeth rhymes

I 'gin to be aweary of the sun
And wish the estate of the world were now undone

Freud's idea of a single prototype being split up into two figures is interesting yet again when we come to consider the enigma of whose ambition it really was that set the Macbeth plot in movement. Bearing in mind that the wife in the tale wanted unnaturally to be king, not queen, emperor not empress, may it not shed some light on the curious ending of Macbeth's letter, for example?

> This have I thought good to deliver thee, my dearest partner of greatness, that thou mightest not lose the dues of rejoicing by being ignorant of what greatness is promised *thee*. (I.v.9-11)

The weird sisters did not after all promise *Lady* Macbeth anything. And also on that insistent first person in

my battlements
my keen knife
you shall put/ This great night's business into *my* dispatch

and

Leave all the rest to *me*?

In the same scene, Lady Macbeth's

I feel now/ The future in the instant (I.v.55-56)

neatly crystallizes the repeated situation in the folktale where the fish says to the husband

Go home, she is king already
Go home, she is emperor already
Go home, she is pope already

and so on.

There is, finally, one couplet at the core of Macbeth which sums up perfectly the main theme of the tale

Nought's had, all's spent
When our desire is got without content (III.ii.5-6)

The folktale in question is distressingly elusive in England, though something like forty variants have been recorded in

Ireland. But the same is true of the *Loving Like Salt* tale (AT 923), which is now universally regarded as underlying *King Lear*. Some have gone so far as to claim that Shakespeare did not know that tale as such and that it merely entered the *Lear* plot via Geoffrey of Monmouth. It may be so. However, the *Love Like Salt* theme appears as a component in a number of different tale types. Thus we find it in one of the Grimm tales, No. 179, which is clearly a conglomerate. Now in that tale, *The Goose Girl at the Well*, the banished younger daughter weeps pearls which strew the path of her banishment. When she comes before her father for the love test, she appears like the sun and it is said that if she cried her tears were like pearls and gems: indeed it is one of the emeralds that has fallen from her eyes by which she is finally traced and restored to happiness. In Act IV Scene iii of *King Lear* the Gentleman describes Cordelia's reaction to his letters

> .. now and then an ample tear trill'd down/ Her
> delicate cheek (IV.iii.12)
>
> ......
>
> You have seen
> Sunshine and rain at once; her smiles and tears
> Were like, a better way: those happy smilets
> That played on her ripe lip seemed not to know
> What guests were in her eyes, which parted thence
> *As pearls from diamonds dropped* (IV.iii.17-22)

and later

> .. she shook/ The holy water from her heavenly eyes
> (IV.iii.29-30)

Is this perhaps evidence that Shakespeare knew the *Love Like Salt* theme, not at second hand through Geoffrey of Monmouth, but through a conglomerate tale like *The Goose Girl at the Well*? What is certain is that although there are borrowings and mergings, folktales in an oral tradition change remarkably slowly. Both folktales and Shakespeare's plays are of course much more than mere texts, and the words are always only one language among many. As the unstable artefact moves through the centuries, so do the centuries (and in the case of drama also a whole line of stage interpretations, superimposed and fused in the memory) move through the artefact. We are bound to take a great deal on trust. Where *Macbeth* is concerned there is, alas, only a single text, and as yet no possibility of the kind of excitement which at this late hour appears to be reaching its zenith in the Lear 'revolution'. We are all in some sense sources of the works we experience and study.

For my own part I am convinced that some version of The Fisher and His Wife was known to Shakespeare and that it exercised a profound, though no doubt unconscious, influence on him in the composition of Macbeth.[4] The evidence that a folktale underlies King Lear is hardly greater, though I think I have pointed to a tiny crumb which may add to it. In the ordinary classification of these things, may we not propose, even if we feel unable to call it a source, that The Fisher and His Wife be accorded the status of an analogue to Macbeth?

NOTES

1. Support for Freud's view, and evidence of the depth of ambiguity in the text, was provided by the 1982 Statford-upon-Avon production, in which Macbeth's accusatory tone when he spoke of 'these terrible dreams/ That shake us nightly' made it quite clear that the dreams were Lady Macbeth's and that they were keeping him awake.

2. A third permutation of the image of blood in water wells up in Macbeth's words at III.iv.135-137. 'I am in blood/ Stepped in so far, that should I wade no more/ Returning were as tedious as go o'er.'

3. The State was originally the cloth of Estate, Canopy or Heaven standing over the heads of princes' thrones. But the word had come to mean the throne and its canopy.

4. If we can accept the formative subterranean influence of The Fisher and His Wife on Macbeth I believe we may better understand the use Shakespeare has made of Holinshed. The Chronicle, in my view, is then better regarded as the immediate occasion of Macbeth rather than its source in any profound poetic sense.

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ABBREVIATIONS

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STRUCTURE AND INTENTION:
MILTON'S PARADISE LOST AS A THEODICY

Among English writers, only Shakespeare has been submitted to more critical scrutiny than Milton—and in the case of the latter's most ambitious work, Paradise Lost, as with Shakespeare's Hamlet, no further entry into the arena of literary analysis should be undertaken lightly. However, I hope that the present paper will justify itself as food for thought in the Milton debate. My aims are the following: first, by concentrating on the relationship between the structure of Paradise Lost and Milton's probable intentions in writing the work, I hope to suggest how certain structural characteristics of this epic can be clarified; second, by viewing Paradise Lost as an example of a certain type of literary work, I would expect the connexion between structure and intention to be made apparent.

I should like to begin with the structure of the work. Paradise Lost has undergone such thorough structural analysis that one can nowadays find in it a whole range of complementary and parallel structures. Surveying this multitude of structures I would like to use Douglas A. Northrop's (1978:75) distinction between what he calls "sequential" interpretations of the structure of Paradise Lost, emphasizing "the sweep of the action, the changes of scene, the sequence of characters, or the development of the plot", and the "geometric" onse, concentrating on "spatial relations, scenic structure, and symmetrical patterns." Everyone acquainted with the Milton criticism of recent decades will know that the latter,"geometric", approach, is clearly predominant. There are, first, the numerous attempts to demonstrate the essentially mythic, symbolic, metaphorical or typological nature of the poem, as put forward by Isabel MacCaffrey (1959), Jackson Cope (1962), Albert Carillo (1962), Rosalie Colie (1966), and William Madsen (1968); second, the numerological interpretations of James Whaler (1956), Maren-Sofie Røstvig (1963), John T. Shawcross (1965), Gunnar Qvarnström (1967), and Galbraith Crump (1975); third, an emphasis on the dialectical character of Paradise Lost, as argued by Dennis Burden

(1967), Stanley Fish (1967), and Michael Lieb (1970); and fourth, the "dramatic" interpretations of Arthur E. Barker (1949), Jeffrey P. Ford (1966), and John Demaray (1980). When looking for equivalent "sequential" interpretations one discovers that they are never 'pure', not even with Burton Weber (1971), who advocates this approach so strongly (1976). Apart from Douglas Northrop's (1978) attempt to combine them with the "geometric" ones in a synthesis of the temporal and spatial perspective, they are always linked up to the "geometric" structures imbued in the tradition of the epic genre, and in this way "sequential" structures are discussed by critics like Davis Harding (1962), Anne Davidson Ferry (1963), John Steadman (1976), Francis Blessington (1979), and G.K. Hunter (1980). Yet although these critics do discuss the sequential organization of the poem, it has to be said that "sequential" structure is invariably put second to "geometric" structure; to quote G.K. Hunter (1980:41) as an example:

> The poem is not only, or even chiefly, in terms of its effect, a progression from beginning to end; it is also a series of static tableaux, thematically related and as capable of being read backwards as forwards.

It may well be that Paradise Lost is capable of being read backwards, or forwards and backwards, often enough to take note of the many "geometric" structures that have been discovered; but I would still very much doubt that this is what Milton had in mind when he went about carefully choosing the manner and sequence of presentation for his poem. The structure of language is, after all, like the structure of music—and contrary to that of the visual arts—primarily of a sequential nature, and thus the primary structure of a long poem like Paradise Lost is unavoidably a sequential one.

Perhaps this would be too banal to be mentioned if Paradise Lost possessed a straight narrative line. But it doesn't. Thus the relative disregard for the question of successivity is all the more surprising in view of Milton's manifold and conspicuous transpositions of narrative material in both the Adam plot and the Satan plot which form part of the cosmological frame. It is true that such transpositions are to be found quite often in the novel, as John T. Shawcross (1965:711) has pointed out: Paradise Lost, however, is not a novel but an epic poem designed to achieve the effect of a theodicy. I will therefore feel free to use the discrepancies between the sequence of presentation and the chronology of the events narrated as a test case to demonstrate the relationship between structure and intention, with the aim of throwing light on what might be called the sequential structure of the poem.

Milton scholars will forgive me if at this point I indulge in a brief review of what Milton tells us in Paradise Lost and the order in which he tells it. The work is at base a depiction of the whole of Christian cosmology, whose elements can be summarized chronologically like this:

1. Enthronization of God's Son; revolt and defeat of Lucifer; God's Creation of man as replacement for fallen angels.
2. Man and Garden of Eden, forbidden Tree of Knowledge.
3. Satan's journey to Earth; God's Son to be Redeemer of postlapsarian Man.
4. First temptation of Eve; Adam and the angel Raphael.
5. The Fall of Eve, then Adam.
6. Expulsion from Eden; refuge in God's Grace.
7. Archangel Michael prophesies to Adam the Flood, Crucifixion, earthly suffering, Last Judgement, Paradise, Christ's final triumph over Satan.

One: Because God has placed his Son above all the angels in Heaven, Lucifer's pride is hurt; together with other dissenting angels, he takes arms against the Lord, but is defeated by the Son of God and the faithful angels and is banished to Hell. As a replacement for the fallen angels, God has his Son create Earth and Man.

Two: Adam and Eve are placed in the Garden of Eden and forbidden to eat from the Tree of Knowledge: that is to say, they are confronted with the freedom to choose God or to reject Him.

Three: Meanwhile Lucifer, in his new identity as Satan, has gathered his Hellish forces and sets off on his way to Earth, with the intention of inducing Man to turn away from God. God anticipates Adam's fall and resolves to pardon him because he will not have fallen through his own actions but through his corruption by Satan. God's Son announces himself as willing to redeem humanity by sacrificing Himself.

Four: After the vigilance of the angels has prevented Satan from turning the sleeping Eve against God, the Archangel Raphael is sent down to Adam to inform him of the struggle between God and Satan and of the latter's machinations.

Five: Despite this move, Satan's second try at tempting Eve is successful, and Adam also takes a bite of the apple out of love and pity for her.

Six: While Satan rubs his hands in triumph, Adam and Eve undergo the judgement of the Son of God, and are told they must leave Eden. Eve considers committing suicide, but Adam reconciles himself to the mercy of God.

Seven: In order to strengthen this newfound spirit of humility, the Archangel Michael, before expelling Adam and Eve from Paradise, foretells to Adam the fate of the human race, the creation of the world anew after the Flood, Man's redemption through the Crucifixion, the sufferings of the righteous in a world corrupted by Satan, the Last Judgement, Man's restoration to Paradise, and the final triumph of Christ over Satan.

The first thing to note is that Milton's chronological scheme, quite apart from the narrative sequence, is not in accord with the then current theological view that angels were created along with Man and the Earth, not before them (cf. Rajan 1947:43). This transposition makes it easier for Milton to link events, in that Man can be presented as a replacement for the fallen angels while Lucifer, accordingly, can be made to envy Man for occupying the position he once held.

But the more striking deviations from chronology are, of course, to be found in the sequence of presentation rather than in the internal sequence of events told. Milton obviously tried to relate the whole chain of events to Adam's situation immediately before, during and after the Fall, and this thematic emphasis accounts for a number of major twists in the narrative line. The events preceding (no.(1) in the summary) are repeated in the form of Raphael's warning to Adam (no.(4)), while the events which follow the expulsion from Eden (no.(7)) are presented by the Archangel Michael in the form of a vision before the actual expulsion. This vision, however, withholds from Adam knowledge of a number of events (no.(3) in the summary, as well as parts of nos. (5) and (6)).

Nor is Milton content with doing this. The epic begins, of course, not with prelapsarian Adam but with Satan gathering his forces in Hell and journeying to Earth. This fact, which has helped in making Satan seem the real hero of _Paradise Lost_, is commonly explained by critics as a typically epic beginning _in medias res_. This explanation is, however, quite unsatisfactory in view of Milton's professed intention to deal with 'Paradise Lost' and the fall of Man that caused this loss—an intention which made him carefully connect all events with Adam's situation immediately before, during, and after the Fall. The beginning of the epic can in this context hardly be seen as a beginning _in res_, let alone _in medias res_, for it is not before we are well into Book II that Satan first mentions his plan to seek a more rarified revenge on God by destroying or at least corrupting God's new creature, Man, whereby the series of events is started that lead directly to the Fall. And, what is more, reference to the epic tradition of a start in medias res does not in any way explain why the particular situation presented in Book I should have been selected from among the many possibilities open to Milton. For an epic not centering on Satan as a hero the beginning actually chosen may, after all, seem awkward indeed.

Nor is this the only seeming inconsistency: Adam's situation before the Fall, particularly his freedom to accept or disobey God's commandment (no.(2)) is depicted only after the angel Raphael's long account of the preceding conflict between God and Satan (no.(4)) a fact which hardly fits in harmoniously with the otherwise close adherence of all the other plot elements to the Adam plot and its chronological ordering.

To cut a longish story short: the narrative sequence cannot be satisfactorily accounted for either by reference to the actional perspective of the Adam plot or by reference to epic conventions. What, then, is the probable authorial motivation behind the narrative sequence, and what is the structure of Milton's epic argument?

To answer this we require an acceptable hypothesis to account for the ordering principle in Paradise Lost—a hypothesis which can explain why Milton chose to present events in this way and not in another. Such a hypothesis automatically involves speculation about the structure of the work and the poet's aims and intentions.

Going even further than John M. Steadman (1976:130) who reminds us that

> Milton's endeavor to justify the ways of God inevitably entails arguments drawn from forensic rhetoric,

I see the sequential structure of Paradise Lost as being that of a theodicy, and Milton's intention as being the writing of such a theodicy.

So far I have been talking exclusively about the poem's structure: in trying to establish my hypothesis, I should now like to examine Milton's intentions. The word 'intention' reminds one immediately of Wimsatt's and Beardsley's (1946) spirited essay on the Intentional Fallacy, the crux of which is that an author's intention might well be a useful critical adjunct if one had access to it, but that direct access to authorial intention is impossible.

Moreover, attempts to establish an author's intention on the basis of indirect evidence are not ensured of success, and too often place one on shakier ground than the uncertainties of the text for whose clarification one has sought to determine intention. Authorial intention is indirectly ascertainable to some degree only insofar as it has been verbally documented and authenticated, whereby knowledge of biographical and historical circumstances may be required to flesh out and qualify such usually lapidary statements of intention as can be isolated for closer scrutiny.

Let us begin with the available background evidence. We know from Mansus and the Epitaphium Damonis that Milton at first intended to write an Arthurian epic, that he dropped this idea, returned from Italy to sketch out four different ways of putting the Adam and Eve story into dramatic form, and finally chose to lend his subject epic form. That he chose as his literary vehicle the most highly esteemed and ambitious literary form of the time tells us perhaps how important he judged his theme to be, but it affords no real clue as to his specific intentions. From biographical sources it can be determined that Milton composed Paradise Lost at the time when the Restoration had shattered the hopes he had placed in the realisation of a policy based on Puritan ethical norms. The Civil War, which he considered doomed to failure, would itself have heightened for him the contemporary relevance of man's fall from grace and the question of Divine Providence. As Arthur Sewell (1939:78) asks in A Study in Milton's Christian Doctrine:

> What could be the nature of God—now that Milton could no longer believe in the special care of God for his people? In what relation could Milton, could all men stand with God, now that it seemed no longer possible that God had chosen Milton and England for a special work?

Apart from this, Milton saw his central concept of free will as the basis for moral action threatened from two quarters: first, from among the ranks of the Puritans themselves by way of the Calvinist doctrine of predestination; second, from the ranks of those expousing the idea of scientific progress by way of the increasingly popular mechanistic and voluntaristic world-picture promoted by Thomas Hobbes. Such a frustrating of political and religious expectation, together with the imperilment of the deepest ethical convictions, led necessarily in Milton's case to a crisis of belief in God and Man, which he could only gradually master through the writing of his theological treatise De doctrina Christiana and the poetic masterpieces Paradise Lost, Paradise

Regained and *Samson Agonistes*.

This background information is important, in view of the fact that a theodicy, or vindication of the justice of God, is more often than not conceivable only on the basis of a writer's increasing personal doubts about the validity of divine providence. In taking the historical significance of *Paradise Lost* into consideration, one is bound to pay serious attention to the invocation to the Muse at the beginning of the epic, where the poet seeks her aid,

> That to the highth of this great argument
> I may assert Eternal Providence,
> And justify the ways of God to men. (I, 24-26)

This explicit programme for a theodicy can certainly be taken as something which will be given narrative lineaments within the poem that follows, and can therefore also be seen as a statement made by the narrator, if not by the 'implied author'. However, in contrast to corresponding initial situations in satirical or parodistic works—and I am thinking here of such examples as Fielding's comic-satirical preface to *Jonathan Wild* or Nabokov's fictive preface to *Lolita*—there is no reason for us to believe that the intention expressed at the start of *Paradise Lost* is *not* that of Milton: all differences of technique aside, and despite the doubts expressed by Anne Ferry (1963) in her book on the narrator in *Paradise Lost*. There would be no problem at all, of course, were we to treat the relation between the apostrophic declaration and the rest of the epic as a connexion between structural elements intrinsic to the text. This, however, would mean ignoring any contemporary relevance as a theodicy which the work might have possessed.

The lines I have quoted from the invocation to the Muse have been noted by critics of Milton, of course; but, curiously enough, they have been treated merely as pertaining to a general thematic intention, and not in the narrower sense of a *structured* argument. But the word 'argument' as used by Milton surely does carry the sense of a logical structuring of subject-matter, as can be seen from the use of 'argument' elsewhere in *Paradise Lost*. The prose 'Argument' prefaced to each book of the epic invariably contains a summary of the events depicted in the order in which they are presented; thus the element of sequentiality is obviously present in the concept of argument. If this is so, and if the principle underlying the sequence of plot-elements is not in itself immediately apparent, then one must simply try to determine whether the narrative sequence is governed by the argumentational structure of a theodicy.

I take as my starting-point Milton's juxtaposition of 'Eternal Providence' and the justification of 'the ways of God to men'. This juxtaposition or association is a crucial factor in deciding on the epic's status as a theodicy. In the title, Paradise is lost. This 'fact', together with the juxtaposition just indicated, presents one with two possible interpretations of the human condition: There is either no divine Providence at all—in which case the human condition has no 'logical' explanation—or the fall of man and its consequences are part of a providential master-plan: which confronts one with the problem of how this may agree with the notion of a just and loving God as held by Christian theology. Milton clearly chooses the latter course, that of vindicating God's seemingly paradoxical treatment of man. To view Milton's epic as a theodicy therefore involves an investigation of the degree to which the poet's intention has played a role in shaping the argument and the presentation of events.

Of immediate relevance to the nature of a theodicy is the title of the work. The loss of Paradise is the state par excellence bearing on the misery of the human condition, and consequently the chief stimulus for the writing of a theodicy:

> Milton's epic addresses itself to the great question which has haunted, indeed blasted, modern consciousness: what can be made of a world full of evil and suffering? (Cf. Richmond 1974:130)

There is then the central question of whether the loss of Paradise is 'just' —whether man himself bears responsibility for this loss. Hence Milton's statement at the start of the poem that he wishes to deal with 'Man's first disobedience'—hence also the adjoined remark that Paradise was lost only so long as Christ had not redeemed mankind. Milton has thus furnished the essential outlines of an answer in the first four lines of the poem: according to the poet, the loss of Paradise is the result of Man's disobedience, while the need for a theodicy is made less urgent by the fact that Man's re-entry into Paradise is ensured by Christ's self-sacrifice. This redemption is made possible because Man has disobeyed God not of his own free will but as a result of Satan's wiles. But none of this is in itself sufficient to convince one that a theodicy has already been achieved or has become superfluous. Even given the fact of Man's disobedience, one still needs to know how such a state of affairs could have come about, why a human being should so place his Edenic existence at risk. Milton devotes himself to this problem in lines 27—34 of Book I, his solution being that man was tempted by the serpent:

> ... say first what cause
> Moved our grand parents, in that happy state,
> Favoured of Heaven so highly, to fall off
> From their Creator, ...   (I, 28-31)
>
> Who first seduced them to that foul revolt?
> The infernal Serpent; ...   (I, 33-34)

Although this apparently serves only to make the matter of a theodicy more problematical (that is to say, is man at all responsible for his actions; should he really be punished so severely?), the way is made clear for a further exploration of the question in the course of the poem. What is revealed here is Milton's view, of crucial importance for the structure of Paradise Lost, that a theodicy can be written only by probing beyond the narrow confines of human history. Milton's isolation of Satan as the source of all human misfortune causes the focus of attention to shift from the reasons for Man's disobedience to Satan's motivation for leading Man astray.

This brings us to the transition to the first broad area of action, for it is only by presenting Satan's situation after his revolt and banishment that Milton can make his motivation credible to the reader. Hence the extensive treatment of Satan and his cohorts in Book I to III, including his quest for a better home on the newly-created earth and his attempt to put Man out of favour with God as a means of getting back at his Master.

But though Satan's motivation can be thus explained in terms of his despair, envy and desire for revenge, such an explanation can only serve to strengthen one's doubts about 'Eternal Provicence' as far as the human condition is concerned. Milton must have sensed this, for he interrupts Satan's journey to Earth at the start of Book III in order to provide the reader with a description of Heaven and divine foreknowledge, as well as to underscore the fact that Man's redemption is ensured by the death of Christ. This serves to answer any objection that God has wilfully delivered Man into the hands of Satan. There remains only the question of why things had to go so far as the temptation in the Garden, why Satan was ever permitted to lead Man astray, why Man was not so created that he could withstand Satan's wiles. It is only in later stages of the argument that a full reply is given in terms of the necessity for Christ's act of redemption. The immediate answer takes several forms: there is first of all the emphasis placed on Satan's skill in persuasion, to which even the angel Uriel falls victim at the end of the third Book; there is the disquisition on freedom in Book IV, including as it does the freedom to disobey; and there is the clear indication that God has used the angel Raphael to warn Adam of the dangerous consequences of giving in to temptation. The generous space granted to Raphael's tale in Books V to VIII indicates the important part played by his warning in the argumentation of the theodicy. Because the revolt and defeat of Satan demonstrate to Adam both the power of Satan and the even greater power of God, and because he is thereby given insight into the order of divine Creation, there is no cause for Man, in his quest for a justification of divine will, to claim that he has been exposed helplessly and unknowingly to the machinations of Satan. But this alone does not exhaust all of the functions of the middle Books in respect of the theodicy argument. Raphael's extensive account, especially his vivid depiction of the War of Heaven, would surely convince Adam—and any reader expecting a theodicy—that he as Man is not the measure of all things: a fact of supreme significance within the carefully calculated overall effect of the epic. For all his importance in his own eyes, as well as in the eyes of God, even as God's special creature he is merely part of a cosmic conflict between good and evil, God and Satan.

Putnam Fennel Jones (1948:75-6) is typical of those genre-bound critics who would see this struggle for power as aberrant, and I quote:

> Had he followed the model set for him by Homer, he would not have left his theme and his main character in the air while he concentrated his attention—and ours—on a struggle among the gods.

As part of a theodicy, however, this struggle is indispensable. Such a broadening of perspective cannot alone serve as a vindication of God, but can alter the way in which one seeks such a vindication. Man, inexorably caught up in the struggle between God and Satan, will ask himself why God's aid is not enough to withstand Satan. This gives foreground status to the new question of how there could be a Fall in spite of God's preparedness to help ward it off. It is interesting to observe how Milton endeavours to clarify Adam and Eve's behaviour by means of a psychological argument, thus enabling the reader to give up his reproachful attitude towards them for bringing sin into the world in favour of a deeper understanding of their plight. Milton takes care, for instance, that Eve is not present when Raphael tells his long and admonitory story about the revolt of Lucifer, in order that her subsequent temptation by Satan can be excused. But, for all the apologetic tendencies of the narrative, it is clear that Satan's work is made easier primarily because of Man's greed for knowledge and his straying from the path of 'Right Reason'. Not only does Milton take great pains to stress Eve's curiosity, but he also has Raphael utter clear warnings to Adam—

> ... be lowly wise
> Think only what concerns thee and thy being (VIII. 173—4)

—and even before this we find in Book VII. 126—30 the analogy between excessive thirst for knowledge and an extravagant appetite:

> But Knowledge is as food, and needs no less
> Her temperance over appetite, to know
> In measure what the mind may well contain,
> Oppresses else with surfeit, and soon turns
> Wisdom to folly, as nourishment to wind.

This is worth mentioning because Adam and Eve's behaviour in this respect also corresponds, of course, to the attitude adopted by someone seeking a theodicy, someone who goes so far as to ask whether God's ways are justifiable—thereby repeating the Adamic sin of wishing to place himself above God by acting as judge over Him.

At this stage of the argument, when human error and guilt can no longer be denied, there is still the question of whether the total loss of Paradise is perhaps too severe a punishment—particularly in view of Milton's persistent depiction of exculpating circumstances. The answer is given initially in the form of a presentation of the inevitability of the previously announced punishment, specifically via a reminder of the necessity of Divine justice. At the same time, however, this Old Testament righteousness is accompanied by a reminder of the essential mercy of the anticipated and already guaranteed redemption of Man through Christ. It is, after all, the Son of God (who restores Man to Paradise) who is sent to Eden by God to announce God's judgement. It is here, too, that the last two prophetic Books gain their full significance: Adam as the first man is granted a glimpse of the redemptive events to come; God's actions thus are justified even as ultimately benevolent not only for the Christian reader of the poem, for whom the Crucifixion is historical reality, but also for Adam himself. Important here, of course, is the interpretation of Man's redemption as the final triumph of Christ over Satan, for this serves, by clarifying the place of redemption within the grander scheme of the struggle between God and Satan, to return proud Man to the proper state of humility.

To summarize: the sequence, selection and depictive intensity of the plot-elements Milton offers in Paradise Lost are all the logical consequence of his initially stated intention to provide the reader with a theodicy. The broadening of the story of Man to encompass the representation of Providence and redemption from a cosmic perspective is fully in accordance with Milton's intentions, if the ways of God are to be justified to Man. The first extrapolation into the Satan plot is necessary because it is only the latter that can make clear the power of temptation involved in original sin. The extrapolation of the Satan plot to include the wider conflict between God and Satan is in turn necessary to provide a motivation for Man's temptation and for the placing of human history within the larger divine order. In unfolding the implications of this larger order, in showing how the revolt of a powerful angel leads to a demonstration of the might of God, in showing how Satan's revenge in tempting Man leads to a felix culpa and to the triumph of divine providence and love—in doing all this, Milton is finally able to realise his intention of writing a theodicy to satisfy the demands of readers looking for a justification of divine action and also to show them the way to regaining their lost Paradise as a "paradise within" (XII. 587).

What, then, are the implications of viewing the structure and selection of incidents in Paradise Lost as being typical of a theodicy? Simply that this points to a hypothesis about authorial intention which can be useful in resolving the problem of narrative sequence. Its validity depends considerably on biographical and historical information, but more particularly on the statement of intention made at the beginning of the epic and its relevance in accounting for the narrative sequence. This must, of course, remain a hypothesis, but one which I hope can stand up alongside previous, usually genre-based "sequential" interpretations. It is obviously worth running the risk of committing an Intentional Fallacy, on condition that:

1) there are explicit authorial statements of intention available for examination (statements which can also be intrinsic to the text when the distance between author, implied author and narrator is so slight as in Paradise Lost); and
2) a structural problem can be solved by enlisting the aid of determinable intention to examine the structure of a literary work. Which I trust I have managed to demonstrate.

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"LOVE AND INTEREST" AND "LOVE AND LIKING" IN THOMAS OTWAY

Thomas Otway's The Orphan has continued to arouse critical interest long after Samuel Johnson pronounced that "Of this play nothing new can easily be said" adding that "it is not written with much comprehension of thought or elegance of expression".[1] Later critics have taken their cue from Johnson in censuring the play, Clifford Leech complaining in 1950 that "The Orphan is a succession of scenes hardly linked by probability or necessity", and A.H. Scouten, in the more recent Revels History of Drama in English, stating with a reference to Leech that "in spite of its great influence, The Orphan is no model of dramaturgy. The clumsy and contradictory situations throughout the piece are certainly exasperating".[2]

In the last couple of decades several critics have challenged this scholarly denunciation of the play, suggesting interpretations which will allow us to take a more kindly view both of its language and structure. In Die Künstlerische Entwicklung in den Tragödien Thomas Otways, Helmuth Klingler sees The Orphan as a significant step in the development of Otway's dramatic skill in creating a Charaktertragödie in the Elizabethan tradition.[3] Klingler makes use of an earlier study of Otway's dramas in German, Gisela Fried's Gestalt und Funktion der Bilder im Drama Thomas Otways in which Otway's imagery is studied along the lines drawn up by Wolfgang Clemen in his work on Shakespeare's imagery.[4] Another claim for the presence of a controlling theme in the play, that of the ideal of plain-speaking advocated by the character of Acasto, was made by Geoffrey Marshall in the article "The Coherence of The Orphan", and this is referred to in an examination of the play by Kerstin Lund-Baer, who in her doctoral dissertation sets out to study among other things the political and cultural background of Otway's work "to sort out the clashing elements in The Orphan".[5]

Both Klingler and Lund-Baer see the action of The Orphan as peripatetic rather than serial. Klingler suggests that it is centred and organized around the crucial night of the incest, and makes the valid point that Castalio's early gesture of expressly inviting Polydore to try to win Monimia even after Castalio has pledged his love to her foreshadows the scene in which Polydore takes his brother's place in Monimia's bed, thereby committing rape and incest. The repetitive nature of Polydore's action is illumined in the answer given to Castalio by Monimia's maid when he knocks at her door on their wedding-night but is rejected:

> My lady's answer is, you may depart,
> she says she knows you: you are Polydore,
> Sent by Castalio as you were today,
> T'affront and do her violence again.
> (III. 538-541)

Klingler points to other structural and linguistic devices which are meant to bring out what he calls "the inner action" of the play, and he discards critical objections against seemingly contradictory elements in "the outer action", such as the clandestine marriage, which in his view are of less importance.

The matter of the secret marriage, on the other hand, is thoroughly discussed by Lund-Baer. She has studied in detail the legal aspects of such a marriage, concluding that the ceremony performed by Acasto's chaplain was one that could later be disowned and that it implies a lack of faith vis-à-vis the father as well as Monimia. She argues, as other critics have done, that Otway removes the motivation for the secrecy of the marriage, when he lets Acasto announce, in the scene of the family rallying around the apparently dying head of the household, that he has bequeathed 10,000 crowns to Monimia "to wed her honourably as she's born", and she suggests that the secret marriage in this way becomes emblematic of a breach of principles such as loyalty, obedience, and honesty enunciated by Acasto. She also investigates the early identification of Acasto with the Duke of Ormonde, a staunch loyalist, and finding it well-founded, Lund-Baer argues that this gives a political bias to the play, making it a plea for Tory ideals, and she concludes that the action is ordered to demonstrate the successive breakdown of the code of behaviour impersonated by Acasto.

All these studies make clear that The Orphan is the work of a writer by no means unskilled in dramatic techniques, which foreshadows in several points the crowning achievement of Venice Preserved. How, then, are we to account for the baffling incongruencies which still strike us in the play? Critics have objected to the introduction of elements which appear to be more appropriate to comedy than to tragedy. Certainly the inclusion of scenes of comic relief was a native tradition, but to make a tragedy hinge on a "stock motif of comedy" such as the bed-trick, whereby Polydore takes his brother's place in Monimia's bed, is a different matter.[6] In one of the first scenes in the play, while we are still being introduced to the characters and the circumstances leading up to the tragic action, the two brothers are cast as two sparks in a Restoration comedy, Castalio protesting his unwillingness to be fettered by marriage, and in his analysis of the play Eric Rothstein argues that the ethos of The Orphan is fundamentally that of naturalistic comedy, the play being "a tragedy of the imagination, in which nature becomes vicious because the characters, like those in Restoration comedy, assume that it was vicious to begin with".[7] In looking for a rationale for the sensibility of the pathetic play, which is Rothstein's term for the transitional serious play written in the wake of heroic tragedy, this critic draws a parallel between the Epicurean ideal, expressed in amorous pastoral lyrics of the period, of withdrawing into an imagined pastoral seclusion, and the predicament of the protagonists in these plays. In the following discussion, however, I should like to point to elements in The Orphan of a more prosaic nature, which counterbalance the pastoral image of an ideal, but illusive "never-never-land".[8] There are recurring references to the social set-up in Acasto's household, and to the financial arrangements concerning the entail of the estate which suggest a true-to-life English country setting which is concrete enough. This milieu, the house of a country gentleman, which is barely hinted at in Otway's source story, The History of Brandon, and a family conflict involving the marriage of the gentleman's children, are to be found in other contemporary stories in which the setting is painted in more vivid colours, notably in those by Mrs Behn, Otway's friend and fellow-dramatist. Both The English Adventures, in which The History of Brandon is contained, and Mrs Behn's prose stories are written on the pattern of a new kind of short prose narrative which was becoming increasingly popular in France and was beginning to furnish British dramatists with material for their plays in addition to the earlier long romances. The authors of the nouvelles, histoires galantes, and aventures were eager to point out that in writing these prose texts they were not poets but historians recording true events that had happened to real people, and that therefore they were not obliged to follow the dictates of genre. In their most unpretentious form the nouvelles were literally news, such as those printed in Le Mercur Galant, a sort of newspaper reporting the latest news from Paris to readers in the provinces. The distinction repeatedly drawn between nouvelle and roman is illustrated by the following lines from a story in Le Mercur Galant of 1672 about a girl called Lydiane, the author saying in translation: "You may think that I will paint her like the heroine of a romance and that I will tell you that she was the prettiest person in the world: but since I am telling a true story, I shall leave the business of drawing these fine pictures to the ingenious inventors of these fine romances with which the most elegant wits of France have often entertained the whole world. All I can tell you to Lydiane's advantage, is that she had a fine figure and a great deal of wit". There was also a new ideal of diction: where the writers of romances had favoured lengthiness and an elevated style in the epic tradition, the nouvelles should be brief and written in a more natural language.[9] I shall argue in what follows that in dramatizing The History of Brandon Otway incorporated some of the true-to-life characteristics of the new narrative, and that the sensibility of The Orphan is closer to that expressed in some of Mrs Behn's stories than that of The English Adventures. In dramatizing this text Otway had few precedents to follow, and the awkwardness of the dramaturgy of the play is connected, I believe, with the novelty of his use of material which could not easily be accommodated within the traditional genres of comedy or tragedy. Fifty years later, in the prologue to The London Merchant of 1731, George Lillo mentioned Otway among the dramatists who had prepared the way for a new kind of tragedy "in humbler dress", as he called it, and later in the century Johnson termed The Orphan "a domestick tragedy drawn from middle life". Other critics have seen little resemblance between Otway's play involving the members of a noble family and Lillo's, which concerns the misfortunes of a London merchant's clerk. However, in the sense that, as I shall demonstrate below, Otway brings into his drama some of the sensibility of the new short prose narrative, which as literary historians point out, often reflects the interests and preoccupations of a new middle class, The Orphan may be claimed to be a forerunner of what, with a less embarrassing term than "domestic tragedy", German critics call the Bürgerliches Trauerspiel.

What, then, are the references to the social and financial matters in Acasto's household which seem to place the play in a real-life setting rather than an illusory pastoral landscape? In the very first scene of the play two servants introduce us to the family they are working for, and above all to Acasto, whom they praise as a true loyalist, a virtuous family man and a model master. It is a narrative rather than dramatic exposition and establishes in the minds of the spectators the picture of a well-ordered society headed by an ideal country gentleman, much like the fathers portayed initially in Mrs Behn's stories which I shall describe below. Monimia is introduced as a "Beautious Orphan" whose father's estate "was ruined in our late and Civil discords". Her situation as Acasto's ward is referred to several times later in the play, this being a matter with which the audience would have been familiar. The relationship between a guardian and his ward was well regulated, the guardian being granted not only the stewardship of the lands of the ward but also the right to dispose of him or her in marriage. It was a serious offense to contract a marriage without the guardian's consent.

Throughout the play Otway adds hints concerning practical questions. There are repeated allusions to the matter of the entail of Acasto's estate. In his first dialogue with Castalio, Polydore reminds Castalio that he is an elder brother with marital duties and asks Castalio who will inherit the estate if he should die without offspring. Castalio's reply that, in case of Polydore not surviving him, it will revert to the King "who may bestow't again on some brave man, whose honesty and services deserve one" suggests an earlier period when landlords held the land in tenure from the crown in exchange for knight-service to their master, the King. The matter of the entail is brought up again by Acasto, who tells his sons that he has divided the estate equally between them. After Chamont has proposed to this daughter, Acasto offers the young soldier a third of his fortune, and at the very end of the drama Castalio, before dying, passes his birth-right on to Chamont.

Earlier critics have studied Otway's source story, The History of Brandon, finding that he followed the outline of this faithfully, with the exception that Brandon survives to tell the story, while Polydore in The Orphan perishes at the end of the play together with Castalio and Monimia. If we examine the whole of The English Adventures, however, it becomes clear that the tone of the rest of the book has little in common with the serious bent of The History of Brandon, which is an inserted story, told as a kind of youthful misadventure by Charles Brandon, a famous member of Henry VIII's court and later Duke of Suffolk. In the main narrative the author explains that "love which terminates in Marriage is not of the essentials of my History", and The English Adventures, it is evident, is patterned on one very popular kind of the new short prose narrative, a sort of confidential journal of the amorous adventures of well-known historical persons, such as Mlle Desjardins's Journaux Amoureux of the early 1670's, translated as Love's Journal. In these stories the adherence to truth varied and was often limited to the mention of the names of the kings and courtiers involved. The English Adventures relates the youthful escapades of the English Henry VIII, who has secretly gone out hunting, his subjects believing that he is locked up in Baynard Castle mourning his newly dead father. Having recently returned from abroad, Charles Brandon accidentally meets the King in the wood, and together they are able to rescue a young beauty, Izabella, from being killed by a stag. It is while walking to a nearby castle that Brandon tells the story of how, inadvertently, he had become the agent of the death of his brother and his sister-in-law. Brandon who has been injured in the struggle with the stag, is left to recuperate from his wounds and ponder on how he may gain the pretty Izabella, while the King and another courtier go in pursuit of the same girl. The English Adventures must be said to be deplorable reading, the gallantry involved is coarse and has nothing of that insight into the sometimes painful nature of love, which is to be found in much of the new writing. The author's favourite metaphor for courtship is from warfare, the lover being described as a general about to conquer a town and whose only worry is to decide on what tactics to employ, a siege or an assault. The writer is well aware of his inability to express the finer shades of human emotions, referring on one occasion to some other author who may, as he says, "be a better Drawer of Passions than I pretend to be". At the end of The English Adventures we read that more volumes will follow the first one and that the actions of Brandon "are to furnish the greatest and most surprising events in our following adventures". No subsequent tome seems to have been published, but there is no doubt that the life of Charles Brandon was eventful enough to have furnished a novelist with material for several books of English adventures. One of his most spectacular feats was to marry secretly Henry VIII's sister Mary after her husband, the French King Louis XII had died. Brandon at that time had at least one more wife living, and his biographer in the Dictionary of National Biography is rightly indignant in recording the many turns in his marital life.

The predominant mode of The English Adventures is thus quite distinct from the sensibility expressed in the inserted "History", and it is interesting to see how Otway, whose talents were indeed the drawing of passions, lifts The History of Brandon out of its rather unsavoury context, breathing, as one critic has expressed it, "life and passion into the dry bones of his original".[10] The life which he breathes into the source story is that, I suggest, depicted in another group of nouvelles, set often in a less elevated milieu than the court, and in whose concern with family morals and money matters may be recognized the influence of a developing bourgeoisie. Coupled with a moralistic tendency in these stories is another characteristic of the new narrative, a growing interest in analysis and psychological speculation which concerned itself much with the different aspects of love. This topic was discussed in the literary salons in Paris, and it was concluded that love must be said to be a more complicated sentiment than that described earlier in the century by Honoré D'Urfé, as the platonic adoration of the loved one, and also than the image of it found in Corneille's dramas, where love is a matter of choice, free and generous, inspiring the lover to heroic deeds.[11] To this voluntary amour de connaissance they opposed l'amour d'inclination, a humiliating passion hitting blindly even the virtuous, and they took a pessimistic view of l'amour d'inclination. The most famous of the stories illustrating this conflict is of course Mme de la Fayette's La Princesse de Clèves of 1678, which was enormously successful and gave rise to a vivid debate in France on the characteristics of the new genre. Numerous stories involving bourgeois families express the same mistrust of l'amour d'inclination.

In England many of the French nouvelles were translated but there was much less original writing of prose fiction. One writer who took a particular interest in the sensibility expressed in the nouvelles concerned with love and marriage was Mrs Behn. In her comedies she repeatedly exploded the idea of "love and honour" so much celebrated in heroic drama, demonstrating how in the experience of young lovers you had to choose one or the other. In heroic drama the hero usually managed to have it both ways. In her comedy Sir Patient Fancy (1678) she introduced the terms "love and interest" and "love and liking" which would seem to be her variation of the French terms (in the French nouvelles the father who chooses a son-in-law on the basis of his financial eligibility is called "un homme intéressé"). However, whereas in her comedies those advocating "love and interest" are manipulated so that the young lovers have it their own way in the end, in her prose stories she appears as the firm upholder of traditional values, and it is made quite clear that there was no way in which "love and liking" could form the sole basis for a successful marriage. There is also a marked insistence on money matters. Two of her stories with an English country setting portray families similar to that of Acasto in Otway's play. There are narrative points in one of them which coincide with elements in The Orphan, but I am not concerned to try to prove a direct connection, one difficulty being that we do not know just when her stories were first written.

The two stories by Mrs Behn are called The Wandering Beauty and The Unhappy Mistake: or the Impious Vow Punished. They begin very much in the same way with a presentation of the head of the family. In the first story he is Sir Francis Fairname, "a Gentleman of a noble family, and of a very large Estate in the West of England, a true Churchman, a great Loyalist, and a most discreetly-indulgent Parent". In the second story we meet Sir Henry Hardyman, "a Gentleman of a very large estate in Somersetshire, of a very generous Temper, hospitable almost to Extravagancy, a plain down-right Dealer, wonderfully good-natured, but very passionate". The Wandering Beauty of the first story is Sir Francis' daughter Arabella, who runs away from home to avoid the marriage planned for her by her parents with a sixty-year-old neighbour with an even larger estate than Sir Francis, which will pass into Arabella's hands upon their marriage. After wandering about the countryside incognito, she finds a new home at Sir Christian Kindly's in Lancashire, and there she attracts the attention of Sir Lucius Lovewell, among whose excellent accomplishments is an income of "upwards of 3000 l. a year". Arabella marries Sir Lucius and returns to Somersetshire, where, in the meantime, the old neighbour has died. Her family are delighted to find her married to such a solid young man, and the happy ending is accompanied by an account of the handsome financial settlement made by Sir Francis in favour of the young couple.

The father of the second story, Sir Henry Hardyman, has a son, Miles, and a daughter, Lucretia, who is "beautiful enough, her Father designing to give ten thousand Pounds with her on Marriage". Miles loves the daughter of a neighbouring family, who is "of happy and virtuous Education" but "of an indifferent Fortune, not exceeding two thousand Pounds, which was in no way answerable to the Expectations he had after his father's death", and Sir Henry will not hear of his son marrying this girl although her family is " as ancient and honourable as that of Hardyman". Miles then decides to run away and marry his Diana without his father's consent, but on his way to her he gets into a fight, and almost killing Diana's brother, Miles has to leave the neighbourhood. Sir Hardy soon repents of his harsh treatment of his son, but his attempts to find him fail, and Sir Hardy falls seriously ill, recovering only thanks to the assiduous care of his affectionate daughter, who is then married to Diana's brother and given the ten thousand pounds her father had promised her. The sorrow for the loss of his son finally causes Sir Hardy's death, and he dies giving his blessing to his run-away son. Miles, meanwhile, has gone across to the Continent and become a soldier. Returning after several years to England he happens to meet his brother-in-law who brings him back to Somersetshire. Miles tells his family about dreams he has had while a soldier of his father asking him to return to England and of his sister "in Tears by my Bedside, kneeling with a Gentleman". In the end Miles takes over his father's estate and marries his former love.

Details in the second story which are found also in The Orphan are the illness and recovery of the father, and a soldier returning home from the wars having had dreams about his sister. For all we know Otway and Mrs Behn may have found them in other texts, but what is of interest seems to me to be the attitude to the marriage of their children of the fathers in Mrs Behn's stories. These fathers have every good quality, just like Acasto in Otway's play, but they will have no nonsense of "love and liking", and we may conclude, I think, that this attitude was one which a priori was to be expected also from Acasto. I agree with Lund-Baer that Acasto's announcement of the money he has bequeathed to Monimia suggests that the main sin of Castalio and Monimia was the betrayal of his confidence, and it serves, I believe, to demonstrate this to the audience.

The other element which Otway adds to the "dry bones of his original", "passion", has been the subject of much critical discussion. Many contemporary critics, while recognizing that Otway had a unique talent for expressing love, objected to the introduction of this "soft passion", as it was called, into tragedy, and more recent critics have questioned the propriety of the dramatist's exposure of it not only in The Orphan but also in Venice Preserved, arguing that the tragic issues are lost in the emotionalism of the drama.[12] I believe, however, that a contemporary audience would have recognized the underlying moral and seen that the dramatist is not celebrating "love and liking", as a modern reader may think, but rather demonstrating the disorders of love, to use a contemporary phrase. Monimia's and Castalio's protestations of love would have been interpreted by the spectators, I think, as the youthful effusions of characters who should have known better than to let this love rush them into a secret marriage.[13]

Concerning the effects on the dramaturgy of The Orphan of the affinity with the new short prose narrative it may be argued that Otway sensed that dramatizing this kind of story called for some such similar procedure as is found in these texts of disregarding the traditional genres. To earlier critical suggestions of motifs or scenes that seem closer to comedy than to tragedy I should like to add the matter of Acasto's illness and recovery, to which critics have objected as being apparently unmotivated. In its effect it is strikingly similar to that crucial scene in Le Malade Imaginaire by Molière (1673), in which Argan simulates being dead in order to test the reaction of his young wife whom his family suspect to have married Argan in the hopes of soon being a rich widow. This is duly proved, but the scene also serves to demonstrate the loyalty of Argan's daughter Angélique, who believing her father dead protests that she will no longer wish to marry her beloved Cléante, but will live to redeem her disobedience to her father in having wanted to contract a marriage against his consent. The effect in The Orphan of the entry of Acasto's daughter Serina and Monimia's brother Chamont in the presence of the seemingly dying Acasto is much the same, Serina protesting when Chamont asks her hand of Acasto: "Oh! name not Love, for that's ally'd to joy, /And joy must be a stranger to my heart, / When you're in danger. May Chamonts good Fortune / Render him lovely to some happier Maid! / Whilst I at Friendly distance see him blest, / Praise the kind Gods and wonder at his Virtues". There are in fact other lines in The Orphan which suggest a derivation from Molière's play by way of Mrs Behn's Sir Patient Fancy, which is an adaptation of Le Malade Imaginaire. That Otway should have taken over a scene from Molière is not all that remarkable, apart from the fact that this confirms the suggestion that he did not feel bound by genre. In his book on The Relation of Molière to Restoration Comedy John Wilcox explains that to Restoration playwrights Molière was a rich mine of theatrical tricks by the custom that, as he says, " a theatrical effect, once exposed to the public gaze, becomes an addition to the raw material of every succeeding dramatist who is acquainted with it".[14] He concludes that to the Restoration playwrights Molière was above all a source of practical effectiveness.

Practical effectiveness, indeed, seems to have been a criterion that weighed more heavily than genre in the composition of The Orphan. The result, to use the wording of a critic discussing alleged verbal excesses in Venice Preserved, is "neither comic nor tragic",[15] but rather than being taken as evidence of poor dramaturgy this could, I believe, with greater justice be claimed to be the effect of Otway's experimental transferral of a new narrative to the stage. This experiment points forward in a number of ways to later tragedy "in humbler dress".

NOTES

1. Samuel Johnson, "Life of Otway" in Lives of the English Poets, ed. G.B. Hill (Oxford), I, 245.

2. Clifford Leech, "Restoration Tragedy: a Reconsideration", Durham University Journal, 11 (1950), 106-115. Rpt. in Restoration Drama: Modern Essays in Criticism, ed. John Loftis (Oxford and London: Oxford University Press 1966, rpt 1970), and John Loftis, Richard Southern, Marion Jones, A.H. Scouten, The Revels History of Drama in English, Vol. 5:1660-1750 (London: Methuen and Co, 1976), p. 273.

3. Helmuth Klingler, Die Künstlerische Entwicklung in Den Tragödien Thomas Otways, Wiener Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie, Band 74 (Vienna, 1971).

4. Palaestra, Band 239 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965).

5. Geoffrey Marshall, "The Coherence of The Orphan", Texas Studies in Literature and Language, 11, No.2 (1969), 931-943, and Kerstin Lund-Baer, The Orphan: Tragic Form in Thomas Otway, Studia Anglistica Upsaliensia 40 (Uppsala, 1980).

6. See the introduction to the edition of The Orphan by Aline Mackenzie Taylor (London:Edward Arnold, 1977), p. XX.

7. Eric Rothstein, Restoration Tragedy: Form and the Process of Change (Madison, Milwaukee, and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), p. 101.

8. See the discussion in Maren-Sofie Röstvig's The Happy Man: Studies in the Metamorphoses of a Classical Ideal, Vol. 1: 1600-1700 (Oslo: Norwegian Universities Press, 1962) of the distinction between the rural ode and the pastoral, p. 46 ff.

9. For a presentation of the rise of the *nouvelle* see Histoire littéraire de la France, par un collectif sous la direction de Pierre Abraham et Roland Desné, Vol. 4: 1660-1775 (Paris: Editions sociales, 1975), pp. 167-209.

10. J.C. Ghosh, "Introduction" to the Works of Thomas Otway (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1932), I, 50.

11. See Antoine Adam, "Introduction", Romanciers du XVIIe siècle: Textes présentés et annotés par Antoine Adam (Paris: Gallimard, 1958).

12. See for instance Ghosh, "Introduction", William H. McBurney, "Otway's Tragic Muse Debauched: Sensuality in Venice Preserved", Journal of English and German Philology, 58 (1959), 380-399, and Lund-Baer's discussion.

13. The distinction between "love and interest" and "love and liking" is of interest, I believe, also with reference to Venice Preserved but there is no room in this paper for a discussion of that play.

14. (New York: Columbia Press, 1938) p. 195.

15. McBurney, p. 398.

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A DEFENCE OF MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT'S LAST NOVEL

I

The basic argument of this paper is simple. I want to present reasons why an unfinished novel by Mary Wollstonecraft, a story which has never been popular and which virtually nobody has praised, should be reassessed. These reasons are all related to a special reading of Maria: it is only when it is considered as a late flowering of eighteenth-century traditions that its virtues come into their own. The novel relies on a typically neo-classical use of madness as metaphor, which it develops further than its predecessors in the direction of concreteness, and which it links with a structural use of analogy in such a way that the fragment can be seen as a surprisingly unified and complete narrative.

Critical odds are indeed against The Wrongs of Woman: Or, Maria. A Fragment, as the full title of the first edition goes.[1] The novel is unfinished to such an extent that we do not even know for certain the direction the last part of the story would have taken. A brief scene, in which Maria survives a suicide attempt and regains the will to live when her kidnapped daughter is found, is written out and called "The End"; but other notes suggest a new pregnancy, a desertion by her lover, and a miscarriage. Most critics--early and late--have dismissed it;[2] and the most closely reasoned of the few modern attempts to understand the novel leaves it dangerously open to criticism. Mitzi Myers argues that the book must be understood as Mary Wollstonecraft's attempt to combine sense and sensibility;[3] but though such an impulse may well lie behind the writing, it contributes primarily to a weakness in the fragment: more often than not, the attempt to explore sensibility results in emotional vignettes that are not successful. Consider the following example which occurs when the heroine meets another inmate of the asylum in which she is imprisoned, "a lovely maniac, just brought into an adjoining chamber":

> She was singing the pathetic ballad of old Robin Gray, with the most heart-melting falls and pauses. ... [Maria] began with sympathy to pourtray to herself another victim, when the lovely warbler flew, as it were, from the spray, and a torrent of unconnected exclamations and questions burst from her, interrupted by fits of laughter, so horrid, that Maria shut the door, and, turning her eyes up to heaven, exclaimed--'Gracious God!' ... 'Woman, fragile flower! why were you suffered to adorn a world exposed to the inroad of such stormy elements?' thought Maria, while the poor maniac's strain was still breathing on her ear, and sinking into her very soul. (p. 88)

"Woman, fragile flower! why were you suffered to adorn a world ..." --this is out of character in the mouth of one of the most resourceful and independent women in eighteenth-century literature. Horace Walpole, the literary dilettante who called Mary Wollstonecraft a "hyena in petticoats" and a "philosophizing serpent",[4] was not entirely beside the mark. Both the novelist and her largely autobiographical heroine are characterised by energy, unconventional behaviour and intellectual courage rather than by mild and ineffectual sentimentality. The weakness of the sentimental passages in Maria is not primarily due to faulty craftsmanship. The difficulty is more fundamental: late eighteenth-century emotional delicacy is in fact an ideal that, from Mary Wollstonecraft's point of view, must be the enemy's attempt to idealise the false position in which women were placed.[5] It was a tradition in which long-suffering, submission and forgiveness were extolled; and one which was pervasive and powerful. Mary Wollstonecraft could not change it single-handed in such a way that it could serve the interests of radical feminism.

My own starting-point has been an impression and a query. The impression is of a powerful story. Maria is unfinished; it may be ludicrous in some of its sentimental passages; the style may be cumbersome in places, and characterisation faulty by the standards set by later novelists. But the story has a thematic coherence, a shapeliness and a vigorous originality which make it memorable. The query is biographical: why wasn't Maria finished? The author's sudden death in childbirth in September 1797 is of course the obvious reason why Maria remains a fragment. But if Mary Wollstonecraft had written at her usual speed, the story would have been finished long before her last summer. As early as in July of the previous year she had written enough to send a substantial part of the new novel to Godwin for commentary;[6] and in May 1797 she asked another member of their circle to read it.[7] Godwin tells us in the preface that "she was anxious to do justice to her conception, and recommenced and revised the manuscript several different times" (p. 71). The style of Maria profited greatly from these revisions, as a comparison with the earlier Mary shows. But we are left with a curious fact: she had written and revised the first part with great care while virtually nothing had been done on the rest. It is my theory that she faltered because she realised, perhaps at a semi-conscious level, that she had reached a conclusion. I shall argue that the unfinished novel has such metaphorical completeness as it is, that there was nowhere the story could go without losing the concentrated effect of what she had written.

II

In the eighteenth century madness has two major forms as a literary motif. One concentrates on the subversive and fascinating power of insanity. It is well summed up by Max Byrd in an essay called "The Madhouse, the Whorehouse, and the Convent".[8] He argues that a strong current runs counter to the "official humanism of the Enlightenment": this current is an interest in that "irrational energy locked away from normal society" which is found in the madhouse, the whorehouse and the convent. In eighteenth-century fiction visits to such places serve other and more important purposes than those of sensational tourism--they enable the writers to examine psychological powers and possibly insights not normally acknowledged in the Age of Rules and Reason.

The other version of the motif belongs to the daylight atmosphere of social criticism. The centre of interest is not hidden sources of irrational and fascinating energy. Madness is understood, at face value, as aberration; but the kind of madness which is exposed is not found in madhouses. It is the whole social establishment which is presented as unhinged, as mad. Moral order has been turned upside down; wisdom flees the country or dies; those who enjoy power and wealth, though technically "sane", behave with the sublime egocentricity of the inmates of a place like Ibsen's memorable madhouse in Peer Gynt.

In Jacobean drama, notably in The Changeling, a madhouse scene can serve the purposes of both variants, and so does Swift's extravaganza on politics, madness and sex in Section IX of A Tale of a Tub; but in eighteenth-century literature the two forms of the motif are generally found separate. The second variant provides a central metaphor--sometimes overt, sometimes submerged--in a number of major works. Pope does not conclude The Dunciad with the restoration of Wit. He sums up his analysis of the cultural scene when he lets madness, Chaos, reign supreme:

> Thy hand, great Anarch! lets the curtain fall.
> And Universal Darkness buries All.

When, in A Modest Proposal, Swift exposes the atrocious madness of Irish politics, he makes it clear that this madness is an integral part of a system of economy that most people considered extremely rational. Mary Wollstonecraft takes this variant of the motif one step further in the direction of metaphorical concreteness when she makes an asylum, into which the two sane main characters are thrown, the setting of her last novel.

III

Maria must also be considered against the background of Mary Wollstonecraft's early interest in the problems of narrative form. In her first work of fiction, Original Stories from Real Life; with Conversations, Calculated to Regulate the Affections, and Form the Mind to Truth and Goodness (London, 1788[9]), she has considered carefully how stories can be shaped and arranged so as to form a natural and efficient sequence. The first anecdotes and incidents are simple, meant to teach children a love of animals; later, events and commentary are interwoven in more complex patterns. The main story, which covers the time two neglected children stay in the country with a relative, the wise and good Mrs. Mason, provides many instructive incidents, but the moral lessons are generally reinforced by interpolated tales. Very often stories and characters are related to each other by clear parallels and contrasts: two stories bring out how strong the bonds between men and animals can be; the portrait of Lady Sly is followed by that of Mrs. Trueman.

When Mary Wollstonecraft compiled an anthology for schools called The Female Reader, she took special pains, she says, that the arrangement of the pieces was right:

> In the present volume, which is principally intended for the improvement of females, the subjects are not only arranged in separate books, but are carefully disposed in a series that tends to make them illustrate each other; linking the detached pieces seemed to give an interest to the whole, which even the slightest connexion will not fail to

produce, ...[10]

These lines from the preface give a special clue to our understanding of Mary Wollstonecraft as a novelist. They echo an influential eighteenth-century theory of analogy. One of its proponents was Joseph Priestley, whom Mary Wollstonecraft knew of and had probably met.[11] He considered analogy a master key to the ways in which thought and memory work: "the moment we perceive that the parts of any object are analogous to one another, and find, or are informed, what that analogy is, the sight of a part, without farther investigation, suggests the idea of the whole."[12] Eighteenth-century novelists realised that ideas of this kind could underpin certain techniques of story-telling. In his Systems of Order and Inquiry in Later Eighteenth-Century Fiction Eric Rothstein has analysed the way in which some of the most successful novels from the period thrive on this marriage of psychological theory and narrative technique. Though he does not mention Maria, it is in this tradition that it must be considered: "the bounds of discourse are set by the initial situation (for instance, a disillusioned but affectionate young man seeks the calm of true friendship) or the initial matrix (for instance, a travelling party of a half dozen quite different people, with different perspectives on what they see)".[13] In Maria there is both such an initial situation (the heroine finds herself in an asylum) and a matrix (the life stories and attitudes of those she meets).[14]

IV

All the chapters of the fragment are unified by the simple fact that in setting, story and commentary (direct and metaphorical) they present a capsized world, an England gone mad. In Chapter 1 Maria wakes up to find that she has been drugged and imprisoned in a private asylum and to realise that her baby daughter has been taken away from her; and in Chapter 16 (the last but one) she finally escapes. These two chapters make up a firm frame for the whole story: the ugly reality of the madhouse is established in the first pages when Maria hears and sees some of the patients; it is kept up by occasional glimpses of life in corridors and courtyards and by the presence of a cruel and criminal master; and, as Maria flees from the place, she is detained for some time by "a being, with a visage that would have suited one possessed by a devil" (p. 190). Maria's own reactions bring out both her sanity and her resilience: she plans how to escape, convinces her keeper of her innocence and soundness of mind, and even achieves a certain happiness when she is allowed to meet the charming Darnford, who has also been imprisoned in the asylum. Mary Wollstonecraft takes pains to describe Maria as neither callous nor hysterical. She is the antithesis both to her insane neighbours and to the inhuman selfishness of her enemies.

The novel may seem loosely organised. A basic third-person narrative is broken up by stories told in the first person. Later, Maria's own earlier life is presented to us in the form of memoirs; and this part of the book (about half the length of the entire fragment) contains interpolations in its turn: we are given a brief sketch of the life of Maria's kind uncle, and two landladies tell her their life stories. The third-person narrative is resumed only in the last three chapters, one of which contains the long speech that Maria gives in court. Two things must be said about this "looseness". The first is that it is of a respectable eighteenth-century kind. Maria belongs very firmly in Fielding's train. There is a particularly close resemblance between Maria and Amelia. In his last novel, Fielding gives a panorama of the world in which a young man must find his place, as does Maria from the point of view of a young woman. Fielding's story begins as Booth is thrown into prison; Miss Matthews soon tells him her life story; and the narrative then moves into the past for a long time as Booth tells her about his life. The third-person narrative which follows is again interrupted by interpolated stories. Secondly, in one respect Maria is more firmly organised than Amelia. Wollstonecraft's central metaphor--that of a world gone mad, of values turned upside down--unites setting and life stories. Her angry radicalism--a branch of common sense very different from Fielding's goodhumoured conservatism--made it natural for her to use this striking metaphor in a more thoroughgoing way than Fielding, who had played with it in Joseph Andrews. She realises that her story may be dismissed as "the abortion of a distempered fancy" (Preface, p. 73), but gamely turns this criticism the other way round: it is those who belong to the unthinking, conservative majority who show unmistakable signs of mental distemper.

Chapters 1 and 2 describe how Maria overcomes her initial despair and begins to write the story of her life, hoping that her daughter may one day profit from its lessons. But before we read these memoirs, we are given the life story of Darnford. It is a perfectly ordinary life, in which Mary Wollstonecraft discovers a sad absurdity. He comes from a rich and well-established family, in which his early life has been one of sad deprivation. He is sent to the best of English boarding schools, and finds that it is vice which is victorious in the playing-field of Eton. As a young man he enlists and goes to America to fight against the Colonies, only to find, when he is wounded and has time to think, that their cause is right. A wiser man politically, he returns to the centre of civilisation, to London, where he is knocked down and wakes up in the asylum. Later, we understand that both his and Maria's imprisonment has been engineered by greedy relatives.

After a chapter in which Maria and Darnford fall in love, we find another interpolated story. It comes from the other end of the social scale, but illustrates the same upside-down motif. Maria's keeper, Jemina, won over by what she sees and hears, tells a tale of utter poverty and degradation. Jemina's narrative is monotonous, but still forceful, for here a Newgate Calendar series of misfortunes is set in a context of coherent social criticism, reinforced by analogy with the other stories in the novel, and unified by the same basic metaphor. Her mother was seduced by a fellow servant who refused to marry her, and she died when Jemina was nine months old. The cheap nurse hired to look after her has seen so many children "die off her hands" that "the office of a mother did not awake the tenderness of the woman". Soon young Jemina looks "like a little old woman, or a hag shrivelling into nothing" (pp. 102-3). At sixteen she is raped by the master of the house and soon turned out, pregnant and miserable. Afraid of exposure, the master gives her a drug which, while it nearly kills her, produces the intended abortion. The idea of a world in which madness rules continues to give shape to her story: it is only when Jemina finds herself in a brothel that she can enjoy some of the common amenities of life: "a life of comparative regularity restored my health; and--do not start--my manners were improved .... Besides, the common civility of speech, contrasted with the gross vulgarity to which I had been accustomed, was something like the polish of civilization" (p. 110). This is very far from being a guarded praise of prostitution; the idea of woman as an object of pleasure is always under attack in Mary Wollstonecraft's writings. The point made, and well made, is that the world of the poor has become so miserable that what is traditionally thought of as the worst of evils is now almost a blessing. The same point is made when Jemina becomes a kept mistress. Later, she becomes a washerwoman; a tub hits her shin; and because of a serious inflammation she has to go into hospital, where she learns that only those with money survive in the hospitals built for the poor. Finally, she is given fairly well-paid work by the criminal owner of the asylum in which she tells her story to Maria.

Jemina, who is sent out by Maria to investigate the fate of her daughter, brings back news of her death; Maria then lets Darnford read the memoirs meant for the education of her child. In Chapters 7 to 14 we peer over his shoulder as he reads. After two other stories, Darnford's from high and Jemina's from low life, it is appropriate that Maria's is a middle class history: Mary Wollstonecraft wants to give a panorama of a whole society out of joint.

To readers who know something of the author's own life much of it is familiar stuff: weak mother, bullying and improvident father who eventually marries the housekeeper, evil elder brother, and younger sisters who must be looked after. But Maria's story is far from being simply the tear-jerker that a number of critics have assumed. Taken in isolation, many of the incidents are dangerously melodramatic, but the over-all effect of these memoirs is like that of the whole fragment: they are shaped so as to become a consistent and intelligent attack on prevalent ideas about social roles.

We are shown how the madness of English social life thrives on two things in particular -- male tyranny and female credulity. Maria, who grows up in a little North Country town, accepts the advances of George Venables, the son of a rich newcomer. Too late to avoid marriage, she realises that she has made an awful mistake. Her confidant, a wise and rich uncle, is taken in, too, though he should have known better since his own life has been blighted by a love that proved faithless. As Maria's marriage disintegrates, the story becomes a study in the extent to which a weak and evil husband can dominate a strong and right-thinking wife. George appropriates her money; and on one occasion even tries to "sell" her to a friend to avoid distraint. After some years he finds it expedient to assume the role of the loving husband again; and Maria yields to him, although she sees through his mask. When she becomes pregnant, she blames herself for having gone to bed with a man she does not love. Sexuality is not exempted from the general absurdity of this kind of life. Pioneer in this field as in many others, Mary Wollstonecraft goes on to claim that the wife who submits to love-making without the proper feelings is no better than a prostitute. -- In the end Maria leaves her debauched husband and lives alone when the baby is born. It is when her husband and brother realise that her uncle has left his great fortune to the baby with Maria as sole guardian, that they think up the plan which finally sends Maria to the madhouse where the story began.

Two interpolated stories inside the memoirs add to this discussion of family life. The first woman whom Maria lodged with believes in submission:

> She toiled from morning till night; yet her husband would rob the till, and take away the money reserved for paying bills; and, returning home drunk, he would beat her if she chanced to offend him, though she had a child at the breast. (pp. 170-1)

Maria continues: "in the morning I heard her, as usual, talk to her dear Johnny--he forsooth, was her master; no slave in the West Indies had one more despotic; but fortunately she was of the true Russian breed of wives". The second landlady is intelligent and active and finds no excuses for herself or the husband she married when young--"we must all be in love once in our lives" (p. 177)--but she is no better off. Repeatedly she tries to earn a living by taking a house and letting out lodgings, but her husband, who at one time spent all their money on a prostitute, comes back and steals everything. Social realism and comic absurdity are well combined in these portraits.

After the chapter in which Maria and Darnford escape and set up house together and the chapter in which she defends him in court, in his absence, against a carge of seduction and adultery, the fragment ends.

V

A novel that works by analogies tends to be a well organised narrative; a corresponding weakness may be a tendency towards the schematic. The main organising principles in Maria stands out clearly. What Rothstein calls the matrix is made up of two groups of characters--on the one hand Maria herself, Jemina, and the two landladies, on the other the male characters--who all illustrate the theme of absurdity-aided-by-subjection-and-credulity.

Like the second landlady she met, Maria is not easily taken in; but such is the pressure from social expectations and traditional codes of conduct that both these intelligent and strong women are blind to their best interests when they marry as they do. On either side of these two we find a contrast: Jemina has been taught by life to be shrewd and suspicious to such an extent that she is virtually blind to goodness and innocence when she meets it; and the first landlady is such a complete prisoner of her own credulity that she cannot imagine that her situation leaves anything to be desired. Similarly, these four women illustrate degrees and kinds of subjection. One landlady is completely brainwashed and obedient, the other resembles Maria in that she wants independence. But as a working-class women (who does not have a rich uncle) she works for her freedom against enormous odds. In this question of domestic slavery, the unmarried Jemina is best off. Though she has had to obey vicious or criminal masters, she is psychologically independent.

Maria's uncle, husband, brother, and father also explain each other by way of contrast and similarity. Her kind uncle has himself been deceived, whereas Maria's husband and brother try to cheat others, though with differing degrees of success: George is a nitwit, and Maria soon learns to see through his wiles; but her brother is a crafty enemy. Her father, who has been the tyrant of his house, is finally duped by the housekeeper who secures him in marriage. Thus we are reminded, as in the case of Darnford's imprisonment and her uncle's early disappointment, that the power game need not always have a woman as victim.

Another subsidiary story widens the perspective. Maria's nurse has a sister who is happily married to a sailor, but as they are about to meet after a long voyage, he is pressed into the Navy, and later killed in battle. Thus, a nation that wages war ruins a happy marriage. This story has links with Maria's own. She, too, finds that the political establishment is her enemy: the laws of England favour her husband at every crossroads.

Maria is no point-by-point illustration of A Vindication of the Rights of Woman. As a novelist, Mary Wollstonecraft energetically meets the requirements of another genre and highlights only those aspects of her social criticism that the over-all structure of her narrative supports. She scores a new point in the debate with Burke in which she had been engaged since 1790. Now, her attack in the first chapter of the Vindication on his idea of tradition is given new vigour: a novel that shows England to be a madhouse is a sharp retort to what Burke had said about the glories of the English constitution. But, vigorous though it is, must the novel still be dismissed as nothing but an illustration of a thesis? Does Mary Wollstonecraft's ingrained philosophical bent enter into an ugly alliance with an analogical narrative technique, an alliance which makes the story so neatly moralistic that an essay might have done the same job more economically? True, her basic position is schematic, she knows that she is writing a roman à these. But the stark formulation in the title, "The Wrongs of Woman", is modulated in the story. Men may be victims and women tyrants. Nor is the madness motif used in an entirely black and white way. The world that Maria describes is out of joint, but gradually we realise that it is not quite like Ibsen's madhouse scene in Peer Gynt, in which

> No one has tears for other men's pain;
> No one accepts other men's solutions.
>
> (Christopher Fry's translation)

Jemina can be persuaded by the voice of reason and kindness; Darnford's heart is moved by Maria's story; her uncle argues for a new and better position for women. Much is amiss, but Maria is not completely isolated in her struggles. Similarly, the many life stories we are given modify the initial assumption that a woman is absolutely doomed to slavery. Maria herself does not succumb; and one of the landladies may finally, after the death of her husband, build up a safe business. These glimpses of hope are necessary. Without them, Maria would have been defeatist.

Finally, the fragment hints at another modification of our expectations: Darnford--lovable, sensitive, and right-thinking--may forsake her. This becomes the novel's most far-reaching attack on the male sex; it is not only the superficial and callous, like George, who may treat women as objects they can play with and then discard. But this is where the story ends. As the only one, the portrait of Darnford suffers because the novel is unfinished. But this is also where the story had to end.[15] A further development of the possibilities in Darnford's character could only be brought out by making the rest of the book a finely shaded psychological novel, by a sharp shift of the author's allegiance from Fielding to Richardson. This may or may not have been inside Mary Wollstonecraft's power as a novelist. The important thing to stress is that this would have resulted in a monstrous hybrid of a novel.

Moreover, in a psychological novel the madness metaphor would have to be modified. As we have seen, Mary Wollstonecraft builds on an idea of madness as aberration, and can therefore use it in a straightforward way to pinpoint her social criticism. Her views are not different from those of the famous Samuel Tuke, whose madhouse reforms in the early years of the nineteenth century marks an important improvement in the treatment of mental diseases. But in the history of more imaginative thinking about madness Tuke belongs, with Wollstonecraft, to an old order. Michel Foucault, who disembowels and quarters Tuke with his usual urbane incisiveness, sees him as profoundly unsympathetic to those inflicted with mental disorders.[16] In Tuke's own day Wordsworth considered madness and idiocy from the inside in a way which Mary Wollstonecraft could not do in the literary form she had chosen. And Godwin, who probably sympathised with her use of the madness metaphor when they fell in love in 1796, moved with the times. In 1817 he published an intriguing novel, Mandeville, in which madness is presented both as an image of political life, and as a psychological condition that must be studied for the insight it gives us into the human condition. But we should curb our belief in progess. *Maria* is not a worse novel because it is a late flowering of eighteenth-century art. And Mary Wollstonecraft's use of madness as metaphor has not lost its usefulness--it is found in modern musicals as well as in certain modern psychiatrists.[17]

NOTES

1. All references are to Gary Kelly's edition, which combines in one volume the earlier *Mary, A Fiction* and *The Wrongs of Woman: Or, Maria. A Fragment* (London, 1976). For the hints about the later stages of the story, see pp. 201-4.

2. In *Mary Wollstonecraft: Her Life and Times* (London, 1971) Edna Nixon calls Mary Wollstonecraft as novelist "an incurable romantic" (p. 231). Both Claire Tomalin's *The Life and Death of Mary Wollstonecraft* (Penguin, 1977), p. 253, and Ralph M. Wardle's *Mary Wollstonecraft: A Critical Biography* (London, 1952), p. 298, consider the choice of medium for her last work unfortunate--she should have written another volume of polemics instead of fiction. Eleanor Flexner, *Mary Wollstonecraft: A Biography* (New York, 1972) criticises characterisation in *Maria* (pp. 248-9).

3. Mitzi Myers, "Unfinished Business: Wollstonecraft's *Maria*", *The Wordsworth Circle*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (1980), pp. 107-14. Myers also mentions the importance of the setting: "Always longing for freedom--personal, social and cosmic--Maria suffers protean immurements: not only discriminatory customs and laws ensnare her but also her own sensibility" (p. 112).

4. Quoted from Tomalin, p. 142.

5. Cf. the discussion of sentimentality in my study of her husband, *William Godwin as Novelist* (London, 1981), p. 114.

6. See *Collected Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft*, ed. Ralph M. Wardle (Ithaca, 1979), p. 331. The new novel is not identified by name in the letter to Godwin of 21 July 1796, in which she mentions an "altered M.S.". But since she wanted him to read a second version and suggest further improvements, this must have been a piece of writing that she considered particularly important, and not just one of her occasional contributions to the *Analytical Review*. Godwin's diary confirms that he read and revised the novel in the early summer of 1796. He looked briefly at the work in April 1797, too. See Kelly's note, p. 215.

7. See *Collected Letters*, pp. 391-2.

8. *Partisan Review*, No. 2, 1977, p. 268.

9. The British Library copy is dated 1791, but the catalogue gives 1788 as the year of publication.

10. The anthology was published under the pseudonym of "Mr. Cresswick, a teacher of elocution" (London, 1789).

11. See *Collected Letters*, pp. 219-20.

12. Quoted from Eric Rothstein, *Systems of Order and Inquiry in Later Eighteenth-Century Fiction* (Berkeley, 1975), p. 12.

13. Rothstein, p. 13.

14. Mary Wollstonecraft liked Hogarth's pictures; and, as Gary Kelly has noticed, one particular scene in *Maria* is clearly indebted to Hogarth's Plate 2 of *Marriage á la Mode* (see Kelly's note to p. 147). This concrete link has a general significance; Mary Wollstonecraft could not care so much for Hogarth without having noticed the way in which his pictures depend on analogies. Each picture has a "main story", as well as "interpolated tales" in the form of paintings on the walls, the content of baskets, objects displayed on tables etc., which supply a rich commentary on the situation. It is equally interesting to remember that *Marriage á la Mode* presents a "mad" world, a London in which marriage is a frightful parody of itself. What should have been a sane, good and happy institution has become a mad and destructive pursuit of vanity.

15. Mitzi Myers suggests that Godwin's criticism may have undermined Mary Wollstonecraft's concept of her own story ("Unfinished Business", p. 110). Gary Kelly mentions another difficulty she may have had to struggle with: "probably she originally conceived Darnford as another version of Imlay throughout the novel, but altered the character to resemble Godwin when experience changed her views" (*Maria*, p. 231).

16. See Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*, tr. Richard Howard (1965), pp. 246-7.

17. I am thinking in particular of R.D. Laing: "In the context of our present pervasive madness that we call normality, sanity, freedom, all our frames of reference are ambiguous and equivocal." From the preface to the Pelican edition of *The Divided Self* (Penguin, 1965), p. 11.

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S.T. COLERIDGE: THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE POETIC IMAGINATION

Romantic poets are commonly thought to have considered themselves divinely inspired during the frenzied moments of poetic composition. It should be fatal to this popular notion that one of the poets of the Lyrical Ballads explained in detail how his mind developed the creative ability. The desire to study his own creativeness seems to be the motive power behind S.T. Coleridge's efforts in his prose works. We may regard his notebooks, letters, criticism, philosophy, religious writings and lectures as his exploration of the source of creative power. As if he hoped to account for creativeness by contemplating the growth of his own mind. And there is no reason why Coleridge's inquiry into the organization of the mind should be experienced as an embarrassment by the enthusiastic readers of his poetry. Rather than ignore or resent this facet of Coleridge's genius, we should read the prose and try to understand it.

It is obvious in the prose texts that distinctions are important for Coleridge's thinking; and he is persistent in his many attempts to have his distinctions understood precisely. It is equally obvious that his thought is not restricted to the distinction between the Fancy and the Imagination. He understands that an exhaustive analysis of the creative process involves a detailed epistemological discussion, for Coleridge's observations of his own mind may, of course, be applied to anybody's mind. Just as the Imagination is a faculty shared by everybody, even if it is cultivated more by poets and other artists.

Coleridge's epistemological thinking is not as nebulous as has often been argued. In his attempt to describe the mind in its creative aspect, Coleridge has as his points of departure ideas at one pole and sense data at the other. But the ideal and the phenomenal poles of reality are not separate in the creative mind. To prove this, Coleridge conceives a system of mental faculties, or mental powers, that has caused confusion and misleading interpretation. It is perhaps helpful to point out that his reasoning about thinking is an attempt to describe *a process* in the mind. The expressions mental "faculty" or "power" may seem mystifying in this context. Coleridge simply wants to describe how we acquire knowledge. How is the flux of sense data informed by our ideas? And, how does the process of realization become awareness? It is possible to understand the so-called faculties that he enumerates as various stages in the process of thinking and in creating. Coleridge's best table of the mental faculties may be found in his marginal comment in his copy of Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie*:

"The simplest yet practically sufficient order of the Mental Powers is, beginning from the

	lowest	highest
	Sense	Reason
Fancy and Imagination are	Fancy	Imagination
Oscillations, *this* connecting	*Understanding*	*Understanding*
R. and U.; *that* connecting	Understanding	Understanding
Sense and Understanding	Imagination	Fancy
	Reason	Sense"[1]

It is, of course, only in theory that the various stages are as clearly distinguishable as the table may lead us to believe. As the process is a unified whole, the stages must overlap, in other words, the mental powers interpenetrate one another. Coleridge's table reveals how each faculty links up with the one on either side. In fact, to serve as links seems to be the main function of Fancy and Imagination. As long as we see this only as a cognitive process, there can be no difference of kind between the faculties only of degree. Each of the faculties has the potential of its neighbours, and in the process all faculties are active at once. The cognition attained through this process is the product of our perception of the interrelatedness of the empirical and the ideal. The epistemological table shows how our sense-perception is linked with Reason, the faculty of our ideas, and therefore with our spiritual life.

Before we consider the stages of the cognitive process, it should be pointed out that Coleridge presupposes two basic concepts: the Will and innate ideas. Our ability to inquire into our process of thinking is the result of a volition, which is an act of directing our attention by will. The Will is a postulate in Coleridge. He believes that the innate moral law in man proves the necessary existence of the Will.[2] Volitions are very important for Coleridge, for only through them can the Will be understood (*Aids*, p.177). But we can never fully understand our ability to will our own acts: "The causative act is - a spiritual and transcendent Mystery...." (*Aids*, p.223). The other prerequisite for the epistemology is Coleridge's belief in innate ideas, or *a priori* knowledge. In *The Friend*, he defines *a priori* knowledge as that which makes all knowledge possible.[3] And in *Logic*, which was published in 1981, Coleridge writes: "The intellectual seed must itself have its birthplace within, whatever excitement from without may be necessary for its generation."[4] This seems to echo "Dejection, and Ode": "Ah from the soul itself must issue forth/ A light, a glory ...." (IV, 1-2).

Coleridge considers the data supplied by the senses as reliable. In *Biographia Literaria*, he argues for a naive-realistic apprehension of the empirical world: "Now in our immediate perception, it is not the mere power or act of the object, but the object itself, which is immediately present."[5] But the senses are only reliable because they are limited and directed through the faculty of the Understanding, or as Coleridge puts it: "Without the forms (formæ formificæ, or potential moulds) of the Understanding the quota supplied by the Sense & its organs (= the Senses, the Eye, the Ear, &c) would have no *substance*, no coherency: without the Sense the forms of the understanding would have <no> *reality*, no purport."[6]

The next stage in the system of constructive thinking is the Understanding, whose object it is to reduce the sense data to a unity. It organizes the evidence of the senses for practical use: "... the UNDERSTANDING, or that which *stands under*, supports, and gives the form to, the *materials* supplied by the Senses - ...." (*Marginalia*, i, 682). In its function of classifier, the Understanding behaves as if it were a computer. But we should not underestimate the role of Coleridge's Understanding. Its regulation of knowledge by category is vital. Coleridge explains this in his *Logic*: "As we cannot become mathematicians but by reasoning according to the laws and the necessities of the primary imagination, so neither can we be logicians or discourse logically, but according to the inherent forms and necessary data of the understanding or reflective faculty."[7]

It is, however, of importance not to ignore the limitations of the Understanding. Man would be no better than an animal if he were left with an Understanding uninformed by Reason. The desire to make this perfectly clear often leads Coleridge towards a clear-cut distinction between the Understanding and Reason that seems to belie the unity of the cognitive process. As Coleridge sees it, the Understanding is the mental faculty that controls everything the empiricist philosophy of Locke and Hume stands for. Coleridge had little patience with the Newtonian model of the world, and his prose writings may be seen as a lifelong struggle against it. In his Logic, he writes that we should keep in mind:

> the delusions of superstition on the one hand and the sophisms of a faithless sensuality on the other that have originated from the undue elevation of logic and the understanding as the logical faculty to an equal rank with philosophy and reason, or the undue degradation of the human soul by subjecting all truth to conceptions formed from the senses, ... (Logic, p.197)

Reason is the feature of our mental make-up which individualizes us as separate beings. Through Reason alone, man can avoid the materialistic notions that threaten to substitute human values. In a marginal comment Coleridge writes: "The Reason is a Participation of Ideas: & strictly speaking, it is no Faculty, but a Presence, an Identification of Being & Having." (Marginalia, i, 682). This is, of course, true of all the so-called "faculties" of mind. They form a unity and any division is arbitrary. Coleridge emphasizes the supralogical character of the Reason by calling it "a Presence."

The common feature of the Understanding and the Reason is the ability to abstract. But without the ideas of the Reason, the Understanding could not achieve unity in multeity. In other words, the Understanding in its function of regulative power needs the Reason to determine the "necessity or universality" of a concept (Logic, p.97). If we confuse Understanding and Reason, we are likely to make other mistakes. The example Coleridge often refers to is a critic who believes the classical unities of drama should be applied to Shakespeare's plays. If a work of art is the work of Reason and Imagination, it should not be judged by the Understanding alone. Reason not only holds together the epistemological poles, it reconciles them and through the Imagination it finds a symbol to express the unified vision, as Shakespeare did. In Logic, Coleridge sums up the functions of the basic epistemological table:

> ... we have defined reason as the source of principles and the understanding as the faculty of rules, the reason being the finis finium or sum of ends, while the understanding is the faculty of means and the sense of the faculty of materials, we

> may proceed further to define the reason as the power of ideas, the understanding the faculty of conceptions, ... (Logic, p.68)

From the distinction between the Understanding, which is likely to be wrong, and Reason, which is intuitive and perhaps divine, Coleridge branches off into ethics. He splits Reason into the pure Reason of his epistemology and the practical, or moral, Reason. Through a contemplation of the practical Reason, he progresses towards a consideration of the possibility of free will. And even if this paper restricts itself to Coleridge's basic epistemology, the practical Reason must be mentioned as the necessary background for his aesthetics. Everybody has some part of the absolute will, Coleridge suggests, and man's finite will ought to follow the guidelines of the practical Reason. But it is possible to reject the practical Reason and let oneself be determined by the senses. This means that as long as our finite will is guided by the absolute will, there is freedom; but there is also the freedom not to observe God's Will and to be determined by the empirical world. The Will may, in other words, choose not to be free by refusing to act in accordance with its regard for our innate moral nature. Only in this sense is there a free will in Coleridge's philosophy.

Imagination in its epistemological sense is called "Primary" by Coleridge. Its function is the basic act of perceiving as a recreating imitative power. The ability is automatic, yet it is the divine in man. For primary perception is active, as we do not receive sense impressions passively. It is an act to create a relation between one's self and the world. Although it is usually an unconscious act, it is still a participation in the infinite creative act to establish a union between perceiver and perceived. What we perceive issues from our own minds, in that it has to be recreated there to be realized.

In Biographia Literaria, Coleridge calls the Imagination the "intermediate faculty" (i,86). It is a unifying mental ability. It coordinates the data received through the senses into conceptual categories in the light of information from the ideas of Reason. It is the function of the Imagination to partake of both the Understanding and the Reason. The Imagination is the necessary epistemological link between our senses and our innate intuitive knowledge. It is the unifier of the discursive vis receptiva and the intuitive vis theoretica. Why is it important to study and cultivate this faculty? In Logic, Coleridge makes it clear why the philosophical inquiry concerning the Imagination is so essential:

> ... we must evermore bear in mind that we are throughout treating of mental processes wholly abstracted from all outward realities, and consequently that we must learn to consider the sense itself, or the faculty of original and constructive imagination, aloof from all sensation and without reference to any supposed passive impression from objects extrinsic to the percipient; but if so, if the passive be wholly separated, what can remain but acts and the immediate results of the same in the subject or agent himself; for this is the very principle from which we commence, that we confine ourselves to the mind, and that the mind is distinguished from other things as a subject that is its own object, ... (Logic, pp.75-76)

The principle of the active mind is the source of Coleridge's often repeated respect for the individual. The Imagination is a universal and an individual mental power. It is universal in that it is an ability we all share, as it is inherent in thinking itself. But it is individualized in that it is a personal creative act in the individual consciousness. Coleridge's whole critique of the mind depends on the acceptance of the Imagination as the active mediator between sense data and ideas.

Fancy is the mental activity of detecting resemblances between objects. Its connection to the senses is reflected in the arbitrary choice of objects for its activity. If it were left to itself, Fancy could only detect obvious resemblances; but informed by Reason it can detect vital resemblances and form them into symbols. In Biographia Literaria, Coleridge links Fancy with memory (i, 202) and in this way indicates its importance, also for the poet. From the ordering of our mental powers in the epistemological chart, it is clear that Fancy is not only absolutely necessary in the cognitive process, but also in the creative effort, for "the higher intellectual powers can only act through a corresponding energy of the lower," as Coleridge is supposed to have said in his table talk.[8] Fancy and Imagination are functions in the cognitive process, and it is not possible to consider one mental faculty without reference to the others.

When the Primary Imagination has done its work, the product mirrors the observed objects. If an individual concentrates on his own consciousness, however, and consciously creates out of his own mind, the synthesis may differ considerably from the reality recorded by the senses. This function of the Imagination is what Coleridge calls "secondary." Through this creative activity we may imagine much more than our senses justify, and the imagining can expand our consciousness. The Imagination gives reproduced images, but it becomes secondary when we will the act of recreation and infuse the images with novelty. The conscious act enables us to leave the familiar world and create a perceptible form even for ideas that are really beyond form or expression. So the Imagination is not only the symbol-perceiving faculty, but in its secondary function also the symbol-making power (Bio.Lit. i, 202). The writing of poetry is a process of making "the external internal and the internal external" (Bio.Lit. ii, 258), for to transmute the factual-objective into the poetic is a mental activity: "Poetry likewise is purely human - all its materials are from the mind, and all the products are for the mind," as Coleridge wrote in his notebook.[9] It is particularly in his emphasis on the aesthetic function of the Imagination that Coleridge went beyond the German philosophers.

There does not seem to have been any doubt in Coleridge's mind about the unity of his system of mental faculties. And a fusion of the texts and the various manuscripts that he left us does amount to a systematic thinking that we may call a philosophical system. It is basically an epistemological system. To sum up: the senses furnish the data, the Understanding supplies the concepts for the categorizing of the sense impressions, the Reason offers ideas that inform the image-making Imagination, the image is the fusion of idea and concept, and in its secondary nature the Imagination is also symbol-making. This is the basic system. The close connection between the epistemology and the aesthetic reasoning is made clear in a Coleridge note from May 1810:

> Frame a numeration table of the primary faculties of Man, as Reason, unified per Ideas, Mater Legum <Arbitrement, Legibilitatis mater> Judgement, the discriminative, Fancy, the aggregative, Imagination, the modifying & fusive, the Senses & Sensations - and from these the different Derivatives of the Agreeable from the Senses, the Beautiful, the Sublime/ the Like and the Different - the spontaneous and the receptive - the Free and the Necessary - And whatever calls into consciousness the greatest number of these in due proportion & perfect harmony with each other, is the noblest Poem.[10]

It is out of the system outlined in this note that the distinctions are drawn. It should be remembered that Fancy and Imagination are more than literary terms, they are cognitive faculties whose functions are separate from those of the Understanding and the Reason. If we choose to disregard the necessity of each of the faculties for the unity of consciousness in attaining knowledge, we choose to make Coleridge's distinctions trivial black-white prejudices.

Coleridge's study of the Imagination intensified when he was trying to specify the qualities of Wordsworth's poetry. The concept was also considered useful by Wordsworth, who used it extensively in his 1815 "Preface" to the Lyrical Ballads. But Wordsworth reduces the function of the Imagination to an image-making technical ability; and he emphasizes the difference between Fancy and Imagination, as if there were no essential unity of the two powers. Coleridge was shocked at his friend's simplistic use of the distinction, for anybody that could confuse Fancy and Imagination might also in the final analysis confuse materialism and idealism. Coleridge seems to have been greatly disappointed in Wordsworth's "Preface."[11] And the disappointment is easy to understand. Wordsworth claims that the gathering and associating of sense impressions are executed by both Fancy and Imagination: "To aggregate and to associate, to evoke and to combine, belong as well to the Imagination as to the Fancy...."[12]. And he makes it clear that for him the difference between Fancy and Imagination is in the material under consideration and the purpose of the consideration. By assigning Fancy and Imagination the same tasks, if not the same materials, Coleridge thought Wordsworth had made it difficult to distinguish clearly between what was really Empiricism and Idealism. There is no doubt that Coleridge was angry, he wrote: "... I am disposed to conjecture, that [Mr. Wordsworth] has mistaken the co-presence of fancy with imagination for the operation of the latter singly." (Bio.Lit., i, 194). For Coleridge the two mental powers exist in our mind side by side as if they were two entirely different tools that have to be used together to give us knowledge.

Imagination presupposes Fancy, but they are as distinctly separate as Reason and Understanding. Fancy and Imagination are not two aspects of the same mental faculty. In spite of the unity in the mind in the cognitive process, the faculties are two separate functions of consciousness. Coleridge writes:

> Repeated meditations led me first to suspect, (and a more intimate analysis of the human faculties, their appropriate marks, functions, and effects matured my conjecture into full conviction,) that fancy and imagination were two distinct and widely different faculties, instead of being, according to the general belief, either two names with one meaning, or, at furthest, the lower and higher degree of one and the same power. (Bio.Lit. i, 60-61)

In spite of Coleridge's emphasis on the difference of the two faculties, John Livingston Lowes is convinced that "Fancy and Imagination are not two powers at all, but one."[13] It is, of course, possible that he is thinking of the unity in acquiring knowledge without taking Coleridge's theoretical division into account. T.S. Eliot, on the other hand, seems to have thought exclusively about the theoretical division when he writes: "You have to forget all about Coleridge's fancy to learn anything from him about imagination - as with Addison - but from Coleridge there is a good deal to learn."[14] But a full understanding of the distinction does not allow us to disregard either the theoretical division or the essential cognitive unity of the mental faculties.

Isolated from Coleridge's epistemology, the Fancy-Imagination distinction may raise more questions than it answers. How are we to understand that Fancy is "passive"? Did he use the word in a special way? Even if Fancy does not create something that does not already exist at least as parts, Fancy is still "active" according to the common meaning of the word, in that it gathers and compares sense data. And at the moment of creation it is, of course, unified with Imagination. What does it mean that Fancy is a "mechanical" ability (Bio.Lit. i, 73), when Coleridge's own examples of Fancy's activity shows that it associates completely at random? Fancy is certainly not "mechanical" in that its product may be predicted. We may also ask: if Fancy offers only subjective expressions and the Imagination only objective statements, why is it Fancy that associates the world around us, whereas Imagination recreates subjectively? If Fancy operates independently of the emotions of the subject, whereas Imagination demands an emotional involvement, why is it Fancy that makes the subjective expressions? In raising these questions I have disregarded the fact that it is the epistemological and aesthetic task of the Imagination to unite the subject and object.

Several of Coleridge's critics stress the difference between Fancy and Imagination to the extent that it becomes simply a distinction between the divine Imagination and a Fancy which is used for all less elevated tasks. I.A. Richards writes: "In Imagination the mind is growing; in Fancy it is merely re-assembling products of its past creation,..."[15]. This sounds true enough, but it obscures the fact that Fancy with its associative power is necessary for the growth of the mind that Richards assigns to the sphere of the Imagination exclusively. The reasons why the distinction is so easily taken to be a black-white distinction are the lack of details in Coleridge's explication and his tendency to emphasize the division.

To avoid the pitfall of the black-white distinction, it must be stressed that there are two mental faculties without forgetting that they are unified in the cognitive process. Newton P. Stallknecht makes this easier to understand: "Imagination produces a system of internally related objects, which are altered by the relations that they bear to one another. Relations established by fancy are external to the objects and do not transform them."[16] It makes perfect sense to see the relations as the deciding factors. The relations that an individual thinks up himself have only a subjective validity and may be modified by their inter-relations. The individual may create new relations if he likes, even relations without an objective existence. The relations in Fancy's sphere have an objective existence and may be verified by anybody, so these relations cannot be changed according to individual desire. But if the secondary Imagination makes use of the verifiable relations, they may lose their verifiability.

Epistemologically, we may sum up Coleridge's philosophy in this way: it is the function of Imagination to create a synthesis of everything existing in space and time. Imagination must always have some sense-impressions as material, even though the synthesis it creates does not necessarily have an objective counterpart. Imagination is the mental power which enables us to realize that reality is various modifications of our own consciousness seen as empirical objects. But even if Imagination creates the images of these objects, the ideas of them come from the Reason, which is our innate divine faculty that offers pure knowledge. So the idea behind knowledge does not stem from Imagination, nor does it make the created synthesis into a concept, for this is the job of the Understanding.

And the Reason can only work through the categories of the Understanding. The unification of empirical knowledge and our ideas is the function of the Imagination. The creative power unites concepts and ideas as an "oscillation" between Reason and Understanding - it unites a priori rules and the empirical material. Just as Fancy is an "oscillation" between our senses and the Understanding. In short, the Reason cannot function without the Understanding and our senses, and the connection is established through Fancy and Imagination.

The identification of Reason and Imagination made by literary critics is simply wrong. D.G. James and Basil Willey both consider Coleridge's Reason and Imagination the same mental power, though used in two different areas. D.G. James writes: "What imagination is in art, the reason is in morality and religion...."[17]. And Basil Willey claims that the Fancy-Imagination distinction is simply the Reason-Understanding used about literature, he believes it is "the same distinction transposed into another key."[18] This is not only a simplification, it is a basic misunderstanding. The difference emerges from Coleridge's accounts of the poetic process. In a cognitive movement of the mind, no mental faculty can function unless all the others are active at the same time. This is also true of the poetic process. The creative poet, Coleridge says, works "the reason in images of the sense, and organizing (as it were) the flux of the senses by the permanence and self-circling energies of the reason, gives birth to a system of symbols, harmonious in themselves, and consubstantial with the truths of which they are conductors."[19] So it is not the Imagination that gives the creative artist insight into the final reality, the insight stems from the information from Reason that reveals the infinite world. But it is the Imagination that enables the poet to express and interpret the infinite.

Coleridge's ideas on education, religion, politics, morals, psychology, and his literary criticism have their basis in his theory of the Imagination and therefore ultimately in his epistemology. This is obvious not only in the traditional Coleridge canon of works such as the Theory of Life, the two Lay Sermons, the "Treatise on Method," the periodical The Friend in its revised version, the literary lectures, and the lectures on the history of philosophy, but also in the brilliant letters, notes, and the extensive marginalia that are now being published.

NOTES

1. Quoted in R.F. Brinkley, Coleridge on the Seventeenth Century (Durham, N.C., 1955) p. 694.

2. Aids to Reflection, ed. H.N. Coleridge (London, 1901) p. 189.

3. The Friend, ed. Barbara E. Rooke, The Collected Works (London etc. 1969) iv. pt.1, 179 n.

4. Logic, ed. J.R. de J. Jackson, The Collected Works (London etc. 1981) xiii, 166 n.

5. Biographia Literaria, ed. J. Shawcross (London, 1907) i, 90.

6. Marginalia, ed. George Whalley, The Collected Works (London etc. 1980) xii, pt.1, 683. < > = inserted later by S.T.C.

7. Logic, p. 266 n.

8. Specimens of the Table Talk of the Late Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ed. H.N. Coleridge (London, 1874) : Aug. 20, 1833, p. 232.

9. The Notebooks, ed. Kathleen Coburn (London 1957-1973) iii, Note 4397 (March 1818).

10. Notebooks, iii, Note 3829 (May 1810).

11. Biographia Literaria, i, 194. Table Talk (Aug. 20, 1833) p. 232.

12. "Preface to the Edition of 1815," Poetical Works. ed. Thomas Hutchinson (London, 1966) p. 755.

13. The Road to Xanadu: A Study in the Ways of the Imagination (London, rev.ed. 1951) p. 103.

14. The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism (London, 1933) p. 79.

15. Coleridge on Imagination (London, 1962) p. 59.

16. Strange Seas of Thought: Studies in William Wordsworth's Philosophy of Man and Nature (Duke U.P. 1945) p. 267.

17. "The Thought of Coleridge," The Major English Romantic Poets: A Symposium in Reappraisal, ed. C.D. Thorpe et al. (Southern Illinois U.P. 1957) p. 110.

18. Nineteenth Century Studies: Coleridge to Matthew Arnold (London, 1964) p. 37.

19. The Statesman's Manual, ed. H.N. Coleridge (London, 1839) pp. 229-230.

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CHARLES DICKENS IN DENMARK

The second half of the 18th century saw a steady rise in the number of translations from English into Danish, and by 1830 English literature was firmly established beside German and French among translations in Denmark. Few people knew English well enough to read the originals, but German translations were read by many people. The 1820's and 1830's saw current translating of and collected editions of the novels of Scott, Cooper, Bulwer-Lytton and Marryat, so translators, publishers and readers were there when Dickens appeared on the scene.[1]

The first mention of Dickens, to my knowledge, is an advertisement by a lending library of new acquisitions from England, among them Sketches by Boz, in Kjøbenhavns Commissions-Tidende on 19 April, 1837. On 3 June, 1837 the weekly magazine Kjøbenhavns Læsesalons literaire og critiske Ugeblad carried a notice praising The Pickwick Papers, but such a notice may be based on notices in foreign periodicals and need not testify to any familiarity with Dickens in Denmark. In 1838 a Copenhagen bookseller listed Sketches by Boz in a catalogue; and in 1839 the Athenæum, a library club in Copenhagen, can be seen to have possessed Sketches by Boz, The Pickwick Papers and Nicholas Nickleby both in English and in German translation.

The first Dickens text to appear in Danish was "Making a Night of it" from Sketches by Boz in Kjøbenhavns Natkikkert, a popular magazine, in December 1838. Nicholas Nickleby appeared in instalments translated by Jacob Behrend in 1839-41, and in 1840 Ludvig Jordan published his translations of The Pickwick Papers and Oliver Twist, much better than Behrend's translation of Nicholas Nickleby: That has been done from the German translation by Hermes and Diezmann (Brunswick, 1838-39), whose inaccuracies Behrend has taken over and augmented. Thus the reader is considerably surprised to find "Dotheboys Hall, at the delightful village of Dotheboys" translated into "Dødningebuskhus, i den yndige Landsby Dødningebusk", the reason being that the German translation has "Todtenburschhaus, im reizenden Dorfe Todtenbursch", later in the book changed, possibly by the printer's devil, into "Todtenbusch".

Dickens's success was immediate and indisputable, and it has been sustained. From around 1850 each major novel was translated simultaneously with the appearance of the original in monthly parts. That was done by Adam Ludvig Joachim Moltke, usually referred to as "L. Moltke", who translated almost everything by Dickens. A great many translations by others of single works have appeared, but Moltke is to a large extent responsible for the impression Dickens has created on Danish readers. His translations have run through several editions (The Pickwick Papers as recently as 1979), and the 4th edition of the collected works (1889-94) was a revised one. Most later editions of any one of Moltke's Dickens translations are re-issues of that 4th edition, in some cases with further revisions besides those necessitated by later spelling reforms.

Altogether the revisions have been done gently, a number of errors and oddities have been swept away, but in some cases new errors have been made, unfortunately. The most important objection to be raised against the revised editions, however, is that so many omissions have been made in some of the novels without that being indicated. Moltke himself scarcely ever made omissions, he was extremely loyal to the original text, which is not a virtue, however, if it becomes synonymous with slavish imitation. In that case it is an indication of uncertainty, and the result is often clumsiness, perhaps long-windedness. That is one of Moltke's faults and the source of many of the quaint expressions that are typical of him. When in A Tale of Two Cities, ch. 2, Dickens talks about "the rumbling and labouring of the coach", Moltke conscientiously translates it into "Karethens Rumlen og Arbeiden", which in the revised edition has become merely "Vognens Rumlen". Glaring misunderstandings and incorrect translations are found of course, but not in great numbers; and it is only fair to add that occasionally he has successfully overcome difficulties, for instance Sam Weller's ending his Valentine-card with "Your love-sick Pickwick" is by Moltke expanded into: "I Tanken giv et lille Nik / til Din til Døden tro Pickwick."

It has frequently been remarked that Moltke's Danish translations sound old-fashioned, even compared with the originals, but then that is true about not only his translations and not only translations of Dickens. Apparently Danish prose-style has changed more than has English prose-style in the intervening period, in fact in his Det danske sprogs historie, vol. 4 (1968) Peter Skautrup mentions a marked difference in Danish literary prose before and after 1870 in that the literary language incorporated many features from spoken Danish.

And when judging Moltke's performance, we should not forget that neither at the grammar school at Aalborg nor at Copenhagen University, where he studied law from 1822 to 1829, had he had much instruction in English, if any; and he had little tradition to rely on for translating many English terms, dialect, substandard speech etc.

Over the past century there have been a few attempts to replace Moltke's version with a new complete, or partly so, Danish translation. Those attempts have been abortive, mainly for economic reasons, but still they have resulted in excellent translations of single novels such as The Pickwick Papers (1942) and Oliver Twist (1943) translated by P. O. Boisen. However, before her death earlier this year Eva Hemmer Hansen completed a new translation of Dickens's collected works, starting in 1974 with Nicholas Nickleby; a few volumes have not yet appeared. That new translation abundantly demonstrates that she was a very competent translator, thus her version of The Old Curiosity Shop is a very great achievement, but unfortunately some of those first published, particularly Bleak House, are marred by a number of errors, obscure expressions etc, possibly the marks of too hasty work. Another objection, not equally applicable to all the translations, is excessive linguistic modernization, apparently an attempt to make Dickens our contemporary willy-nilly. Thus in Hard Times, ch. II, "a board of fact, composed of commissioners of fact, who will force the people to be a people of fact" is translated into "et Vismandsråd af statsansatte datanomer, med den målsætning at fremme databevidstheden i befolkningen." It is all a matter of translator's philosophy, admittedly, but as I see it you are not loyal to a 19th century text if you use the terminology of late 20th century computer technology.

Altogether the new translations have been favourably received by the critics, but according to newspaper notices they have not sold too well. The volumes are big and rather costly, only Hard Times (Strenge tider) has also appeared in paperback in order to cater for special interest in that novel following its being serialized on Danish television.

Numerous translations of single works would deserve to be discussed in a paper more detailed than time allows me today. Some works have seen more translations than others, thus Hard Times and Little Dorrit have been translated only by Moltke and Eva Hemmer Hansen whereas there are seven different translations of A Tale of Two Cities and eight of A Christmas Carol. The most frequently published novels in Danish translation are Oliver Twist and David Copperfield, which have many times been adapted for children. I had my own initiation to Dickens bibliography when as a boy I read Oliver Twist in two different versions and felt surprised: Surely there could be only one book called Oliver Twist! In some of those editions the syntax has been carefully simplified and the text abridged, other such editions are merely abridged, and in a couple of cases what has been produced is only adaptations of old translations. An edition of Oliver Twist from 1884 is a translation of O. Höcker's German adaptation (Breslau, 1874), and it contains some amusing alterations: Nancy is Sikes' daughter, she is knocked down by him, but recovers and becomes Mrs. Maylie's maid! Recent years have seen translations of strip-cartoon Oliver Twists (1970 and 1975).

Most 20th century Dickens translations are illustrated with the old English drawings, with pictures from screen versions or drawings by Danish artists. Besides entire books numerous smaller items and extracts have over the years appeared in periodicals and anthologies, and some translations of entire novels were first serialized in daily papers. Some Dickens anthologies for the use in schools have appeared and been used extensively, otherwise editions in English have not been published in Denmark.

Over the past century and a half there have appeared innumerable reviews of translations and articles on the author and his work, and so many aspects of the Dickens world have been noted and commented on. His humour appears to have been widely appreciated, but some critics have found that his characters are too often exaggerated. His broad paintings of English society have given rise to comments and comparisons, but naturally some readers have found his descriptions excessively lengthy. An early critic of Bleak House in 1853 said that the action of the novel is intricate and difficult to follow when you read it in instalments (Moltke's translations were published in that way), but far from uninteresting thanks to the many wonderful characters. Some critics have emphasized that Dickens's novels are morally flawless. In present day reviews Dickens is usually treated as an old and dear acquaintance, not without faults such as an inclination to sentimentalism, but very much alive and exciting. Two translations of Forster's Life of Charles Dickens were published in the same years as the original (1872 to 1874): One partly translated by Moltke, who died in 1872, the other by F. C. Sørensen. The forthcoming publication of the latter translation was advertised first, and Sørensen's publisher, Immanuel Rée, who was understandably alarmed at the prospect of a rival translation in the small market of Denmark, and possibly Norway, inserted indignant protests in Nordisk Boghandlertidende late in 1871, when Eibe, Moltke's publisher, had announced the publication of Moltke's translation as a supplement to his translations of the novels. Sørensen launched a violent attack on Moltke in a pamphlet entitled *Literatur og Makulatur eller: Hvorledes Hr. L. Moltke oversætter John Forster, Charles Dickens m. fl.*, occasionally overshooting his mark, but irrefutably demonstrating a number of inaccuracies and misunderstandings in Moltke's translation of vol. I. To which we may add that volumes II and III, done by others, are even worse, and that Sørensen's translation is on the whole reliable. Moltke's powers may have been dwindling in the last years of his life, but it has also been suggested that he merely lent his name to the translation of Forster's *Life of Charles Dickens*, vol. I.[2]

The earliest considerable piece of Danish Dickens criticism is Poul Levin's sympathetic study in his book *Egne og Stæder* (1899). Levin's awareness of symbols in Dickens's novels forms a striking contrast to Adolf Hansen's very naturalistic attitude in his entry on English literature in *Illustreret Verdens-Litteraturhistorie*, vol. III (1901).[3] The most impressive Danish contribution to Dickens scholarship is the work of C. A. Bodelsen, who published both a number of articles in English or in Danish and the book *Dickens og hans bøger* (1957), a scholarly book that is not beyond the average reader. Bodelsen pays attention to Dickens's social criticism and to his use of symbols in particular. Bodelsen's colleague as a professor, the art historian Christian Elling, combined his academic branch of scholarship and his private interest in Dickens when he wrote a small book *Man læser Dickens* (1949), an amusing study of houses and furniture reflecting the characters who live there. An instance of ideology criticism is Jørgen Spodsberg's full-length study of *Bleak House*, entitled *Familiens dødskamp* (1976),[4] exposing the petit-bourgeois character of the novel's conception of society. Spodsberg expressly dissociates himself from Henning Krabbe's discussion of Dickens in *Verdens Litteraturhistorie*, vol. 8 (1973), where the light and dark aspects of Dickens's world are seen as two possible approaches for the critic. Otherwise such discussions are rare in Danish Dickens criticism. Danish critics have frequently relied on or been inspired by non-Danish scholars, rarely by earlier Danish scholarship. I have here tried to give you an impression of the variety of Dickens studies in Denmark, but my few remarks have not done justice to them and even less to the number of studies which have most unjustly not been mentioned at all.

In his book *H. C. Andersen og Charles Dickens. Et Venskab og dets Opløsning* (1951)[5] Elias Bredsdorff thoroughly examines Dickens's relations with Hans Christian Andersen, who met the Englishman in England in 1847 and stayed five weeks as his guest at Gad's Hill in 1857. In *Household Words*, Feb. 28, 1852 Dickens quoted an Arabic proverb, "When they came to shoe the Pasha's horse, the beetle stretched out his leg", and he added the comment, "This is exquisite; we commend it to the attention of Hans Christian Andersen." Around Christmas 1860 Andersen came across this and immediately wrote his fairy-tale "Skarnbassen" ("The Beetle").

Did Dickens otherwise exert any influence on the works of Andersen or other creative writers in Denmark? Vilhelm Andersen belonged to a school of scholars who confidently found influence, and in his Illustreret dansk Litteraturhistorie, vol. IV (1925) he regards Dickens and other 19th century English novelists as of fundamental importance for 19th century Danish literature. Nowadays we are more guarded, but scarcely anybody would deny that an author like Dickens has set his mark on much later literature, and his name frequently appears in Danish literary histories and monographs. His influence has been seen on Andersen's novel De to Baronesser (1848), which, however, in a much more direct sense shows the impact of Scott's The Heart of Midlothian. Hans Hertel has pointed out that Hans Egede Schack refers to i.a. Dickens's David Copperfield in the preparatory notes for his novel Phantasterne (1857) and that he read The Pickwick Papers while working on his second novel Sandhed med Modification, which he never finished (ed. 1954 by Carl Dumreicher and 1968 by Hans Hertel). In the first novel the protagonist tells the story of his own life as David Copperfield does, and in the second fragmentary one the idea of a Society against Lying, which is set up by four of the characters, may be derived from the Pickwickians.[6] The title of Vilhelm Topsøe's Skizzer af Xox (1863) is clearly modelled on Sketches by Boz, but the two books are otherwise very different. In his Vilhelm Topsøe (1922), p. 185 Vilhelm Andersen sums up Topsøe's achievement as an effort to "reconcile Thackeray's satire with Dickens's humour" and traces certain scenes and characters in Topsøe's works to Dickens's novels, particularly Bleak House.

Paul V. Rubow has pointed out the similarity between the openings of Vilhelm Bergsøe's novel Fra den gamle Fabrik (1869) and A Tale of Two Cities.[7] Personally I think that novel owes a great deal to Dickens, e.g. to The Cricket on the Hearth, and in "Aron Meiers Testamente", one of Bergsøe's Christmas stories, old Aron meeting his nephew bears strong resemblances to Scrooge meeting Fred in A Christmas Carol.[8] In Harald Kidde's novels Aage og Else (1902-03) and De Blinde (1906) the characters read Dickens and the parents read him aloud to their children, as Kidde's own mother had done.[9] In the former novel, young Tue even uses Dickens's novels for throwing to the wolves that pursue his sleigh when he is playing "Siberia" in the twilight of the room, and those "black Dickens books" make excellent food for wolves, we are told.[10] Kidde once referred to Dickens, Flaubert, Goncharov and Turgenev as models always to be kept in mind by novelists.[11] His own prose-style may in a few instances remind us of Dickens in Moltke's translation,[12] and in a private letter he referred to those translations for support in a discussion of linguistic correctness.[13] The Dickens that Kidde knew was, primarily at any rate, Dickens as translated by Moltke, and obviously any examination of impact must keep that in mind.

But Dickens has set his mark on the other arts as well. Thus the artist Christian Kongstad Petersen (1862-1940), though he never wanted to illustrate a Dickens edition, produced many drawings on the basis of the novels, David Copperfield in particular.[14] Between 1919 and 1924 Nordisk Films Kompagni in Copenhagen produced screen versions of Our Mutual Friend, Great Expectations, David Copperfield and Little Dorrit,[15] and over the years a number of screen versions produced in other countries have been shown in Danish cinemas and on television. Beginning in 1922 the actor Svend Aggerholm arranged about 800 "evenings with Dickens", on which occasions he gave readings from the novels abridged by himself. In 1927 he formed a Danish branch of the Dickens Fellowship in London, which is mentioned in The Dickensian from the spring of 1928, and which existed till around 1940, the year of Aggerholm's death. Dramatizations of Dickens's novels, of Oliver Twist in particular, have frequently been performed in Danish theatres; actually at the moment Lionel Bart's musical Oliver is on in Copenhagen, and if I had not been in Helsinki I should have been there tonight.

Translation, literary criticism, literature, drawing, the theatre etc. all show some traces of the work of Charles Dickens, and not surprisingly, perhaps, Bevingede ord, T. Vogel-Jørgensen's well-known dictionary of quotations (1st ed. 1940), contains 28 entries attributed to Dickens, some in English, some in Danish. "Forbi, forbi, og det blive alle Historier" ("Finished! finished! and so will all stories be"), like that runs the last line of Andersen's fairy-tale "Grantræet" ("The Fir Tree"), and he quoted those words at the end of his description of his visit to Dickens in 1857. As far as we can judge, the story of "Charles Dickens in Denmark" will never be finished.

NOTES

1. The place of publication is everywhere Copenhagen unless stated otherwise.
2. Paul V. Rubow advanced that conjecture in his article "En ny dansk Dickens"

in Politiken, 13-4-1941, repr. in his Mit Bibliotek og andre Betragtninger (1943), pp. 42-50. In his entry on Moltke in Dansk biografisk Leksikon, 3rd ed., vol. X (1982), repr. from 2nd ed., vol. XVI (1939) Paul Læssøe Müller, himself an able Dickens translator, accuses Moltke of having used in some instances incompetent ghost translators.

3. Published also as a separate book entitled Den engelske og nordamerikanske Litteraturs Historie i Omrids (1902).

4. Skriftrække fra Institut for Litteraturvidenskab, vol. 8.

5. Engl. ed. entitled Hans Andersen and Charles Dickens: a Friendship and its Dissolution (1956).

6. Hans Hertel, Omkring Phantasterne (1969), p. 25; Sandhed med Modification, ed. by Hans Hertel (1968), p. 217.

7. Paul V. Rubow, Vilhelm Bergsøe og hans store Roman (1948), p. 44.

8. In Vilhelm Bergsøe, Julefortællinger (1893 and 1929).

9. Harald Kidde, Artikler og Breve, ed. by J. M. Jensen (1928), p. 11.

10. Aage og Else, vol. I, 4th ed. (1946), pp. 12-13, 41.

11. Chr. Rimestad, Digtere i Forhør (1906), p. 73.

12. E.g. De Blinde, opening of ch. V.

13. Artikler og Breve, p. 63.

14. The best reproductions of his drawings are found in Chr. Kongstad Petersens Tegninger. Et Udvalg ved Jacob Paludan (1937), but a much wider range of pictures is offered in Jan Zibrandtsen, Christian Kongstad Petersen 1862-1940 (1971).

15. Marguerite Engberg, Den danske stumfilm 1903-1930 (1968).

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PERCEIVING THE SINGLE WOMAN: ELIZABETH SEWELL'S THE EXPERIENCE OF LIFE

This paper is intended as a modest contribution to what is known as feminist criticism. In itself this modest claim is a rash one as what exactly is to be understood by "feminist criticism," is far from self-evident. As Elaine Showalter (1979:22) observed as late as 1979, in an article attempting to define feminist poetics, "of all the approaches to English Studies... feminist criticism is the most isolated and the least understood." Nor is this lack of understanding entirely limited to male academia. As is indicated by the many articles written by feminists attempting to assess and revise the movement of the last ten years, we too are bedevilled by a sense of uncertainty that is expressed in attempts to isolate and understand the qualities that can justly be said to make criticism feminist. This contemplation of the feminist naval has not been made any easier by the sheer bulk of writing that has come out of the growth of women's studies as a separate field or by the interdisciplinary nature of much of this writing. One thing is clear in this context, however, to adopt the simplest possible definition, as Betty Richardson (1982:91) seems to do in a recent article in the PLLA, namely scholarship by and about women is inadequate. In an early phase this was, indeed, felt to be enough. What was required was simply to allow women scholars to add the study of women writers to the body of scholarship on male writers and to study the role of women characters in literature. But, it soon became apparent that such an enterprise required a revision of received concepts of femininity and of the modes of criticism that reflected the assumptions of a - hitherto - primarily, male establishment. It would seem, then, that a minimum requirement for a feminist is that his/her approach should depart from traditional assumptions, and from methods, that are felt to be unsuited to the study of women's literature and women in literature.

In the earlier phase of the growth of feminist criticism most scholars concentrated on the androcentric model: the study of women in literature aiming at a revision of male critical theory and a re-reading of canonical texts. Later studies have tended towards a more gynocentric focus, that is to say they have concentrated on women's writing in the belief that it contains a record of female experience that clearly distinguishes it from writing by men, cf Showalter 1981:184-87. Up to now such studies have usually been either in depth analyses of the works of the "great" women writers in an attempt to define a special female aesthetic - the most ambitious work in this field to date is Gilbert and Gubar's mammoth, The Mad Woman in the Attic - or surveys of the works of women writers great and small aiming to define the features that they may have in common. (The classic in this genre is already Elaine Showalter's A Literature of Their Own which traces a development in women's writing from feminine, to feminist to female.) In adopting the gynocentric model, the feminist critic has borrowed from, or adapted, received methods of criticism in an attempt to address the questions in what way is women's literature different from men's literature and how can we define the female mythos that is presumably inscribed in women's writing?

But, one of the major problems confronting feminists has been, and is, identifying this mythos. Trapped as we are in an academic tradition that has defined women in comparison with men as the other, the anomaly, as object rather than subject, we, like our male colleagues, have difficulty in perceiving the qualities unique to women that are concealed by the cultural stereotype. Nonetheless, while it has proved easier to identify the stereotype than it has to perceive the type that it conceals, there does appear to be agreement among feminists that at the core of the female mythos is the search for self-definition and that traces of this are to be found in writing by women.

This female mythos has been chiefly sought in the fiction of the "great" women writers. Lesser writers are usually relegated to surveys of minor fiction where trends both literary and social are observed and analysed. There have, thus, been fewer in depth studies of minor writers, partially no doubt through an unwillingness to grant them a literary status they do not deserve. Yet, while the books written by minor writers may well lack the artistic merit of the great, they can still provide valuable insights into women's understanding of their own situation. Moreover, as these minor writers wrote primarily for a female audience, their books are very much a discussion between women about the experience of being a woman. The novel that I intend to analyse here for its insights into the female mythos is an example of just such a book.

Written in 1852, The Experience of Life was very popular. This may surprise the modern reader for it has very little plot, very little dramatic tension and, apart from the narrator herself, no character that is portrayed in any depth. The development of this character is, however, treated with considerable subtlety, and the novel is undoubtedly a contribution to the literary representation of human psychology. It is, moreover, an early example of fiction treating of the "self sufficient autonomous woman who chooses not to be married": a subject that has, if Annis Pratt (1981:115) is to be believed, always fascinated the reading public. For not only does the book include the fairly stereotypical figure of the woman who turns to and helps her family in a crisis, but it also contains a portrait of a fulfilled "old maid". It was to this portrait that Charlotte Yonge (1853:239), for instance, attributed the chief charm of the novel and, indeed, much of its attraction for women readers must have lain in the fact that it was an exposé of an existential problem that confronted many middle-class women in the mid nineteenth century, namely the likelihood that they would never be able to marry.

Although demographers will tell us that women's chances of marriage, in fact, improved with industrialization cf. Branca 1979:3-4, there was a widespread belief at the time that a large proportion of the female population would never marry. In the middle classes, too, where marriages were quite often delayed for financial reasons, many women could expect to be single for several years even though they would eventually marry. Such women, if they lacked private means, or if their relations were unable to support them, might also suffer real hardship as genteel employment was hard to come by and poorly paid. Moreover, with the increasing emphasis upon the social, moral and emotional importance of the family, woman's vocation was more than ever felt to be marriage and motherhood. Single women were, thus, regarded as a troublesome anomaly.

Responses to the problem varied, of course, from Greg's (1869:280-81) notorious demand for compulsory emigration - he felt that a surplus of women was actually pernicious to the health of the social body - to practical demands for improved education and professional opportunities that would allow those women who could not marry at least to support themselves. We are not concerned here, however, with the public solutions that were offered, but with the private experience of the woman who felt that it was her lot in life to remain single. For, where the public debate focussed upon the single woman as a social problem, the novel like letters and diaries, could describe the essence of the experience of singlehood. As one contemporary (North British Review 1862:63) observed, the novel was allowing women to show an "uncompromising sincerity" in matters of personal feeling that they could not readily show in life.[1]

Thus, in the novel, the reading public, he felt, were confronted with a "living soul, a living voice... a voice so sad, so truthful, so earnest, that they felt as if some intimate secret were at once communicated and witheld... - the secret of a woman's heart, with all its needs, its struggles, its aspirations."

As the title suggests, The Experience of Life deals with precisely this, a woman's experience of her life with its needs, its struggles, its aspirations. Moreover, it is a record of the experience of a woman who never expects to be married. From the beginning, the first person narrator, Sally, feels herself to be marked out by ill health as "one of that numerous race who are set apart from their earliest childhood for patient endurance" (1:14), and thinking herself "a sickly, unattractive, uninteresting person", she finds the very thought of marriage "absurd" (1:168). But, although Sally, seems to have resigned herself to the single state from an early age, she still reveals, as Shirley Forster (1976:210) has convincingly argued, considerable emotional ambivalence in speaking of the consequences of remaining single. Thus, the spectacle of her sister's married happiness rather shakes what she calls her "old maid's theory of the blessings of a single life" (2:269) and she recognizes that her married friend has experienced "dearer joys and more alluring hopes for this world" than she has (2:289). When, despite her expectations to the contrary, Sally does in fact receive an offer of marriage, this ambivalence is striking. After refusing this offer through a sense of duty to her widowed mother, Sally feels "a curious mixture of sadness and relief" (2:143). To marry she thinks, would in some ways be a regression "creating interests for this world", (2:143-44) yet "the idea of an affection exclusively one's own" (2:144) is tempting. While on the one hand Sally confesses that her spirits are so "worn" (2:143) at this point in her life that she dreads "any change though it might be for happiness" (2:143), on the other the thought of marriage is a pleasant "day dream" and she does not wonder at "persons wishing to be married" (2:144). Her feelings towards the man in question reveal a similar ambiguity. She does indeed, as she says, grant him "the only feeling approaching to love, which I ever bestowed upon any man" (2:144), but, she seems to sense that there is something lacking nonetheless and wonders if her feelings for him would have been warmer had she been younger.

In the light of what the reader has already been told in the course of the novel, Sally's uncertainty is quite comprehensible. Not only is her parents' marriage represented as unsatisfactory - her mother is the victim of her father's fecklessness - but the question of whether the married state is truly one to be sought after has been debated on a number of occasions in the novel in a way that casts doubt upon its desirability. From the conversation of those around her Sally learns, indeed, that if women do not marry they "must be lonely and wretched and almost despised" (1:287) and from novels that "after concentrating into a few years, the sorrows of a long life", the unmarried woman "invariably dies of consumption" (1:288). But not unnaturally, the narrator reacts to the way in which marriage is thus commonly talked of, feeling such talk to be something "repugnant" to her "principles and tastes" (1:287), and, as an antidote to the commonplace view of society in general, has already consulted the opinion of the two women whom she respects. As Elaine Showalter (1979:146) has pointed out, Elizabeth Sewell wished to play down the importance of marriage, thus, Sally's confidante, describes the desire to be married at all costs as "a false degrading principle", and assures Sally that "there is not a more miserable being in existence than a woman past the first excitement of youth" who aims at marriage above all else (1:284). Sally's Aunt Sarah is even more explicit. She compares the will to be married at any price to the will "to be hanged" (1:258) and points, too to the risks involved in contracting any marriage, remarking sardonically, that "you can't buy a new husband as you can a new dress" (1:259).

In her further consideration of the advantages and disadvantages of the married state Aunt Sarah inclines to the view that the single woman, though inferior in the eyes of society, gains spiritual advantages: advantages that are denied to her married sister. In support of this, she quotes the biblical passage that justifies a spinster's resignation to her lot, "the unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and spirit; but she that is married careth for the things of the world, how she may please her husband" (1:259). Later she urges Sally to feel "that to be an old maid is to be able to live to God, and to work for your fellow creatures in an especial manner" (1:261). And Sally herself, while characteristically unable to decide whether the unmarried or married state is "in itself happier or better than the other" (2:18-19), evidently believes that if marriage is a better alternative this is chiefly so for "weaker" characters, such as her younger sister, who lack "firmness" and are too easily influenced by others.

It would be easy to dismiss ideas such as these as spiritual hubris and as a rationalization of the social disadvantages that spinsters were known to suffer, as well as an appeal for sublimation of the sexual instinct. The portrait of Aunt Sarah, with her piety, her good works for the poor, would then simply be a didactic illustration of spinsterhood as a state blessed in the eyes of God rather than man. The portrait of Aunt Sarah, however, carries more weight than this. Her life is shown to the reader, not solely as one of pious resignation and service as a handmaid of the Lord, but as that of a self-sufficient, active and respected member of society whose life has been rewarding in purely human terms. Aunt Sarah's character, we are told, is "masculine in its strength of will and vigour of action" (1:25). Her independent spirit has made her insist on living alone, and in these days before the passing of The Married Women's Property Act, she has had the foresight to protect herself against predatory males, by putting her own money in trust and securing a life insurance upon herself. Her life has been an independent one, but not lonely: she has satisfied her emotional needs by guiding and instructing younger women, and by the end of her life has acquired a natural authority that even Sally's worldly brothers and sisters respect.

Not only does Aunt Sarah provide the reader, and Sally too for that matter, with living proof that a spinster can be valued and respected cf. 1:257, but she also preaches a down-to-earth doctrine of self-help and self-respect, a doctrine that runs counter to contemporary notions of spinsters as creatures to be pitied and of women as creatures whose chief desire is to have another to depend upon, and whose chief pleasure is in self-sacrifice. Even when Sally is a small child, Aunt Sarah urges her "to look to [herself], never to be a burden to others" (1:32). Later when Sally learns from her that "there's more honour and more profit both for this world and the next in fifty pounds gained by your own labour, than in five hundred doled out by the pity of others" (1:175). Furthermore, Aunt Sarah has no patience with Sally's masochistic desire for self-sacrifice - a desire that we know so well from the writing of women in the nineteenth century - George Elliot included. When Sally wishes to take upon herself, the moral and financial responsibility for her mother and younger siblings, Aunt Sarah points directly to the sinfulness of such a desire. For, by sacrificing herself Sally will prevent others from doing their duty and will inflict unnecessary guilt upon them, and moreover, by making a martyr of herself, she will also be laying herself open to resentful feelings (2: 93-94).

Aunt Sarah, functions, then, both as mentor, preaching a healthy moral code, and what we today would call a "role model" for Sally, showing by her example that a single life can be fulfilled and happy and attempting at the same time "to rouse [Sally's] spirit and inspire [her] with confidence in [her] own powers" (1:33). Thus, in a final sermon, Aunt Sarah urges Sally, to study, to work, to follow the intellectual and political movements of her day, as she herself has, to live, in fact, a full and purposeful life (2:235-

247).

We should not conclude, however, that this novel is little more than a collection of sermons on the virtues and possibilities of the single life implanted in a flimsy fictional framework. Preaching there is, but the main focus throughout is upon Sally's personal development from doubt and uncertainty - not only about her position as an unmarried woman, but also about faith and the meaning of life itself - to affirmation. At the time of narration Sally is sixty years old. For her the experience of life has to a large extent involved efforts to become an Aunt Sarah and in the eyes of the nieces who now seek her advice she has succeeded. Moreover, through them she has grown "more joyous, more childlike" (2:288). Starting as a child of the romantic agony, in contrast to the rational Aunt Sarah, Sally has had to struggle to regain the assurance of previous ages. But, in the village where she awaits her own death, on a spot where a new church is built beside stones that "tell of the creed of generations gone by", she finally experiences an intimation of the peace of the spirits departed: those who like Aunt Sarah "rest in hope" (2:290).

The sense that Sally has that she is at one with the past reminds us, too, that her story is not to be read only as a private spiritual autobiography. As the opening pages of the book tell us, her life, like the life of those around her, has universal significance. Aunt Sarah, and Sally are not simply two old maids trying to make the best of their lives, but "individual souls" in the vast multitude "for whom there has been a special day of trial, a special providence and guidance" and for whom "there will be a special day of reckoning and doom" (1:6). They are Everywoman and indeed Everyman. Thus, the novel places the experience of the single woman at the centre. She is no longer defined as marginal or anomalous, but like all other human beings "one though many - united though separate, - ever living, though ever dying, with interests with began with Creation and cannot cease with Time" (2:293). Thus, the single woman's experience of life is made The experience of life, and she ceases in this novel - to be an object and becomes a central speaking subject.

NOTES

1. Women journalists, for instance, writing about women's conditions at the time adopt an impersonal tone and distance themselves from the subject by the use of the imperial journalistic "we", cf. Oliphant: 1858:139-54.

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AN EXAMPLE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF ARCHITECTURE IN A PAIR OF BLUE EYES (1873) BY THOMAS HARDY

> XXXVII
>
> 'After many days.'
>
> Knight roamed south, under colour of studying Continental antiquities.
>
> He paced the lofty aisles of Amiens, loitered by Ardennes Abbey, climbed into the strange towers of Laon, analyzed Noyon and Rheims. Then he went to Chartres, and examined its scaly spires and quaint carving: then he idled about Coutances. He rowed beneath the base of Mont St. Michel, and caught the varied skyline of the crumbling edifices encrusting it. St. Ouen's, Rouen, knew him for days; so did Vezelay, Sens, and many a hallowed monument besides. Abandoning the inspection of early French art with the same purposeless haste as he had shown in undertaking it, he went further, and lingered about Ferrara, Padua, and Pisa. Satiated with mediævalism, he tried the Roman Forum.
>
> A Pair of Blue Eyes

I have undertaken to reveal in this paper the reason for Hardy's choice of these particular places or buildings in the passage under discussion. A cursory run-through is certainly puzzling, from a geographical point of view alone. Where is Ardennes Abbey, for example? Perhaps I am not the only one who had not heard of it before, and indeed thought at first that it had some connection with the Ardennes (Belgium). This passage is like a Christmas Quiz (in a newspaper) in which the competitor is asked to spot the old man out - or odd men out! Ardennes Abbey would be the obvious candidate for such a description. Then, we would perhaps ponder on Noyon. As far as I am concerned, this too was an unknown place. Henry Knight seems to have adopted a lackadaisical attitude to his study of 'Continental antiquities', if we are to assume that he visited the places in the order in which they appear on the page. Amiens, in the north of France, is not too far from Laon - which is itself roughly half way between Amiens and Rheims. Noyon is in the same 'département' as Beauvais (Oise), which in spite of having a famous cathedral, is not mentioned. But Ardennes Abbey was not in my Petit Larousse, nor yet in any of my many architectural reference books. I finally traced it, by way of a Michelin guide, to the Caen area of Normandy. Hardy's list is alliterative and elegant; but the places are far apart, and the itinerary seems to lurch from east to west and back, and from south to north and back, in a totally unplanned way. Chartres, one would expect; but why travel next to Coutances on the Cotentin peninsula without making a call at Le Mans? Coutances is not far from the Mont St. Michel. Rouen Cathedral is not mentioned, but the church of St. Ouen in Rouen is. From there, it is a long way to Vezelay in Burgundy; while Sens lies some 60 miles south of Paris. Henry Knight's journey in France alone shows a pleasantly eccentric frame of mind. The same is true of his Italian journey.

We must now turn our attention to Knight's statement a few pages later in Chapter 37. I quote:

> '... it may perhaps interest you to know that I have been attempting the serious study of Continental art of the Middle Ages ...'
>
> (p.401)

This is our clue: these buildings must have something special about them for the serious student of early French Gothic. The key to the solution, however, lies in: Thomas Hardy A Bibliographical Study by R.L. Purdy (1954) where he quotes Hardy as follows under the year 1914:

> 'Sir Arthur Blomfield, with whom I was working, first set me on the track of early French Gothic, of which he was a great admirer, and I won as an architectural prize the books of Nesfield and Norman Shaw on the same subject.'[1]
>
> (p.159)

To cut a long story short, Hardy won £3 as a prize for the best design for a country mansion offered by William Tite under the auspices of the Architectural Association, of which Hardy was a member, the Judges' report awarding the prize being read out on 17 April 1863; and it would appear that he spent the money on the two books, Architectural Sketches from the Continent by Richard Norman Shaw, 1858, and Specimens of Mediaeval Architecture Chiefly Selected from Examples of the 12th and 13th Centuries in France & Italy and Drawn by W. Eden Nesfield, 1862. As far as can be ascertained, these books did not remain in Hardy's possession long enough to

1. Richard Norman Shaw, R.A. (1831-1912) and William Eden Nesfield (1835-1888).

be in his library at Max Gate. Presumably Hardy bought these books at the instigation of his employer, A.W. Blomfield, and it is easy to imagine his enthusiasm on first handling these beautiful folio volumes - a young man not yet 23 who must have wondered whether he would ever make the traditional architectural tour of France and Italy to see these masterpieces for himself. In the meantime he was, I suggest, totally captivated by the finely executed measured drawings therein and must have felt, as he gazed at them, as Keats did on first looking into Chapman's Homer. And thus, through the pages of Nesfield, Hardy journeyed vicariously in France and Italy and made the character, Henry Knight, in A Pair of Blue Eyes take the same route, visiting the places in alphabetical order, according to Nesfield, that is, with one or two deviations.[1]

That Hardy looked very closely at Nesfield[2] can be deduced from his having copied a considerable number of details from it into his Architectural Notebook, which was reproduced in facsimile and published in 1966 by the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society which holds the copyright. Hardy may, of course, have used other notebooks too while engaged in architectural work, but only this one has survived to become an item in the Hardy Memorial Collection in the Dorset County Museum. As editor of this Architectural Notebook I have always since its publication kept an eye open for further discoveries which might help to identify more of the sketches in it than I was able to do at the time; and I am glad to say that in the intervening years, much more has come to light concerning Hardy's architectural career. This has been incorporated into a larger study on which I am engaged. One of the most important single discoveries has been the study Hardy made of Nesfield's book as confirmed in the details he copied into The Architectural Notebook[3].

The details I chose to have photographed for this paper are a select group which appear three times: first in Nesfield, then as copied into Hardy's notebook, and finally as recorded in chapter 37 of A Pair of Blue Eyes.

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1. Strictly speaking, the plates in Nesfield are not in alphabetical order all the way through.

2. Norman Shaw does not seem to have interested Hardy so much, if at all: firstly, I imagine, because he does not include so many plates on French Gothic - only 40 out of 100 to be exact - and secondly, because Nesfield's book was the more recent of the two when Hardy acquired them.

3. For the sake of variety I shall use 'notebook' in this paper as an alternative to The Architectural Notebook.

One can understand why Hardy was immediately struck with the Ardennes Abbey drawing (plate 5 in Nesfield). He would have noticed the homely touch of the peasant woman with the child in her arms and the piles of hay (?) visible through the half-open door, showing that the abbey - or part of it at least - had been converted into a great barn for the local community.. After all, he was a countryman himself. Wooden doors, especially if decorated with geometric patterns, fascinated him and he added this one to his collection on page 13 of the notebook. (It is not an exact copy.) As a Gothic craftsman too he was interested by the trefoil arch that seems to form part of the tympanum, and recorded its shape, faithfully this time, on page 35, though in reverse.

What made Hardy pick on this particular detail from Coutances (plate 31) - a tiny flower-shaped corbel, or rather, decorative terminal to a shaft (reproduced on page [26] of his notebook)? We shall never know. But I suggest that it comprises within itself, for Hardy at least, the whole of the cathedral, just as the smallest insect, according to Rodin in his book on French cathedrals, offers a representation, abridged yet total, of the universe.

Next, the carved shapes of oxen on the tower of Laon Cathedral took his fancy (plate 37). I expect he knew why they had been placed there; it was by way of commemorating their contribution to the building of the church, as it was they who dragged up the hill the heavy stones which were used in its construction. And is it not appropriate that these head-and-shoulder skteches of humble beasts should share page 27 with figures of angels and saints and a tiny Christ bearing his cross?

At Noyon he found much to admire in a particularly fine chapter house. First he copied from plate 63 the window tracery from the west side of the building on page [12] of the notebook, together with one example of the crocketed buttresses, both seen from the front. From plate 64 he carefully reproduced a chimney on a slightly bigger scale (page 33 in his note-book). Several of the same type can be seen on the Mont St. Michel drawings by Nesfield. Did Hardy then copy this functional detail as being the best example of its kind? Perhaps, but he may also have been surprised to note its resemblance to one of the chimneys at Athelhampton Hall, a Tudor manor house near Dorchester, which he knew well, having painted a watercolour of the house in c. 1858. Then from plate 66, again from the chapter house, he copies mouldings of the base of the shaft and a section of the rose window (page 106 in the notebook) both in reverse. The importance he always attached to technical matters is revealed here.

From plate 78 he made a neat drawing (front view) of a round arch divided into two smaller arches supported by a central pillar. It was perhaps the stark simplicity of this Romanesque design - a rather common motif, one imagines, - that fascinated him, the stonework between the sweep of the bigger arch covering the two smaller ones, being left blank. This detail was taken from the triforium of the abbey of St. Remi at Rheims (page [48] in the notebook).

Then, from plate 83, the section of the base of the large columns round the apse of Sens Cathedral took his eye. This he reproduced, again back to front as it were, on page [107] of the notebook.

Hardy's drawing at the top of page [48] in the notebook of a pointed arch with quatrefoil tracery just below the apex, the arch itself being divided by a single shaft creating two equal trefoil openings, was taken from the west porch of the duomo at Ferrara, plate 92 in Nesfield and the only Italian example in this group. This feature would have been chosen, I suggest, as a contrast to the triforium arch at St. Remi and perhaps to show the development in style from the Romanesque to the later Gothic.

What conclusion can be drawn from these few details that Hardy copied from Nesfield? Are the same principles at work in the Wessex Novels? Omitting the purely technical examples - the sections of mouldings and the like - these sketches often show Hardy's ability to select one detail to represent the whole. To gaze at the west porch of Ferrara is an overwhelming experience. How can one take it all in? But pick one distinctive detail - as Hardy did - and the camera of the brain will bring the rest into focus in later years. That particular quatrefoil tracery is unique to Ferrara... Similarly, in Jude the Obscure Hardy writes of the church 'with the Italian porch' and 'helical columns', the latter detail identifying it at once as being based on the University Church of St. Mary in Oxford. Other examples will readily occur to Hardy readers: the gurgoyle on Weatherbury Church tower in Far from the Madding Crowd and the stone mask at the back of High Place Hall in The Mayor of Casterbridge.

Now I ought to clear up one or two questions which I raised in the early part of this paper.

Why do Beauvais, Le Mans - and Paris for that matter - not appear at all in this paragraph from A Pair of Blue Eyes? This is where it is relevant to mention Norman Shaw. It would appear that Nesfield carefully consulted Shaw's work before selecting plates for his own so that there would be no duplication. Shaw does in fact provide sketches of Beauvais, Le Mans and Notre Dame de Paris; but St. Quen in Rouen still eludes me. I can only think that this odd man out was included by Hardy as it was regarded as one of the finest examples of early Gothic art in France. Ruskin[1] indeed was among its distinguished admirers. Neither Shaw, however, nor Nesfield chose to illustrate it in his selection of plates.

Finally I hope that this short paper may have given you an insight into another aspect of Hardy's work.

1. See The Rev. Thomas Perkins, The Churches of Rouen (Bell's Handbooks to Continental Churches), 1900, p.61.

N.B. The two quotations from A Pair of Blue Eyes were taken from the Wessex Edition of 1912.

The reference to Rodin comes from Auguste Rodin, Cathedrals of France (French text 1914), English translation and notes by Elisabeth Chase Geissbuhler, 1965, with a preface by Herbert Read, p.88.

The following is a list of the Nesfield plates showing the extent to which Hardy used them in The Architectural Notebook and A Pair of Blue Eyes.

Nesfield	The Architectural Notebook Pages (where applicable) FRANCE	A Pair of Blue Eyes (Chapter XXXVII)
Plates		
1 - 4 Amiens (Cathedral)		Amiens
5 Ardennes Abbey, near Caen.	13 and 35	Ardennes Abbey
6 Auxerre (Cathedral)		
7 - 9 Bayeux (Cathedral)		
10-12 Bernières, near Caen.	102 Details of west porch (Nesfield) These have been copied, including section of arch moulding; and a fraction of the rose window in gable, much reduced in scale.	
13 Details from Bernières and Langrune (near Caen)	[103] Arch mouldings of piscina in chancel, copied. Also hint of capital in nave, Bernières, top left hand corner.	
14 Blois, Top of Staircase in Louis XII's Building		
15 Bourges, Part of the Ancient Hôtel de Ville.		
16 Bourges, Fireplace in Ancient Hôtel de Ville & Noyon, Fireplace in Chapter-House.		Noyon
17 Caen Part of the Gendarmerie Impériale. Timber House in the Rue St. Jean	[36] (a tracing)	
18 Village Churches near Caen		

Nesfield		The Architectural Notebook	A Pair of Blue Eyes
Plates		Pages (where applicable)	(Chapter XXXVII)
19, 20	Châlons-sur-Marne, Notre Dame	[181] & 182 Notre Dame de l'Epine, near Châlons-sur-Marne, (Door of South transept) This was not copied from Nesfield	
21-24	Chartres (Cathedral)		Chartres
25	Chartres (Cathedral) & Nogent la Vierge (Church)		
26	Chartres (Cathedral)		
27	Cluny (Abbey)		
28-32	Coutances (Cathedral)		
31	(left) Part of North Aisle of Choir	[26] Tiny detail copied by Hardy	Coutances
33	Corbel (left) St. Remi, Rheims, & Capital (right) Orvieto Cathedral, Italy		Rheims
34	St. Germer near Beauvais (Church)		
35	Ifs, near Caen (Church)		
36, 37-44	Laon, (Cathedral)	27	Laon
45	Fonts at Laon and its Vicinity		
46	Laon, (Church of St. Martin)		
47	Saint-Lo, Maison-du-poids Royal		
48-52	Mont St. Michel, Various views and buildings		Mont St. Michel
53-56	Montreale, Burgundy	[26] (a tracing of door in interior of the church looking west)	
55	Rose window, (West front of church)	[185] (spilling over into 186) mouldings of circle, cusping, section of shafts, one of the shaft capitals.	

Nesfield	The Architectural Notebook Pages (where applicable)	A Pair of Blue Eyes (Chapter XXXVII)
Plates		
56 Sketch of oak stalls in chancel	[105] top, section of stalls	
57-60 Norrey, near Caen	105	
60 Details of East bay in choir aisle	Jamb Mouldings to a Panel (Stone.) [Hardy]	
61 Details from Norrey,etc.		
62-65 Noyon (Cathedral)		Noyon
63	[12]	
64	33	
66 Noyon (Cathedral) and Vernouillet, near Mantes (Church)	106	
67 Noyon (Cathedral)		
68 Ourscamp, near Noyon, Exterior view of the Salle des Morts		
69 Ourscamp, Interior view of the Salle des Morts		
70 Poissy (Notre Dame)	33 Window openings in second (?) stage of the tower. Enlarged.	
71 Rouen, Part of South porch of church unnamed		Rouen
72 Rouen, (Cathedral) and Beaune, Porch of the Hotel Dieu		
73-76 Rouen, (Cathedral)	34 Capital drawn here obviously adapted from the one illustrated in Nesfield	
77 Bonport Abbey, near Rouen		
78 Rheims, St. Remi	[48] The central sketch	Rheims
79 Rheims (Cathedral)		

Nesfield	The Architectural Notebook Pages (where applicable)	A Pair of Blue Eyes (Chapter XXXVII)
Plates		
80 Senlis, View of Tower and Spire, South Side of West End and Coutances, Pinnacle of Stair Turret of North Transept		
81-84 Sens (Cathedral)		
83	[107]	Sens
85 Sens (Cathedral) capital, and Auxerre (Cathedral) capital		
86 Semur, Notre Dame, Triforium, North Transept	[107] Section of moulding	
87 Details of Capitals from Semur and Amiens		
88 Vezelay Interior Part of Apsidal Chapels		Vezelay
89 Vezelay Capitals in South Aisle of Choir		
	ITALY	
90, 91 Orvieto (Cathedral)		
92 Ferrara, (Duomo) (sic)	[48]	Ferrara
93 Padua, St. Antonio		Padua
94 Pisa (Cathedral)		Pisa
95, 96 Rome, St. John Lateran		Roman Forum
97 Rome, San Clemente		
98-100 Viterbo	35 Wooden Doorway as seen from the front	

Other French medieval details in The Architectural Notebook not copied from Nesfield:

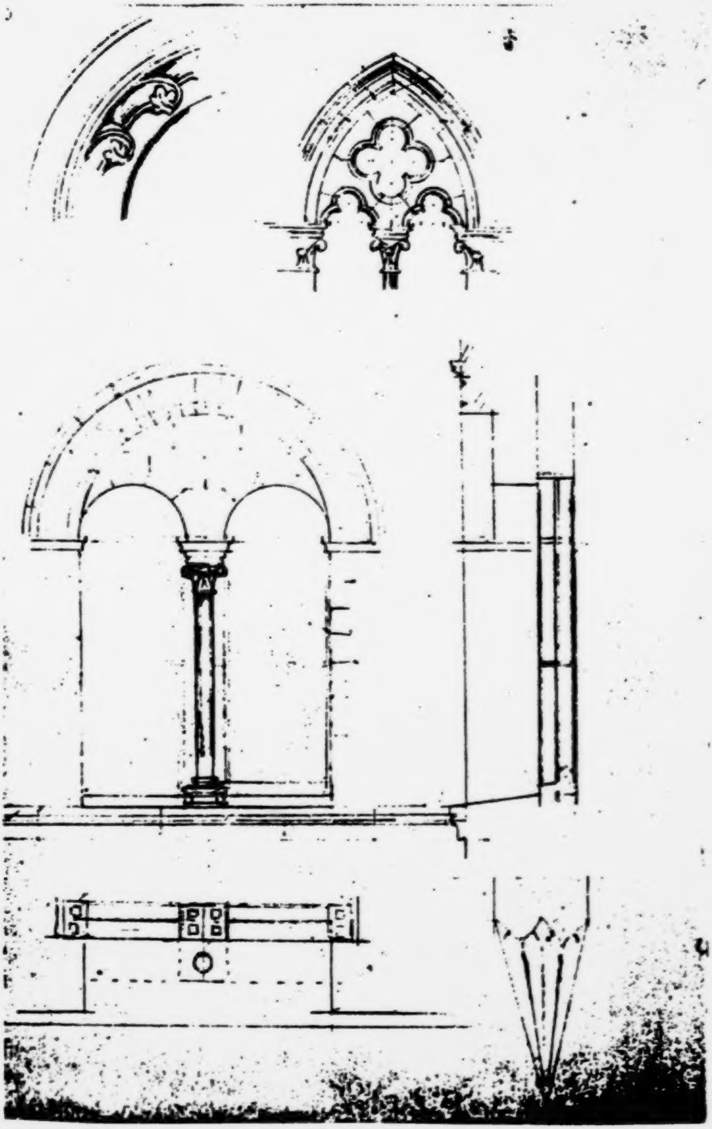
Page [10] Section of moulding from Notre Dame, Etampes

Page 94 A massive pillar, Fontevrault, (Anjou) from the Romanesque period

Page [95] Window Sill with Drip, Laon.

Plates underlined in the Nesfield column indicate those from which Hardy copied his details. He does not seem to have copied any details from N.Shaw.

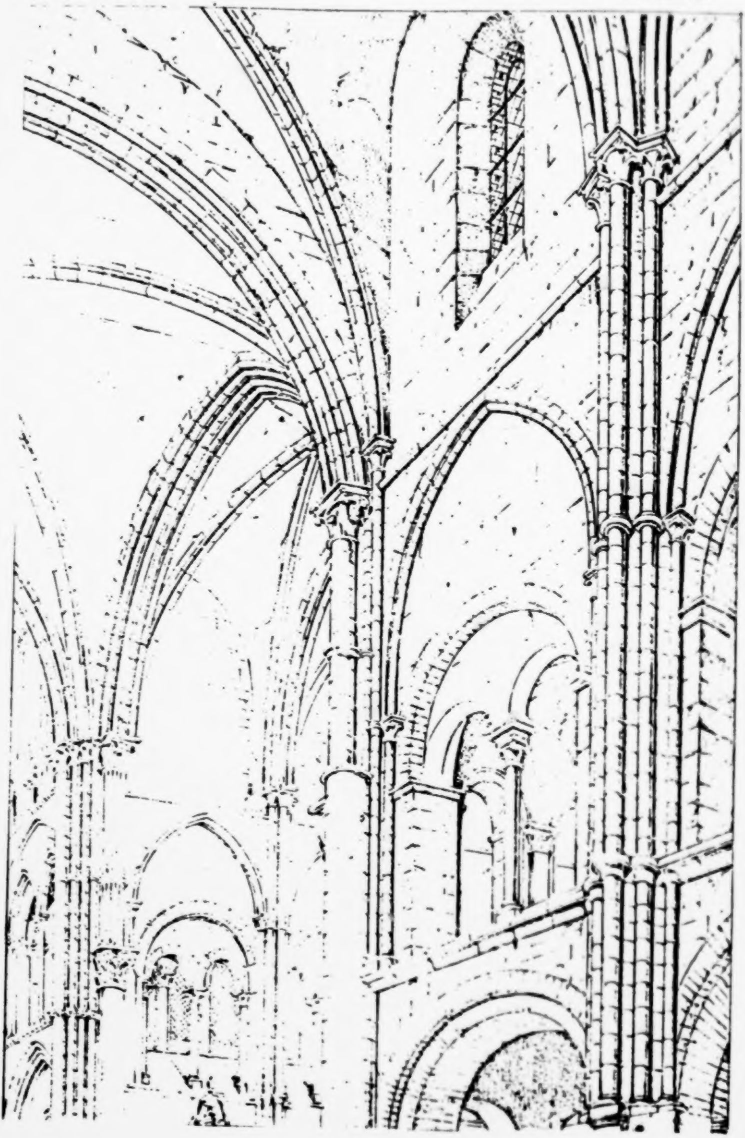
Notebook p. 48



RHEIMS.

Interior view of the choir of St Remi.

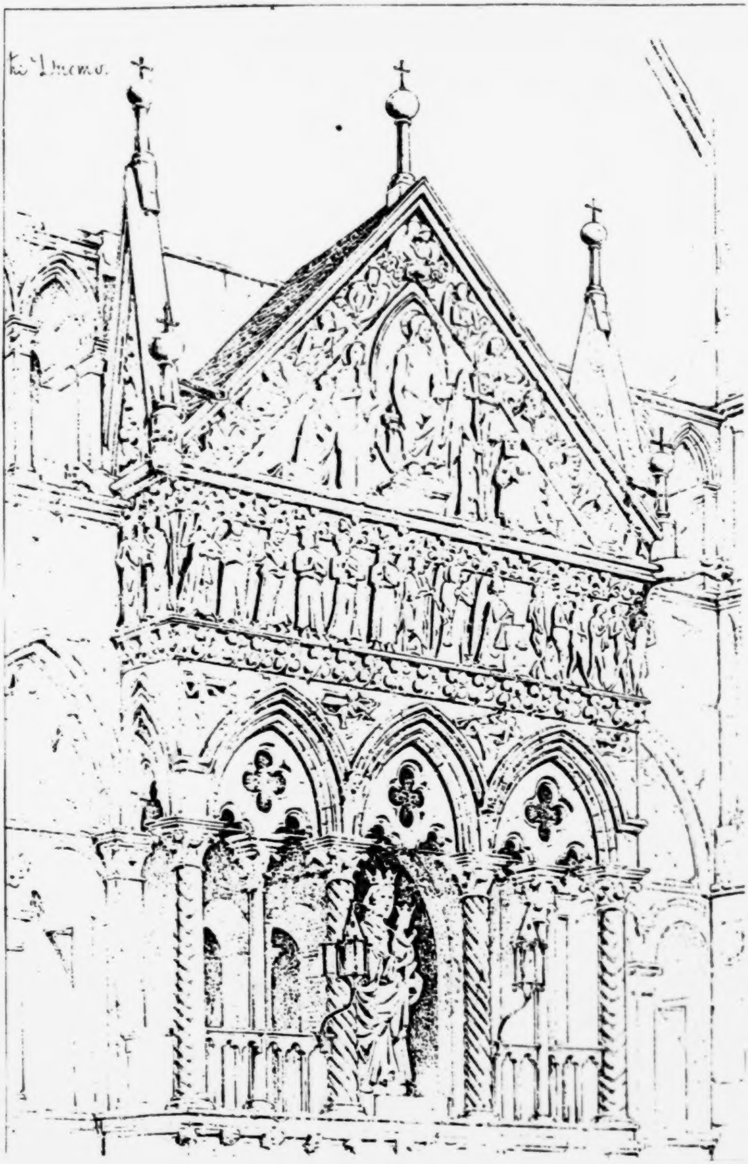
Plate 78



FERRARA.

West porch of the Duomo

Plate 92



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IDOLATRY IN HARDY'S TESS OF THE D'URBERVILLES

Perhaps the most well-known sentence in Hardy's Tess of the d'Urbervilles is the one introducing the final paragraph of the novel:

> 'Justice' was done, and the President of the Immortals, in Aeschylian phrase, had ended his sport with Tess. (p.449)[1]

This marks the culmination of what many people see as Hardy's attempts to persuade us that Tess Durbeyfield is the helpless victim of a malign fate. Indeed throughout the entire novel Hardy seems to weave around his characters a web of impending and unavoidable doom, especially in his use of pagan myth, folklore and superstition. Even the most innocent and careless acts are presented as significant and portentous, and in some cases are quite specifically defined as ill-omens: the legend of the killing of the beautiful white hart is introduced immediately before the first appearance of Tess, significantly dressed all in white; the Chase surrounding the d'Urberville home at Trantridge is full of Druidical mistletoe; Angel does not dance with Tess at the May-Day festival; the rose given by Alec to Tess pricks her chin; the butter in Talbothay's Dairy becomes bewitched when Tess and Angel fall in love; the cock crows on the afternoon of their wedding; Tess swears an oath for Alec on the ill-renowned Cross-in-Hand. Finally, of course, there are the disturbing references to the haunting legend of the d'Urberville coach which clearly foreshadows Tess's final but tragic act of desparation. There are hints as to Tess's fate even before she leaves her village of Marlott, all from the village elder's cryptic comment that "Joan Durbeyfield must mind that she [Tess] don't get green malt in floor" (p.56), to Hardy's own melodramatic description of Alec d'Urberville as a type-cast villain:

> He watched her pretty and unconscious munching through the skeins of smoke that pervaded the tent, and Tess Durbyfield did not divine, as she innocently looked down at the roses in her bosom, that there behind the blue narcotic haze was potentially the 'tragic mischief' of her drama. (p.71)

Add to these forebodings the many pessimistic statements and aphorisms of the "It was to be" kind (p.108), the trapped-bird and blood imagery (so well analysed elsewhere)[2] and Hardy's general reputation for viewing humanity as doomed and helpless - and one cannot but see Tess, as she lies on the altar at Stonehenge, as anything but a sacrificial victim to an "Immortal Will".

The novel Tess of the d'Urbervilles, however, is clearly one of those instances where a critic should trust the tale rather than the artist. In spite of the fatalistic background he creates for them, Hardy's characters are by no means the victims of an indifferent universe, as he would like us to believe. As Michael Millgate has succinctly stated:

> The careers of Hardy's characters, indeed the accidents that befall them, are rarely if ever a product of the random inexplicable intrusion of fate, but rather the inevitable - or at least, credible - outcome of the immediate narrative context and of their own personalities as conditioned and limited by the forces of heredity and environment.[3]

Indeed all the main actions of the novel can be clearly seen in a context of human cause and effect: Tess's decision to go to the d'Urbervilles at Trantridge; her seduction by Alec; her leaving him without informing him about his child, or subsequently asking for financial assistance; Angel and Tess's marriage; Tess's revalation of her past life to Angel and his subsequent desertion of her; her refusal to reproach him during the following months of hardship and despair; her return to Alec and her final desparate act of murder. These are all events resulting from personal decisions based on a misunderstanding or overestimation of a particular person or incident, and which could, therefore, have either been avoided or at least tempered. Tess of the d'Urbervilles can thus be interpreted as a history of human error based on false or misunderstood beliefs in people or social and moral ideals or both. Indeed there is a motif present throughout the novel which seems to emphasise this point dramatically: the theme of idolatry, both in its secular and religious forms, i.e. that of excessive worship or admiration of a person or object on the one hand, and the rejection of the Christian faith for a heathen or false god on the other. It is quite striking that all three main characters of the novel, Tess Durbeyfield, Alec d' Urberville and Angel Clare, at one time or another turn their backs on Christianity and find "idols" in the persons they choose as love-objects. As the semantic connotations of idolatry seem to suggest, however, there is something false or mistaken in their objects of worship.

This motif is perhaps best seen in the whole Angel-Tess relationship. Angel Clare is the son of a priest, but has rebelled against a Church which "refuses to liberate her mind from an untenable redemptive theolatry" (p.153) and he persistently "elevated Hellenic paganism at the expense of Christianity" (p.389). Consequently he cannot "underwrite Article Four" (p.154) and join the ministry, but decides instead to become a farmer. In the pursuit of this ambition he works for a while at Talbothay's Dairy where he meets Tess. The lush and sensuous descriptions of Talbothay's surroundings have often been praised by critics, and they do indeed form the perfect setting for a romantic love-affair. These scenes also abound, moreover, with mystical, religious, biblical and mythological allusions and Tess and Angel are verily presented as an Adam and Eve in an earthly paradise. It is in these surroundings that, as Richard Carpenter points out, Tess appears to take on the form of a goddess:

> Her unconscious sexual attractiveness - her lush figure and "peony mouth" - relates her to the archetypal fertility principle symbolised by the goddesses of myth from Ishtar to Venus. [4]

It hardly seems surprising, therefore, when Angel, so completely enjoying the "pagan pleasure in natural life" (p.199) begins to address her with the names of the pagan deity Artemis and Demeter. She is not an earthly person at all to him and he sees her as a "rosy warming apparition" (p.168) and an "idyllic creature" (p.245), a "sort of celestial person" (p.254) with "her features ... of a divinity" and a "strange and ethereal beauty" (p.171). He thus replaces his lost Christian faith with his adoration of the pagan goddess Tess. Hardy makes it clear, of course, that Angel's love is based on a natural physical attraction as his sensual descriptions of Tess indicate. Her red top lip, for example, particularly excites Angel, it being so "distracting, infatuating, maddening" (p.190). Despite this, however, Angel's strict Calvinist upbringing and the religious reverence he has for Tess both ensure that his love is "more especially inclined to the imaginative and ethereal" (p.234) and he deliberately keeps in check his more passionate and instinctive emotions, having "the will to subdue the grosser to the subtler emotion ... the flesh to the spirit" (p.288). Thus Angel is not so much repressing his physical desires as sublimating them into metaphysical ideals, for he needs, as in most religions, a specific creed in which to have faith.

But herein lies Angel's personal tragedy, for the idol he creates in Tess is a false one. He persists in seeing her as "a fresh and virginal daughter of Nature" (p.158) and as an image of "rustic innocence" (p.281) who is as "chaste as a vestal" (p.204) and "the most honest, spotless creature that ever lived" (p.218). She was indeed "no longer the milkmaid, but a visionary essence of woman" (p.170). This was, of course, a total misconception of Tess's character and history and was bound to result in disillusionment and unhappiness. Tess herself was well aware of the nature of Angel's love:

> She you love is not my real self, but one in my image;
> the one I might have been! (p.256)

When confronted with the truth of Tess's past, Angel indeed confirms her worst fears and admits that the woman he has been in love with was not Tess at all, but "another woman in your shape" (p.272). Thus Angel's idolatry in worshipping not Tess herself, but a false image of Tess, results in perhaps the most tragic event of the novel: Angel's inability to understand and forgive Tess and accept her as she really is, and not as the idol of his imagination.

The cock crowing on the afternoon of their wedding now takes on another significance, for it echoes the cock crowing in the Bible. And within twenty-four hours Angel had denied his love, his goddess. His vision had been "mocked by appearances" (p.284) and he cries out: "God's not in his heaven : all's wrong with the world!" (p.298). Angel is only too well aware of the nature of his mistake as the religious overtones of his bitterness clearly indicate:

> This was what he got by apostasy, and his punishment
> was deserved. (p.305)

Tess's love for Angel, however, is also idolatrous in nature. Emotionally she has already rejected the Christian faith by the time she has arrived at Talbothay's Dairy. The attitude of the Marlott parish priest towards her illegitimate child's baptism and burial only made her contemptuous of the established religion: "I'll never come to your church no more!" (p.132) Nor is she attracted by the hell and damnation approach of the Evangelicals, and she finds the biblical texts which they paint on gates and fences "horrible ... crushing, killing!" (p.115) and she rebelliously declares: "I don't believe God said such things!" (p.116). While staying at Talbothay's she still attends church services, but it is clearly only for form's sake, and Tess remains unaffected by the Christian message:

> Tess's ideas on the views of the parish clergyman,

> whom she heard every week, seemed to be rather more vague than Clare's, who had never heard him at all. (pp.212/3)

Angel feels her religion to be "pantheistic as to essence" (p.213) and teasingly calls her a heathen. Tess is also recovering, of course, from the emotional and sexual wounds caused by her involvement with Alec d'Urberville. Angel's kind and considerate behaviour towards her, especially his willingness to subdue the sexual overtones of his feelings, reveals to her "a quality which she had never expected to find in one of the opposite sex" (p.181). Gradually, and perhaps in the circumstances, inevitably, Angel begins to fill the religious and emotional vacuum in Tess's life. She begins to look upon him "as an intelligence rather than as a man" (p.164) and think "his intellect that of a seer" (p.234) and before long she so admires him that she "caught his manner and habits, his speech and phrases, his likings and aversions" (p.245). There is "hardly a touch of earth in her love for Clare" (p.234) as he is so "godlike in her eyes" (p.222) and she "hung upon his words as if they were a god's" (p.389). He becomes a "divine being" (p.244), who would sometimes "catch her large, worshipful eyes ... looking at him from their depths, as if she saw something immortal before her" (p.234). Thus from being her teacher and lover Angel quite simply becomes her idol "for whom she lived and breathed" (p.241) and she even begins to pray to him:

> She tried to pray to God, but it was her husband who really had the supplication. Her idolatry of this man was such that she herself almost feared it to be ill-omened. (p.256)

And so it is. The tragedy of Tess's idolatry lies in her failure to realise that Angel's rejection of her is a human failing and not a divine decree. She only too readily believes that she must be the one at fault, even referring to her seduction by Alec as a sin against Angel. She begs for forgiveness on her knees and submits herself to whatever punishment he may wish to impose upon her.

> The firmness of her devotion to him was indeed almost pitiful ... she sought not her own; was not provoked; thought no evil of his treatment of her. (p.284)

Hardy makes it clear that Angel's resolve to leave Tess might still have been broken had Tess relied more on her feminine instincts instead of meekly regarding herself as a sinner:

> There was, it was true, underneath, a back current of sympathy through which a woman of the world might have conquered him. (p.284)

And again at the final scene of their parting:

> If Tess had been artful, had she made a scene, fainted, wept hysterically, in that lonely lane, notwithstanding the fury of fastidiousness with which he was possessed, he would probably not have withstood her. But her mood of long-suffering made his way easy for him, and she herself was his best advocate. (p.297)

Instead Tess humbly accepts her banishment and for many months continues to defend Angel's name and reputation, even to Alec d'Urberville, "with reverential faithfulness" (p.369), for, as she writes in a letter to Angel:

> It has been so much my religion ever since we married to be faithful to you. (p.384)

Such is her idolatry that she even describes the murder of Alec in terms of religious ecstasy:

> Angel, will you forgive my sin against you, now I have killed him [Alec] ? ... It came to me as a shining light that I should get you back that way. (p.346)

Thus her idolatry blinds Tess to the cruelty and injustice of Angel's treatment of her and was, therefore, a significant factor in her personal tragedy. Angel is most to blame, of course, for his harsh reaction to Tess's early sexual history. But her own acquiescence in his condemnation of her must place some of the responsibility of the consequences on herself.

Before Angel and Tess finally part they make one final visit to Talbothay's Dairy, in order to keep up appearances, and it is here that Mrs. Crick makes an unconsciously perceptive remark which hints at the idolatrous nature of their marital disaster: "How they stood," she says, "like waxen images." (p.296)

Alec d'Urberville first appears in the novel as a playboy seducer/rapist and it has irritated and puzzled critics and readers alike when Hardy re-introduces him into the narrative as a Christian convert and preacher. Within the context of the idolatry theme, however, this strange twist in the plot makes perfect sense. When Alec first seduced Tess it was an act of pure sexual indulgence, and he suffers no personal harm as a result of the affair. The second time he meets her, however, his feelings are much more involved and the consequences much more serious. The crux of the matter is, that he becomes so infatuated with Tess that he abandons the altar of the Lord for "the fleshly tabernacle" with which Nature had endowed her. (p.357) No matter how hard he tries he "cannot get rid of" her "image" (p.368) and soon gives up preaching Christianity in order to praise and worship Tess:

> I believe that if the bachelor-apostle, whose deputy I thought I was, had been tempted by such a pretty face, he would have let go the plough for her sake as I do. (p.377)

Alec seems perfectly aware of the nature of this love, as he irreverently quotes from the Bible: "I thought I worshipped on the mountains, but I find I still serve in the groves!" (p.370) thus identifying himself with Baal and the worship of idols. Herein also lies the irony of the chapter heading "The Convert". It can just as easily signify the conversion of the Christian to idolatry as that of a nineteenth century dandy to Christianity. Alec realises that what he is doing could lead him to disaster, for as he lightly accuses Tess: "I was on the way to, at least, social salvation till I saw you again!" (p.370). Nonetheless he still perseveres in his attempts to regain her: "I'm awfully glad you made an apostate of me all the same!" (p.378)

Alec's idolatrous love can only end in tragedy, however, for as in Tess and Angel's case, the idol he worships is essentially a false one. Despite all Alec's noble intentions towards Tess (wanting to redress former wrongs by marriage, housing her family, etc.), it is still clear that Alec's main passion is his overwhelming need to possess Tess's physical beauty. This he can and does gain through exploiting her own and her family's poverty. But this is only Tess's image, her outer form. Alec can never hope to gain her emotional and spiritual allegiance. As Tess resignedly states to Angel after he has returned to England to find her once more Alec's mistress:

> These clothes are what he put on me: I didn't care what he did wi' me! (p.429)

Alec had won her body, but not her soul, as Angel is quick to realise:

> His original Tess had spiritually ceased to recognise the body before him as hers. (p.429)

Alec's idolatrous love thus deceives him, for he is too easily satisfied with Tess's physical acquiescence and is completely ignorant and careless of the true state of her emotional being - in particular her feelings for her husband Angel. It is indeed Alec's contemptuous attitude towards the latter's return which goads Tess into murder. Thus Alec, who had abandoned his Christian faith to worship at the altar of Tess, is in the end literally sacrificed in order to propitiate the man/god Tess idolises.

One final unifying aspect of the idolatry theme is the faith all of the characters seem to have, at one time or another, in the efficacy of the ancient d'Urberville lineage as represented by the marble effigies in the church at Kingsbere. The Durbeyfields base all their absurd pretensions to distinction and fortune on the information that they are direct descendants of the significantly named Norman baron, Sir Pagan d'Urberville, and hoping for social and financial enhancement they persuade Tess to claim kinship with rich people of the same name at Trantridge. They could not have known, of course, that these "d'Urbervilles" were originally Stokes, the family of "an honest merchant (some said money-lender)" who had taken the "less commonplace" name of d'Urberville (p.68) for exactly the same reasons the Durbeyfields had coveted it: social rank and prestige. Even though Alec's father, Mr. Simon Stokes, has been "duly reasonable in framing his intermarriages and aristocratic links" it still means that the only living "embodiment of a d'Urberville" (p.68) is neither genuine nor a relative, and all the Durbeyfield dreams of marriage into nobility end in a sordid seduction and the birth, and later death, of an illegitimate child. The whole tragic chain of events now under way is thus based on a false name and false expectations.

When Tess later sets off for her new life at Talbothay's Dairy, therefore, she is determined to avoid daydreaming about her d'Urberville ancestry, but :

> ... such is human inconsistency that one of the interests of the new place to her was the accidental virtue of its lying near her forefathers' country ... all the while she wondered if any strange good thing might come of her being in her ancestral land. (p.136)

Indeed once she has fallen in love with Angel, she herself too easily indulges in the naive faith of her parents in the Kingsbere effigies in her hopes of securing a higher social and matrimonial status:

> In an access of hunger for his good opinion she bethought herself ... of the identity of her family with that of the knightly d'Urbervilles ... perhaps Mr. Clare, as a gentleman and a student of history, would respect her sufficiently ... if he knew that those Purbeck-marble and alabaster people in Kingsbere Church really represented her own lineal forefathers, that she was ... true d'Urberville to the bone. (pp.166/7)

When she does reveal this fact to him, Angel, normally so dismissive of ancient families, eagerly seizes on it himself as a means of enhancing Tess's social position and thus improve the chances of his parents agreeing to their marriage:

> Society is hopelessly snobbish, and this fact of your extraction may make an appreciable difference to its acceptance of you as my wife ... my mother too, poor soul, will think so much better of you on account of it. (p.230)

He fondly dreams of presenting Tess to them as "a d'Urberville and a lady" (p.252). Angel even romantically rents lodgings near Wellbridge Abbey for their honeymoon, simply because it had once been "a mansion of a branch of the d'Urberville family" (p.246). But it is precisely in these lodgings that all their illusions are shattered by Tess's revalation of her past and Angel's reaction to this. The d'Urberville motif now becomes harshly ironic as Angel cruelly reverses his opinion of her lineage, claiming bitterly that her past behaviour was an inherited trait and an inherent part of her family's decline in fortune:

> Why did you give me a handle for despising you more by informing me of your descent ? (p.275)

Faith in the Kingsbere statues had once more led to disillusionment and tragedy. Their final significance becomes clear in a scene soon after the death of Tess's father and her family is evicted from their cottage in Marlott. In a final pilgrimage of faith, Mrs. Durbeyfield insists that they go to Kingsbere, the "domain of his forefathers" and their "ancestors' lands" (p.411). Failing to find accomodation, they are forced to find shelter under the walls of the church, in the very d'Urberville Aisle itself. Soon after Tess enters the church and comes face to face with the very effigies in which she, her parents, Angel, and the Stokes family had placed so much faith - only to discover that they are crumbling to pieces:

> They were canopied, altar-shaped, and plain; their carvings being defaced and broken; their brasses torn from their matrices, the rivet-holes remaining like martin-holes in a sand-cliff. Of all the reminders ... that her people were socially extinct there was none so forcible as this spoliation. (p.413)

Just after this revalation she almost faints with horror when one of the effigies appears to move. It is, in fact, only Alec d'Urberville playing a macabre practical joke on her, but his gesture is grimly symbolic: the only living embodiment of the broken and decaying Kingsbere idols was "a base imitation" (p.362), who represented nothing but a false name and false social, sexual, and moral values. It is significant that the next time we see Tess she has lost faith in everything and has cynically resigned herself to being Alec's mistress.

The idolatry motif, therefore, is consistent throughout Tess of the d'Urbervilles and, as I hope to have shown, is an important element underlining the main cause of the novel's tragedy: errors of judgement based on a misplaced faith in a false image or idol, be it a love-object or a set of social, moral and sexual values, as finally represented by the marble effigies in Kingsbere Church.

Thus our final view of Tess, as she lies on the pagan altar at Stonehenge, can take on another significance: she is not a ceremonial offering to the "President of the Immortals", but a sacrificial victim to human error and vanity.

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HANS ANDERSEN AS AN ENGLISH WRITER

We all know that Hans Andersen is a Danish writer just as Perrault is a French one. Some of us may even know that Æsop is supposed to have been Greek. But in a very important sense these writers also belong within the national literatures that have adopted them, usually via translation.

The following is a plea for considering Hans Andersen as an English writer[1] on the grounds that from the very beginning up to the present day his works have appeared in English just as frequently, just as quickly, and in some cases even before they appeared in Danish; and, moreover, that he enjoys the status of a classic, in that several works by other writers contain references to his stories.

That "imported" literature may acquire the status of a target Language (TL) classic is something we all know from the history of the Bible - of which of course no certain original is known, but which has nevertheless profoundly influenced all national European literatures. A similar position is held particularly by the Greek classics, which are normally read and quoted in translation. But a comparable position is in fact also enjoyed by a number of more modern writers, such as Shakespeare, Goethe, Byron, Scott, Ibsen, and - Hans Andersen.

Andersen may of course be said to be truly international, as his works have been translated into all the major and a good many minor languages. But there are objective reasons for placing him within an English rather than, say, a Japanese context. Even if the difference between his status within an Oriental setting and an English one is one of degree rather than of kind, it is still quite real; and the arguments for viewing him within an English context are well worth advancing:

I. Immediacy of acceptance and response

Considering that Andersen did not amount to much in Denmark before about 1840, it is quite remarkable that he should have been constantly translated and commented on in England from 1845, in which year no less than 3 of his novels were translated (The Improvisatoire, Only a Fiddler, and OT). 1846 saw the publication of the first of innumerable collections of his tales; this set the ball rolling, and it has never really stopped, except that nowadays it is fairy tales mainly that are translated, with biographies, travel books, etc. bringing up the rear, while the novels are hardly translated at all.

As Elias Bredsdorff points out, some works appeared in English before they did in Danish[2], notably the novel The Two Baronesses, 1849, which upon its publication was even regarded by many critics as having been written by Andersen in English - and such good English!

2. Use of English material

Andersen himself was very much attracted by Britain, and was not at all averse to the idea of being regarded as an English writer. In his preface to the English ed. of The Two Baronesses he writes i.a.:

> "I knew and loved these countries before my feet ever trod them ...
> I was at home in Scotland's mountains, and familiar with its deep lakes, lonely paths, and ancient castles. Walter Scott's genius had wafted me thither; Walter Scott's beneficent hand had extended to me the spiritual bread and wine, so that I forgot the earthly ...
> I was intimate with Shakespeare's land and Burns' mountains before my corporeal eye beheld them; and when at length I visited them, I was not received as a stranger."

Though on the one hand his main inspiration is Danish, whereas on the other he used local colour from all over Europe, there is still a surprising amount of British material scattered through his novels and stories. - From the Englishmen in Hvad Fatter gør (The Old Man is always Right) to the Byronic elements in early dramas, and particularly in the novel OT. Perhaps the culmination came in The Two Baronesses, which borrows its plot from Scott's Heart of Midlothian, and which is full of references to Scott.

3. Number of Editions and Versions.

These are indeed countless; but there are certainly more than 20 more or less complete translations of the Tales, plus numerous translations of individual works. To these must be added innumerable thefts, piracies, adaptations, etc. - Cf. Bredsdorff, 1950.

4. Quotes in the works of others

Such quotes are difficult to document systematically. But there are many. A recent example is from Salman Rushdie's Midnight's Children (the protagonist is observing his mother, whose feet are hurting her):

> "Chock-full of fantasy I transformed her into a silkie -
> 'Amma, maybe you're a mermaid really, taking human form
> for the love of a man - so every step is like walking on
> razor blades!' My mother smiled, but did not laugh."
> (Rushdie, p. 158)

Two examples more, both from Yeats, must suffice; the first to me suggests The Ugly Duckling, (in addition to the classical allusion), the second undoubtedly has an echo of The Nightingale:

> For even daughters of the swan can share
> Something of every paddler's heritage
> (Among School Children)

> Once out of nature, I shall never take
> My bodily form from any natural thing,
> But such a form as Grecian goldsmiths make
> Of hammered gold and gold enamelling
> To keep a drowsy Emperor awake;
> Or set upon a golden bough to sing
> To lords and ladies of Byzantium ..
> (Sailing to Byzantium)

5. Influence on English Literary Genres.

The whole history of English children's literature would probably look very different without the contribution of Andersen. Whereas in France and Germany there were several late 18th and early 19th century collections of folktales intended at least partly for children, in Britain there were very few till about 1850.[3] Fairy- and folktales were often disapproved of, and more serious (= moralising) reading matter was recommended to the young. But thanks to the influence of Andersen and the brothers Grimm, fairy tales gradually won acceptance. Having read a fair amount of pre-Andersen children's literature, I am convinced that other sources, though not negligible, are definitely of less importance for the introduction of fantasy and imagination. This goes for native British material, such as chapbooks with Jack and the the Beanstalk, as well as for Arabian material (Sindbad, Aladdin), and for French (Perrault et al.). - Let me quote just one authority on English fairies:

> "Hans Andersen was immensely admired and very much imitated in England. Oscar Wilde reproduced almost exactly his mixture of satire and sentiment, something at once sweet and bitter. Tales like those of Mary de Morgan and Laurence Housman owe a good deal to him ..."
>
> (Briggs, 1967, 179-80)

On the basis of the above, I feel justified in claiming that Andersen entered into the English literary tradition as a powerful influence. However, whereas he certainly meant his stories to be "Kinder- und Hausmärchen", i.e., for children and adults alike, in Britain the emphasis soon came to fall firmly on the Kinder-aspect, a fact which is undoubtedly bound up with the quality of the English translations, but which also influenced the translators.

In the following, I shall examine the question of Andersen's status in the English-speaking world in more detail, using as illustrative material examples from three stories: Fyrtøjet (F) - Bispen på Børglum og hans Frænde (B) - and Nissen hos Spækhøkeren (N), plus some English versions of these stories.

Dealing with 1. Concepts and composite meanings, 2. Vocabulary, 3. Phrases and collocations, 4. Syntax, 5. Stylistic types, 6. Communication situation(s), 7. Mistranslations, and 8. Misrepresentations, I hope - in spite of the brevity that I am forced to observe - to be able to furnish some material on which to base a tentative conclusion concerning the quality of the English Andersen(s) as compared with the original, and the way in which Andersen may be said to belong to English literature.

1. Concepts. - Translation is often difficult because source and target language concepts simply do not match.[4] This is not only a problem for literary translation; but certainly a text which offers large numbers of SL- (source language) specific cultural concepts will be very difficult to translate. For examples of this, consider the opening of N.

None of the translations of the title that I have examined seems adequate. Perhaps P.'s "The Nisse at the Grocer's" is the least controversial: she uses the Danish nisse, and explains in a note what it means, and she substitutes the more general, but quite acceptable grocer for the more specific Danish Spækhøker. But "The Goblin at the Huckster's" (Mrs. L.) is disastrous - "goblin" does not have the qualities of the semi-domesticated Danish nisse, and the huckster lacks the respectability of a Danish spækhøker - indeed one point which does not come across in any translation is the fact that in the small world of 19th century Copenhagen a spækhøker was a very respectable sort of person, without the negative connotations of English words within the semantic field of "shopkeeper". Ki.'s "The Goblin at the Provision-Dealer's" seems contrived, and Brækstad's "The Brownie at the Butterman's" sounds rather odder than the Danish - the brownie, though close to the nisse, has associations of (Scottish) dialect, quite apart from the rather distracting associations of girl guide, and the butterman is so rare as to be included in neither the Shorter Oxford Dictionary, nor in Kjærulff Nielsen's English-Danish dictionary.

Material objects may lack their exact counterpart, too. The Danish nisse "fik ... hver Juleaften et Fad Grød med en stor Klump Smør i", as is indeed right and fitting. English brownies, goblins and the like, however, are not accustomed to such fare, which in the Danish is a treat, in contrast, I think, to the "porridge" dished out by all the above translators, except P., who has the effrontery to suggest "a bowl of gruel" - a gruelling experience indeed!

Likewise the "kvist" where the student lived ("Han boede på Quisten og eiede Ingenting") is definitely not a "garret" (Brækstad), and hardly an "attic", as suggested by the other translators. A Danish kvist is architecturally different from an attic, which in Danish would rather correspond to "loftsværelse", and it has an aura of good humour and insouciance lacking in the English. Moreover, one has a good view from it: ("Studenten .. stod ganske rolig ved det aabne Vindue og saae ud på Ilden .."), which is certainly not always the case with garrets and attics.

The most difficult item in the opening paragraphs, however, is "Madammens Mundlæder", which occurs twice:

> "Da det blev Nat, Boutiken lukket og Alle tilsengs, paa Studenten nær, gik Nissen ind og tog Madammens Mundlæder, det brugte hun ikke naar hun sov, og hvor i Stuen han satte det paa nogensomhelst Gjenstand, der fik den Maal og Mæle ..."

> "Og Nissen satte Mundlæderet på Bøtten, hvori de gamle Aviser laae ..."

Ordbog over det Danske Sprog (ODS) gives the following definition of mundlæder: "(... dagl.) om munden som taleredskab; snakketøj."

The problem, then, is that the Danish is here really an abstract, corresponding reasonably well to "the gift of the gab" (Ki. and Vinterberg &

Bodelsen), but jocularly masking as a concrete. For this there is no English equivalent. English translators, therefore, are forced either to stick to the abstract or to look for a concrete with some similarity to the Danish. Ki., having translated "hun havde talegaver" by "she had the gift of the gab" uses this idiom for *mundlæder* also, but is consequently forced not only to let the nisse take the wife's gift of the gab, but to let him place it on the cask where the old newspapers were kept. P., on the other hand, says that the nisse "stole away Madam's tongue ... and put the tongue on the tub wherein all the old newspapers lay", rather like Mrs. L., who even more dramatically has it that "the goblin went in and stole the goodwife's long tongue ... and laid the tongue down upon the tub .." which suggests a Jacobean tragedy rather than a humourous romantic tale.

2. *Vocabulary*. - Of course concept and word are two sides of one coin, if you use a Saussurian model[5], or two corners of one triangle, if you incline towards Ogden and Richards[6]. However, for convenience we are here taking "words" as being different from "concepts", so that each bilingual concept may have two or more reasonably synonymous words to represent it, e.g. the concept 'girl' = pige, tøs, jomfru, mø, etc., + girl, lass, maid(en), bird, hussy, slut, etc.

Even if a given concept according to this way of arguing has a certain number of TL representations, there may not be a reasonably exact representative of the SL word selected by the author. This will frequently be the case if dialect words or phrases are employed, but it also applies to common core material.

Poetry, we are told, is "saadant Noget, som staaer pâ Nederdelen af Aviserne og klippes ud". In a certain sense, it does not matter whether this "nederdel" is rendered by "at the bottom of the page in the newspapers" (Ki.) or by "at the foot of the newspaper columns" (Mrs. L.) the point is that nederdel which in modern Danish has only one meaning, (dress) skirt, is here (with slightly humourous effect) being used in an old sense which even for Andersen's contemporaries must have seemed a bit quaint (ODS has only this one example from the 19th century, other examples of nederdel = "lower part" are 18th century or earlier).

Similarly with herlighed ("saadan Herlighed havde den lille Nisse aldrig tænkt sig"). "Glory" (Ki.) captures the religious overtones ("Og Herrens Herlighed strålede om dem"), but not the wonder of the poor person allowed into a palace, as Holberg's Jeppe ("Hvad er dette for en Herlighed?"), and "such splendours" (Mrs. L.) is pale beside the Danish.

Many emotionally-charged words recur, sometimes within the individual story, sometimes throughout Andersen's oeuvre. Translators bent on elegant variation, like Peachey, inevitably lose a dimension varying their translations of adjectives like mageløs, yndig, and dejlig, not to mention Andersen's favourite, velsignet. But even seemingly innocent words like rigtig may be quite baffling: "Der var en rigtig Student, han boede paa Quisten og eiede Ingenting". Not only is there also in this story "en rigtig Spekhøker", but in addition we should keep in mind that the soldier of F., equally willing to kiss princesses and decapitate witches, was "en rigtig Soldat". The latter example should be translated as "a true soldier"; but this will not do for the student, who is not "a real student" (Mrs. L.), either, and hardly "a proper student" (P.); rather, as suggested by Brækstad, he is "a student of the good old sort". But finding ideal solutions for cases like these means losing the repetition of key words, a feature which is very important for the overall effect of Andersen's stories.

3. Phrases and collocations. - Most of the items dealt with under this heading belong at phrase or group level (in Halliday's terminology), but some of them, such as proverbs, may be sentences. Many are "grands signes" (cf. Mounin, p. 265), i.e. representations of concepts which in other languages may well be expressed by a single word. The main points to be noted about them are that they consist of more than one typographical word, and that their meaning is often markedly different from what one would expect on the basis of the normal meanings of their constituent parts. They are difficult to translate a) because they contain form-dependent features like rhyme, alliteration, or punning, and/or b) because they have no direct TL-counterpart.

A few examples: a. ellipsis: "Nu skal Studenten faa" (ɔ: now he'll catch it) (F.) is misunderstood by many translators, including Ki.: "Now I'll try it (ɔ: the tongue) on the student".

b. Proverbs: "Frænde er Frænde værst" (B.) has no equivalent in English; a good solution of course is to coin one: "close kin is worst enemy" (Ki.), but most translators give up: "neither kin nor kind to her will the widow find Bishop Oluf Glob." (P.)

c. Tautological phrases, often with alliteration: "Maal og Mæle" (N.) > the power of speech (Ki.); "Værn og Værge" (B.) > "shield and defence" (Ki.) "strength and bulwark" (P.)

d. Punning: "Hundene sad med til Bords, og gjorde store Øine" (F.) > "the three wizard dogs sat at the banquet-table, staring about them with their great eyes" (P.) / "the dogs sat with them at the table, their eyes wide with astonishment" (Ki.).

To conclude: Adequate translation of individual phrases and collocations is often impossible; but if they are all left out or rendered in a neutral way, the translation will be much poorer than the SL-version. One solution might be to introduce similar phrases at suitable points in the translation. However, in my material there are no good examples of this.

4. Syntax. - Adequate translation at this level is the exception rather than the rule. Andersen's style has oral elements, but it is certainly not a purely oral style, as MG. would have us believe (cf. ex. 1 and 2). On the other hand it is not a genteel literary style either, such as that preferred by P. (cf. 5). The general tendency, however, provided Andersen is not "retold" in a way reminiscent of MG., is to produce a sort of English syntax closer to the norm of polite written prose for adults than is warranted by the original.

5. Stylistic types. - Style may vary considerably within the individual tale. In spite of overlap, I thank that 3 main stylistic types can be distinguished in Andersen's stories:

1. A normal, factual declarative style (cf. ex. 3 and 4).
2. A humourous style, abounding in oral features and idiomatic phrases, as in the description in Fyrtøjet of the soldier's first encounter with the three dogs.
3. A lyrical style, in which the language approaches that of poetry proper (cf. ex. 7-9).

It is hardly surprising that 1) is the category which comes across best in the translations. Next comes the humourous style; but the lyrical style is inadequate, if not disastrous, in most English versions. And the mixture within the same story of categories 2) and 3), which is so characteristic of many of Andersen's best stories, seems to be quite beyond the English translators.

6. Communication situations. - Though most of the early translators claim to be aiming at adults as well as children, there is no doubt that the English translations are more specifically aimed at an audience of children than are Andersen's original stories. Consequently there is a general tendency to simplify the content, if not always the form of the tales,

and to leave out what is not considered suitable for children. Cf. category 8 below.

7. *Mistranslations*. - These are TL-elements whose lack of correspondence with SL cannot be supposed to be intentional. The English versions of N. are rich in examples, though worse translations could easily be found: Spækhøkeren .. og Madammen > the grocer, and Madam, his wife."jeg er kun en ringe Bøtte mod Spekhøkeren" /I'm only a poor tub at the grocer's (P.).

8. *Misrepresentations*. - Mistranslations are bad enough; but unless a text is absolutely clotted with them, they are after all minor evils. Worse are misrepresentations which wilfully distort the writer's sense while claiming to be translations. Bredsdorff (1954) discusses one extreme case - Peachey's murder of *Store Claus og lille Claus* (pp. 501-03). I consider P. a free, but generally not a bad translator; but there is no denying that she does tend to emasculate the stories, intended as they are ad usum delphini; thus also in F.: "Soldaten kunde slet ikke lade være, han maatte kysse hende, for det var en rigtig Soldat." > "the Soldier could not help himself, he knelt down and kissed her hand." However, Peachey is certainly not alone in adapting and distorting. Bredsdorff, 1954, ch. XVI has several further examples of categories 7 and 8.

In conclusion one might ask what survives of Andersen in English, and how it is that in spite of the losses sustained even in the best translations, he has been and still is a powerful influence in English-speaking countries, though not quite in the way he might have wished.

First, if we look at a story like F., which is one of those closest to the folktale proper, it is clear that in all translations, including loose renderings like MG's, the *structure* as opposed to the *texture*[7] survives. This point, of course, is of less importance for more loosely constructed stories; but it is of some importance for nearly all translations of Andersen.

Moreover, *phanopoeia*[8] (in Ezra Pound's terminology), which is a very important ingredient in Andersen's stories, comes across, too. The same goes for some though by no means all of the humour, usually expressed by means of understatement or irony.

What does not come across, however, is the *melopoeia* - not only, I think, because this is always difficult to translate or recreate, but just as much because most of the translators, bent on providing entertainment and edification, mainly for children, have not taken sufficient pains.

Nevertheless, as the quotes from Yeats and Rushdie suggest, enough of

Andersen remains to secure his position within the English as well as the Danish literary tradition. Hans Andersen indeed is no stranger in the English-speaking world.

EXAMPLES

1) Fyrtøjet

Der kom en Soldat marcherende henad Landeveien: een, to! een, to! han havde sit Tornister paa Ryggen og en Sabel ved Siden, for han havde været i Krigen, og nu skulde han hjem. Saa mødte han en gammel Hex paa Landeveien; hun var saa ækel, hendes Underlæbe hang lige ned paa Brystet. Hun sagde: "god Aften, Soldat! hvor Du har en pæn Sabel og et stort Tornister. Du er en rigtig Soldat! Nu skal Du faae saa mange Penge, Du vil eie!"

"Tak skal Du have, din gamle Hex!" sagde Soldaten.

2) The Tinder-Box (MG)

A story about a tinder-box? Yes, but then it was such a wonderful one! Why, it must certainly have been a magic box!

It belonged to an old witch, this tinder-box, but it had been left right down inside a tree by the ugly old witch's grandmother. But get it again she must, for she knew it really was a magic tinder-box.

But how could she get it?

Tramp, tramp; right, left, right, left. She heard the steps come nearer and nearer. She looked! There was a soldier coming along; tramp, tramp.

She could see him now, with a knapsack on his back, and his sword at his side.

The soldier had been to the wars and was coming home.

'Good evening,' said the witch, as he came close to her. 'Good evening! what a bright sword you wear, and what a big knapsack! You shall have as much money as you wish for yourself!'

'Thank you, old witch,' said the soldier. But he did not tell her that she did not look as though she had much money to spare. He was too wise to say anything but, 'Thank you, old witch.'

3)

Nu levede han saa lystig, tog paa Comedie, kjørte i Kongens Have og gav de Fattige saa mange Penge og det var smukt gjort! han vidste nok fra gamle Dage, hvor slemt det var ikke at eie en Skilling! - Han var nu riig, havde pæne Klæder, og fik da saa mange Venner, der Alle sagde, han var en rar En, en rigtig Cavalier, og det kunde Soldaten godt lide! Men da han hver Dag gav Penge ud, og fik slet ingen ind igjen, saa havde han tilsidst ikke mere end to Skillinger tilbage og maatte flytte bort fra de smukke Værelser, hvor han havde boet, og op paa et lille bitte Kammer, heelt inde under Taget, selv børste sine Støvler og sye paa dem med en Stoppenaal, og ingen af hans Venner kom til ham, for der vare saa mange Trapper at gaae op ad.

4)

He was living a life of pleasure now, going to plays, riding in the royal gardens, and giving a great deal of money to the poor - and that was noble of him! He knew well enough from the old days how wretched it can be not to own a penny! He was rich now, he had fine clothes, and he made very many friends, who all said he was a rare fellow, a proper gentleman - and that pleased the soldier greatly! But since he was spending his money every day and not getting a penny to replace it, he was left at last with no more than two shillings, and he had to move from the beautiful rooms where he had been living up to a narrow little attic right under the roof. He had to brush his own boots and mend them with a darning needle, and none of his friends would come to visit him because there were far too many stairs to go up. (Kingsland)

5) The Nisse at the Grocer's

There was once a Student - a proper Student; he lived in an attic, and possessed just nothing at all. There was also a Grocer - a proper Grocer; he lived in a comfortable room, and possessed the whole house. So the Nisse clung to the Grocer, for the Grocer could give him, every Christmas eve, a bowl of gruel, with such a great lump of butter in it. The Student could not afford him that; so the Nisse dwelt in the shop, and was right comfortable there. (Peachey)

6) "Nu skal Studenten faae!" og saa gik Nissen ganske sagte ad Kjøkkentrappen op til Qvisten, hvor Studenten boede. Der var Lys derinde, og Nissen kiggede gjennem Nøglehullet, og saae at Studenten læste i den pjaltede Bog nedefra. Men, hvor der var lyst derinde! der stod ud af Bogen en klar Straale, der blev til en Stamme, til et mægtigt Træ, som løftede sig saa høit og bredte sine Grene vidt ud over Studenten. Hvert Blad var saa friskt og hver Blomst var et deiligt Pigehoved, nogle med Øine saa mørke og straalende, andre saa blaa og forunderlige klare. Hver Frugt var en skinnende Stjerne, og saa sang og klang det vidunderligt deiligt!

7) "Now I'll try it on the student!" And so the little goblin went quite quietly up the back stairs to the attic where the student lived. There was a light inside his room, and the goblin peeped through the keyhole and saw the student reading the tattered book from downstairs. But how bright it was in the room! A bright beam of light rose out of the book and grew into a trunk, a mighty tree that rose up high and spread out its broad branches over the student. Every leaf looked so fresh, and every flower was the head of a lovely girl, some with eyes so dark and shining, others with eyes so blue and strangely bright. Every fruit was a shining star, and there was a sound of wonderfully beautiful singing. (Kingsland)

8) "Now the student shall have it," said the goblin, and he stole silently up the back stairs to the attic where the student lived. There was a light burning, and the goblin peeped through the key-hole, and saw that the student was reading the tattered book from downstairs. But how bright the room was! A clear ray of light shot forth from the book, which widened out to a stem, and then to a mighty tree, which rose and spread its branches right over the student. The leaves were delightfully fresh, and every flower was like a lovely girl's face, some with dark and sparkling eyes, while others were wonderfully blue and clear. Every fruit was a shining star and the air was filled with music. (Mrs. L.)

NOTES

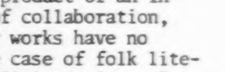
1. By "English" I mean "British" when Andersen is regarded from a mid-19th century point of view; from a modern point of view, however, "English" means "written in English", so that both Andersen and Salman Rushdie are regarded as "English" writers. - Arguments similar to those set out in the following could also be advanced for adopting Andersen into German literature - but hardly into any other literature in the world. The reason why we normally distinguish sharply between originals and translations is of course that an "original" is thought of as a unique product of an individual artist. But a) many originals are the result of collaboration, witness the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, and b) many works have no definite form. This is seen most clearly perhaps in the case of folk literature, e.g. ballads, which often exist in several parallel versions. But parallels may also be found among more modern writers, as with the English vs. the Danish version of Isaak Dinesen's Seven Gothic Tales, with Yeats' incessant revisions of his poems, or Henrik Pontoppidan's of his novels.

2. Cf. Bredsdorff, 1954, 621-22. Bredsdorff enumerates 18 stories, 2 novels, 1 travel book, and the definitive edition of Andersen's autobiography as having appeared in English before they did in Danish.

3. Cf. Darton, ch. VI. According to Darton translated tales, particularly French ones, appeared in chapbook form from the beginning of the 18th century. However, in contrast to what was the case in France, and what soon came to be the case in Germany, folktales were generally frowned upon. The pioneer publisher of Children's literature, John Newbery, "... did practically nothing for the fairy tale. Nursery rhymes and fairy tales were not yet "commercial propositions". They were not "respectable" in the Georgian or original sense of that very English adjective." (p. 85).

4. For a further discussion of this, cf. Pedersen, 1979, ch. II.

5. "le signe linguistique est donc un entité psychique a deux faces, qui peut être représentée par la figure .... → (Saussure, p. 99). Cf. also Pedersen, 1979, 45 ff.



6. Cf. Pedersen, 1979, 48.

7. Cf. Jensen, 103-4, and Wellek & Warren, passim.

8. According to Pound (p. 25) there are 3 aspects of poetry: Melopoeia, "wherein the words are charged, over and above their plain meaning, with some musical property, which directs the bearing or trend of that meaning", Logopoeia, "'the dance of intellect among words'", and Phanopoeia, "a casting of images upon the visual imagination". Only the last category can be translated "almost, or wholly, intact". However, as Pound hints in his essay and demonstrates in his practice, the other 2 categories may be recreated if not reproduced.

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BETWEEN ANTINOMIES AND BEYOND. FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS IN D.H. LAWRENCE

"The most striking feature of Lawrence's Weltanschauung", says Daleski (1965:13), "is its dualism". We do not wish to contest the validity of this view, which still seems to be the prevailing critical view, but we do want to suggest that it needs supplementation. The difference in emphasis between Daleski and us may be illustrated by the way in which he chooses to quote a key passage in "The Crown" in support of his view of the centrality of dualism in Lawrence's thought. This is the quotation as it appears in Daleski (p. 20):

> I know I am compound of two waves ... I am framed in the struggle and embrace of the two opposite waves of darkness and light.

and this is what Lawrence wrote (1968:377):

> I know I am compound of two waves, I, who am temporal and mortal. When I am timeless and absolute, all duality has vanished. But whilst I am temporal and mortal, I am framed in the struggle and embrace of the two opposite waves of darkness and light.

To Lawrence, opposites were a means to a single end, and we shall be concerned chiefly with Lawrence's description and symbolizations of that end and with opposites only in so far as they issue in unity.

Lawrence's fundamental concern was with transcendence of the antinomies of life. The persistency with which he pursued that goal did not arise out of a philosophical conviction that Hegel or Marx were superior thinkers to himself. Nor was it primarily a result of his own attempts to create philosophical systems, his socalled 'pollyanalytics'. The governing and lasting inspiration was biblical trinitarianism, and the imagery he needed to represent such a conception of creation was available from childhood at Sunday School, in "the rather banal Nonconformist hymns that penetrated through and through [his] childhood"[1], in the songs of the miners' bethel, cf. Moore 1974:21, and at home where, he said, he "was always having the Bible read at [him] or to [him]"(1980:54).

A dualist representation of Lawrence's imaginative landscape, if it does not simply disregard kernel symbols and notions like the phoenix, the rainbow, the plumed serpent, the rose, the Holy Ghost, inevitably reduces them to symbols of the relation between opposites itself, to symbols of the principle of dualism. This is unfortunate in view of the consistency with which Lawrence recognizes a world beyond time and space, beyond infinity and eternity; an absolute world of pure, single being, "in the fourth dimension", beyond duality. Furthermore, this timeless world is beyond the world of time and space in a way that makes it impossible to regard it as one end of yet another relational, dualist whole. It is a world which grows out of a dual world of time and space, but it is, itself, single, whole, absolute, unrelatable.

The conceptual relation of the absolute world to the world of antinomies is analogous to the relation between paradise and the fallen world. One is a world of wholeness, absoluteness, and heavenly bliss, the other a world fallen from wholes into opposites, from absoluteness into the relativities of time and space and personal dependencies. A world that has lapsed from the purity of bliss into the pendulum of love and hate.

In the following outline of the structure of Lawrence's ontological thinking and in our discussion of fundamental concepts, we have chosen to focus on the three main philosophical essays written after the "Study of Thomas Hardy", namely "The Crown", "Love", and "The Reality of Peace", all of which were written during the Great War, when Lawrence was struggling with what became The Rainbow and what was to become Women in Love. The system presented in these essays seems to us to have more general relevance for Lawrence's fiction than the much-quoted "Study of Thomas Hardy" and to have fine internal consistency. With all his restless insistence on peace, all his aggressive insistence on the need to submit, with all his verbose exposition of the ineffable nature of the unknown, Lawrence nevertheless manages to convey in these essays an imaginative system with much greater subtlety in its organic dynamics than is suggested by dualist paradigms.

In "The Crown" (1968:365-415), Lawrence sees the field of the royal arms as a portrayal of ourselves, as a symbolic representation of two fundamental 'waves' or 'flames' or 'principles' or 'eternities' or 'infinities' fighting, like the lion and the unicorn, not so that one may conquer and devour the other, but because the fight itself between the two opposites is their sole reason for existing. Each opposite is kept in stable equilibrium by the opposition of the other.

A lion couchant (as distinct from the lion rampant of the royal arms), a lion that lies down with the lamb, is a lion that refuses the obligation of its being. As a result, it becomes a hollow void whose "strength is the power of vacuum, drawing all things within itself" (366), and it will groan with "horrible self-consciousness" (366).

In Lawrence's cultural diagnosis, we are like such a lion - most of us. At the core of our hearts we find "a want, a need, a crying out, a divine discontent". We are "rounded upon a void, a hollow want" and "this want makes us draw all things into ourselves, to fill up the void" (366).

Lawrence's explanation of this hollowness is that "we are enclosed within the womb of our era, we are there begotten and conceived, but not brought forth" (367). Our mistake is to think that the victory of either lion or unicorn over the other will inaugurate a new era, but since the fight takes place within a womb, it will not lead to fulfilment or rebirth.

This is the failure of our time. Its inability "to give us forth in labour" (367). And if there is no birth when "the time of our deliverance is ripe" (367), then chaos reigns. Our age has shut us off from "the dark beyond the darkness of the womb" (372) and the "light beyond the light of knowledge" (372), from a world in which we are

> brought forth, like the waves which meet and clash and burst up into foam, sending the foam like light, like shadow, into the zenith of the absolute, beyond the grasp of either eternity. We are ... that which, between the oceans, is not, but that which supersedes the oceans in utter reality, and gleams in absolute Eternity. (372)

In this image, man is defined as having no true being in the flux of time. His true being "is the clash of the two into one" (372), which is whole and absolute.

Man, made up of darkness and light, flesh and spirit, partakes of the two infinities/eternities of beginning and end: "the vast original dark out of which Creation issued" and "the Eternal light into which all mortality passes" (370). But unless there is "consummation of each in the other", man is a mere "nullity".

The consummation of light in darkness and darkness in light, says

Lawrence, is absolute:

> our bodies cast up like foam of two meeting waves, but foam which is absolute, complete, beyond the limitation of either infinity, consummate over both eternities. The direct opposites of the Beginning and the End, by their very directness, imply their own supreme relation. And this supreme relation is made absolute in the clash and the foam of the meeting waves. And the clash and the foam are the Crown, the Absolute. (371)

The symbols of absolute being employed in "The Crown" are foam, music, and rainbow (or iris), all of which are onenesses or two-in-ones that have come into being out of the consummation of opposites in each other. What they symbolize is new being, truth arising out of "the surge of facts" (373), supreme reason from between conflicting desires, the Holy Ghost from between the opposite divinities of God the Father and God the Son, whereas the crown is a symbol of "the absolute within the fight", the principle of transcendence through perfect balance of opposition, the holiness of "the fight of opposites" (374).

Lawrence is perfectly explicit in distinguishing between lesser and greater being:

> This I, which I am, has no being save in timelessness. In my consummation, when that which came from the Beginning and that which came from the End are transfused into oneness, then I come into being, I have existence. Till then I am only a part of nature; I am not.
>
> But as part of nature, as part of the flux, I have my instrumental identity, my inferior I, my self-conscious ego ... an accidental cohesion in the flux of time. (383-4)

If man is believed to run his course between the extremities of light and dark, of mind and flesh, of beginning and end, life comes to be conceived of in terms of a battlefield or a marriage-bed - the two seem to have amounted to much the same in Lawrence's experience.

The "swoon, the climax, the consummation" (375) experienced by warring opposites, whether in marital or martial encounter, transports them out of the world of flux, and they achieve being in timelessness, "absolved from all opposition": "they burst into the crisis of oneness, the blossom, the utter being, the transcendent and timeless flame of the iris" (376).

Such experiences of coming into being are not for everyone. Most people's lives remain uncreated:

> There are myriads of human lives that are not absolute nor timeless, myriads that just waver and toss temporarily, never become more than relative, never come into being. They have no being, no immortality. (376-7)

But wilful blasphemy is worse than a mere failure to achieve being. If we fall into egoism, not only do "we lose all chance of blossoming" (393), "the flux of corruption is [then] the breath of our existence" (393). Personally, scientifically, and politically, we have blasphemed the divine and mystical flow of creation and destruction by attempting to contain them within a hard shell of false absolutes, the stasis imposed by egotistical will and inertia, by scientific analysis and law-making, and by egalitarianism and peace-mongering. At all levels, our culture has attempted to stem the natural flow of life and prevented transcendence into true being.

The argument of the essay called "Love" (1936:151-6) is in perfect tune with the system expounded in "The Crown". Here, Lawrence is out to put love in its right place as a phenomenon of the temporal world. Love is a coming together in the process of creation, it is a gravitation or travelling towards a goal, not the arrival. Therefore love cannot offer the supreme joy granted by arrival, which is a two-in-one term combining love and its opposite, which is death in this essay. In arriving, we travel out of the world of opposites and enter into "the realm of calm delight" (153), the "other-kingdom of bliss", which at once encompasses and transcends the processes of love and death. In "The Reality of Peace" (1936: 669-694) the great flows of creation and destruction are viewed as a "great systole-diastole of the universe ... [without] aim or purpose" (669). It is "the beating of the everlasting heart" (669) of the universe, and we are seen either as the blood travelling in the veins, or as a shuttle flying "from never to ever", used by the universe to weave a pattern that we have not designed.

In this essay, which has a stronger Futurist orientation than the others, transcendence is said to require conversion, "we must choose life" (673). We must "leap away from" our old selves "into the ... awful fires of creation" (673), which is "a passage through a crisis greater than death or martyrdom. It is a passage from the old way of death to a new way of creation" (672-3). Peace is perfect understanding, which is "perfect unison of acquiescence", "when we sleep upon the living drift of the unknown" (669), whether in the process of creation or when "we run the gauntlet of destruction" (670).

The emphasis in this essay - which we believe is a strategic emphasis rather than a matter of principle (as Colin Clarke would have it) - is on acceptance of the river of dissolution, the principle of corruption symbolized by the serpent:

> Either we can and will understand the other thing that we are, the flux of darkness and lively decomposition, and so become free and whole, or we fight shy of this half of ourselves, as man has always fought shy of it, and gone under the burden of secret shame and self-abhorrence. (676)

That emphasis is necessary to redress a lost balance. Bliss or peace comes when we immerse ourselves in the destructive element, when we welcome the horror of the serpent in the flux of putrescence, "the slow stream of decomposition that flows for ever down my bowels" (679).

Out of the duality of the desire of life and the desire of death arises "pure being" (680), "whole understanding" (680), "when I am like a rose" (680). In that perfect consummation "when duality and polarity is transcended into absorption" (693) peace is found, and peace is absolution both in the sense of absoluteness and in the sense of freedom beyond duality. It is a leap or a fall back into the heaven on earth from which we fell:

> I give myself to the love that makes me join and fuse towards a universal oneness; I give myself to the hate that makes me detach myself, extricate myself vividly from the other in sharp passion; I am given up into universality of fellowship and communion, I am distinguished in keen resistance and isolation, both so utterly, so exquisitely, that I am and I am not at once; suddenly I lapse out of the duality into a sheer beauty of fulfilment. I am a rose of lovely peace. (694)

We shall now go on to discuss in greater detail the meanings of Lawrence's favourite concepts and symbols such as rainbow, crown, Holy Ghost, rose, plumed serpent and phoenix.

The abstract terms polarity and star-equilibrium indicate a balance of attraction and repulsion between separate poles or individuals, but these two terms do not suggest what is our main interest, a third thing, something which reaches beyond, into transcendence.

The implications of the term beyond will be dealt with in connection with the fundamental concepts and symbols.

Not all of the symbols we are dealing with occur in Lawrence's fictional writings. The crown image is only used in his essay "The Crown", the Holy Ghost or Spirit, a favourite word in Lawrence's 'philosophy', mainly occurs in his theoretical writings and poetry and this applies to the rose as well.

The rainbow image is prominent in "The Crown" and the novel The Rainbow. In The Rainbow Tom and Lydia establish a rainbow between them in a union that combines oneness and otherness, i.e. harmony and separateness. When Tom accepts Lydia's otherness, her foreignness, and lets go of his known self, he finds a new self, and the rainbow uniting heaven and earth, light and darkness, is created.

In "The Crown" Lawrence explains his use of the rainbow image thus:

> It is that which comes when night clashes on day, the rainbow, the yellow and rose and blue and purple of dawn and sunset, which leaps out of the breaking of light upon darkness, of darkness upon light, absolute beyond day or night; the rainbow, the iridiscence which is darkness at once and light, the two-in-one; the crown that binds them both. (1968:373)

In a sense the rainbow is the two-in-one, the union of darkness and light, but it is also something comepletely new. It presupposes a clash of light and darkness, but it is itself yellow and rose and blue and purple, the whole iris.

The end of The Rainbow contains Ursula's vision of the rainbow:

> She saw in the rainbow the earth's new architecture, the old, brittle corruption of houses and factories swept away, the world built up in a living fabric of Truth, fitting to the over-arching heaven. (1971:496)

Here the rainbow symbolizes the hope of future consummation, not something attained.

To Dorothy Brett Lawrence once said (quoted from Daleski 1965:125):

> My idea of Eternity I can best illustrate by the rainbow:
> it is the meeting half-way of two elements. The meeting
> of the sun and of the water produce, at exactly the right
> place and moment, the rainbow. So it is in everything,
> and that is eternal .... the Nirvana .... just the moment
> of the meeting of two elements.

Eternity here stands for timelessness whereas in "The Crown" Lawrence talks about two eternities, original darkness and ultimate light, which are both to be transcended in the absolute, symbolized by the rainbow and the Holy Ghost.

This quotation illustrates Lawrence's idea of eternity, Nirvana, paradise, as a moment of illumination. It is an absolute, timeless experience of wholeness, consummation, in the fourth dimension. It is a leap taken into the beyond, the intangible unknown:

> Life is a travelling to the edge of knowledge,
> then a leap taken. (1968:374)

From our first quotation it would seem that rainbow and crown are parallel symbols, but this is not, we think, fundamentally the case. The crown that the lion and the unicorn, which stand for power and love, are fighting for, is not a symbol of transcendence.

> The true crown is upon the consummation itself, not upon
> the triumph of one over another, neither in love nor in
> power. (1968:381)

The crown suggests consummation, fulfilment of the self in a balance between the opposites of love and power. It is the end result of the fight between the urge for power and the urge for love. But the crown does not suggest a leap into the beyond, the unknown. It is, however, a third thing, so it is not a parallel to the terms polarity, star-equilibrium, either.

Another quotation from "The Crown" states the antinomies of life and death:

> While we live, we are balanced between the flux of life
> and the flux of death. But the real clue is the Holy Ghost,
> that moves us into the state of blossoming. (1968:396)

Here it is the Holy Ghost which is the unifying principle. Now, is the

Holy Ghost a symbol like the crown or like the rainbow?

In Twilight in Italy (1956:46) Lawrence uses Holy Ghost to refer to the relation between opposites such as the Father and the Son and the tiger and the lamb, so that Holy Ghost would appear to be a parallel to the crown in that it relates opposites at the same time as it keeps them apart, i.e. they both remain in tension.

> The Father is the Father, and the Son is the Son. I may know the Son and deny the Father, or know the Father and deny the Son. But that which I may never deny, and which I have denied, is the Holy Ghost which relates the dual Infinites into One Whole, which relates and keeps distinct the dual natures of God.

On the human plane, in man-woman relationships, Lawrence uses the Holy Ghost to indicate the spark of desire, which connects the two. E.g. in his essay "Him With His Tail in His Mouth" (1968:434):

> If it is to be life, then it is fifty per cent me, fifty per cent thee: and the third thing, the spark, which springs from out of the balance, is timeless. Jesus, who saw it a bit vaguely, called it the Holy Ghost.
> Between man and woman, fifty per cent man and fifty per cent woman: then the pure spark. Either this, or less than nothing.

From this quotation it should be clear that not only does the Holy Ghost stand for a balance, it also stands for something timeless, i.e. like the rainbow it is a symbol of transcendence, of moving into, leaping into the beyond or - as it was phrased in "The Crown" (1968:396):

> (it) is the Holy Ghost, that moves us into the state of blossoming.

In Lady Chatterley's Lover in a letter to Connie Mellors writes about the little flame between Connie and himself and he says about this flame,

> It's my Pentecost, the forked flame between me and you. (1960:316)

The forked flame suggests a combination of oneness and otherness, it suggests harmony and union as well as separateness and individuality. The Holy Ghost, the pentecost, is that which carries beyond the human, earthly plane into a condition of timelessness, into what Lawrence in his essay

"Love" calls the other-kingdom of bliss:

> There is a goal, but the goal is neither love nor death. It is a goal neither infinite nor eternal. It is the realm of calm delight, it is the other-kingdom of bliss. We are like a rose, which is a miracle of pure centrality, pure absolved equilibrium. Balanced in perfection in the midst of time and space, the rose is perfect in the realm of perfection, neither temporal nor spatial, but absolved by the quality of perfection, pure immanence of absolution.

The rose - like the rainbow and the Holy Ghost - combines not merely contrasting concepts within the world of time and space but also combines this world with the other-kingdom of bliss. It is balanced in the midst of time and space, and it is outside and beyond time and space, absolved from time and space.

In another passage in "Love" (1936:154) we find:

> We are like a rose. In the pure passion of oneness, in the pure passion for distinctness and separateness, a dual passion of unutterable separation and lovely conjunction of the two, the new configuration takes place, the transcendence, the two in their perfect singleness, transported into one surpassing heaven of a rose-blossom. (1936:154)

Love ideally combines oneness and otherness, but the rose is something wholly new. As appears from the following quotation it is the creation of a new condition, a new heaven and earth, which is of vital importance to Lawrence:

> There must be two in one, always two in one - the sweet love of communion and the fierce, proud love of sensual fulfilment, both together in one love. And then we are like a rose. We surpass even love, love is encompassed and surpassed. We are two who have a pure connexion. We are two, isolated like gems in our unthinkable otherness. But the rose contains and transcends us, we are one rose, beyond. (1936:154-155).

Love consists of the communion of souls and the sensuality of bodies. The rose which is created out of the conjunction of the two kinds of love at once contains these two kinds of love and the two beings and carries them into transcendence.

In the essay "Love" the rose is used as a symbol of a perfected relationship, but the rose can also stand for the perfection of the self. In "The Reality of Peace" (1936:680) Lawrence says:

> For there are ultimately only two desires, the desire of life and the desire of death. Beyond these is pure being, where I am absolved from desire and made perfect. This is when I am like a rose, when I balance for a space in pure adjustment and pure understanding. The timeless quality of being is understanding; when I understand fully, flesh and blood and bone, and mind and soul and spirit one rose of unison, then I am. Then I am unrelated and perfect. In true understanding I am always perfect and timeless. In my utterance of that which I have understood I am timeless as a jewel.

Here it is the isolated individual who moves into the state of transcendence in an experience of understanding, illumination, which is timeless. The term being indicates true, consummated being.

Another passage from "The Reality of Peace" (1936:689) says:

> Or I bring forth an exquisite unknown rose from the tree of my veins, a rose of the living spirit, beyond any woman and beyond any man transcendent.

Here the movement beyond carries the self away from human connections into transcendence, but it is significant that the basis is the body:

> I bring forth an unknown rose from the tree of my veins.

Lawrence stresses both the escape from the body and the rootedness in the body.

In "The Reality of Peace" Lawrence uses the contrasting concepts of tigers and lambs, which - like lion and unicorn - stand for power and love:

> We are tigers, we are lambs. Yet are we also neither tigers nor lambs, nor immune sluggish sheep. We are beyond all this, this relative life of uneasy balancing. We are roses of pure and lovely being. This we are ultimately, beyond all dark and light. Yes, we are tigers, we are lambs, both in our various hour. We are both these, and more. Because we are both these, because we are lambs,

> frail and exposed, because we are lions furious and
> devouring, because we are both, and have the courage to be
> both, in our separate hour, therefore we transcend both,
> we pass into a beyond, we are roses of perfect consummation. (1936:690)

Consummation in blossoming depends on the individual's acceptance of both power and love (or meekness) within himself, but here it is not merely a crown which is to keep the two balanced, it is a question of passing into the beyond, into consummation and perfection.

The condition of blessedness is described again in the following passage:

> It is not of love that we are fulfilled, but of love in such intimate equipoise with hate that the transcendence takes place. It is not in pride that we are free, but in pride, so perfectly matched by meekness that we are liberated as into blossom. There is a transfiguration, a rose with glimmering petals, upon a bush that knew no more than the dusk of green leaves heretofore. There is a new heaven on the earth, there is new heaven and new earth, the heaven and earth of the perfect rose. (1936:693)

Now, is the transcendent state unconnected with our known world, is it a transportation into heaven or a mystical world? What does it mean that there is a new heaven on the earth?

Perhaps a quotation from Lawrence's poem "New Heaven and Earth" (1964: 258) may clarify what he means,

> For when it is quite, quite nothing, then it is everything.
> When I am trodden quite out, quite, quite out,
> every vestige gone, then I am here
> risen and setting my foot on another world
> risen, accomplishing a resurrection
> risen, not born again, but risen, body the same as before,
> new beyond knowledge of newness, alive beyond life,
> proud beyond inkling or furthest conception of pride,
> living where life was never yet dreamed of, nor hinted at,
> here, in the other world, still terrestrial,
> myself, the same as before, yet unaccountably new.

It seems here that what is sought and found is a new self, a new world within the known self, the known world. The body is the basis from which the experience of timelessness in the beyond issues and to which it returns.

In this poem the source of the experience of newness and rebirth is - as it very often is in Lawrence - physical.

It was the flank of my wife
I touched with my hand, I clutched with my hand,
rising, new-awakened from the tomb!
It was the flank of my wife
whom I married years ago
at whose side I have lain, for over a thousand nights
and all that previous while, she was I, she was I;
I touched her, it was I who touched and I who was touched. (1964:260)

The fundamental idea here is that of newly discovered otherness, which recurs so many times in Lawrence's fiction. The passage in the poem is a parallel to the description in The Rainbow of Tom and Lydia's fulfilment in the flesh and of Will and Anna's fulfilment in fierce sensuality. It is also found in Birkin and Ursula's experience in Women in Love (1954:312)

> For she was to him what he was to her, the immemorial
> magnificence of mystic, palpable, real otherness.

It is the experience that Connie and Mellors share in their night of sensual passion. It is dissolution, reduction or - to put it concretely - anal sexuality, which is (according to Lawrence) a necessary element in a perfected relationship, which combines soul-communion and sensuality into a plumed serpent (soul and body).

So the poem "New Heaven and Earth" describes a plunge or a leap into something unknown, something beyond the self, it means a complete letting go, but it is not an escape from the body into abstraction, spirituality. When Lawrence talks about heaven it is usually heaven "here in the flesh" ("Manifesto" 1964:265).

It is probably not very surprising to readers of Lawrence that he sometimes holds the opposite view, i.e. that the basis is not the body but the soul or the spirit. In Twilight in Italy (1956:109) he states,

> It is in the spirit that marriage takes place. In the
> flesh there is connection, but only in the spirit is there
> a new thing created out of two different antithetic things.
> In the body I am conjoined with the woman. But in the

> spirit my conjunction with her creates a third thing, an absolute, a Word, which is neither me nor her, nor of me nor of her, but which is absolute.

Lawrence's favourite symbol of rebirth is the phoenix. In the poem entitled "Phoenix" (1964:728) he says,

> Are you willing to be sponged out, erased, cancelled
> Made nothing? Are you willing to be made nothing?
> dipped into oblivion?
> if not, you will never really change.
> The phoenix renews her youth
> only when she is burnt, burnt alive, burnt down
> to hot and flocculent ash.
> Then the small stirring of a new small bub in the nest
> with strands of down like floating ash
> shows that she is renewing her youth like the eagle
> immortal bird.

The phoenix symbolizes a complete change into another form of existence, a transformation, a transfiguration.

It is a potent symbol of change, and after we have discussed Lawrence's ideas of timelessness and transcendence, it may not be inappropriate to mention his counterbalancing emphasis on change and flow, as shown in the following quotation from "The Crown":

> While we live, we change, and our flowering is a constant change (1968:396)

The rainbow changes and disappears, the rose unfolds and withers in this world. In his essay "Do Women Change" (1968:542) Lawrence says:

> Love itself is a flow, two little streams of feeling, one from the woman, one from the man, that flow and flow and never stop, and sometimes they twinkle with stars, sometimes they chafe, but still they flow on, intermingling, and if they rise to a floweriness like a daisy, that is part of the flow! and they will inevitably die down again, which is also part of a flow. And one relationship may produce many flowerinesses, as a daisy plant produces many daisies; but they will all die down again as the summer passes, though the green plant itself need not die.

> If flowers didn't fade they wouldn't be flowers, they'd be artificial things. But there are roots to faded flowers and in the root the flow continues and continues.

So timelessness, perfection, the absolute, are set up against time, space, relativity. In "Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine"(1968:469) Lawrence says:

> Any creature that attains to its own fulness of being, its own living self, becomes unique, a nonpareil. It has its place in the fourth dimension, the heaven of existence, and there it is perfect, it is beyond comparison. At the same time, every creature exists in time and space. And in time and space it exists relatively to all other existence.

The leap taken into the beyond momentarily resolves the opposites - whether they are termed darkness and light, power and love, oneness and otherness, life and death - and creates something completely new, a rainbow, a Holy Ghost, a rose or a phoenix. The opposed forces do not retain their separate identities or complement one another (as Daleski says), they undergo a complete change, a mystical transfiguration.

NOTES

1. "Hymns in a Man's Life", Lawrence (1968:597).

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THREE DESCRIPTIONS OF THE LAWRENCE COUNTRY. ON THE METAPHORIC USE OF CASE, ASPECT AND VALENCY IN THE NARRATIVE TECHNIQUE OF THE RAINBOW BY D. H. LAWRENCE

Introduction

The Rainbow by D. H. Lawrence is a kind of Bildungsroman, where three late generations of the Brangwen family learn to live in a modern industrialised society. This process is seen against the background of the early anonymous Brangwens, all farmers, in pre-industrial England.

I have chosen three texts where the relations between the country and its inhabitants are described:

In the A-text we meet the early Brangwens in their rural country kingdom. The text consists of the first 7 paragraphs of the book, 22 numbered sentences.

In the B-text their land is invaded by modern civilization. The text consists of the first 9 paragraphs, 20 numbered sentences, of the second part of Chapter 1.

In the C-text we see Wiggiston, a place already industrialized, and its inhabitants, all miners. Wiggiston is seen with the eyes of two people from the last three Brangwen generations, Tom Brangwen Jr, the manager of the mine, and his young niece, Ursula Brangwen. The text comes from Chapter 12 and consists of 6 paragraphs, 28 numbered sentences (Lawrence 1977:345, He lived ..).

The texts are of roughly the same length and contain 60 - 90 predicates. As predicates I count finite verbs, and participles both as predicates and as modifiers of nouns. For comparison I have also counted those de-verbal and de-adjectival nouns which still make a verbal impression, plus adjectives directly modifying nouns.

The texts differ considerably in character. We can follow the change going over the country and the people, and we are influenced by Lawrence's attitude to the whole process. This is achieved by means of a few well chosen metaphors which set the tone, and the strategic use of deep case, aspect and valency.

One of the difficulties with deep case theory is that, on one hand, the case labels are said to denote the relations between the arguments of a certain verb, and that, on the other hand, case linguists can be heard talking about "what is generally thought of as Instruments, like shovel". Cf. Nilsen 1973:103. This seems to be a contradiction, but it does not have to be. Lyons (1977:484) points out that language was constructed for paradigm cases. To be able to describe this I use a multi-level case theory[1]. Apart from subjects, objects and other parts of a surface sentence, I talk about both a situational level and a verbal level.

The situational level is pre-verbal and unthematic. In a situation the different participants play roles. Some nouns are more likely than others in a certain role, people as Agentives, as Experiencers of emotions or as Benefactives, i. e. as recipients of gifts etc., winds and tidal waves as Forces, lawn-mowers and knives as Instruments, etc. I think that deep cases as they were defined by Fillmore and other early case grammarians to a great extent were situational roles, so on this level I mostly use his terms. In Table 1 they appear in roughly the order they are likely to appear as subjects in a clause. I use semantic features to describe them. The names themselves also contain a distinguishing feature. Bracketed features are optional.

Case		Animacy	Power	Action	Conretion	Relation
Agentive	Nuclear	+	(+)	+	+	
Experiencer		+			+	
Force			+	+	(+)	
Benefactive		+			+	
Dative		+			+	
Objective					(+)	
Instrument	Circumstantial		(+)	+	(+)	
Locative					(+)	
Time						
Reason			(+)	+		+
Etc						

Table 1. Situational roles

The verbal level is thematic, i. e. it is reached when one has picked out a certain way of looking at a situation and wants to put it into words. Then an appropriate verb, with its set of cases is chosen. I use Agens, Patiens and Object for these relations. The names are similar to those of the situational roles which paradigmatically appear in these slots, with the exception of Patiens, in whose slot we are likely to find Experiencer, Benefactive and Dative, i. e. animates in non-Agens position. Force normally appears in the Agens slot.

All the three nuclear cases can appear in the subject position in a hierarchical order: Agens, Patiens, Object. This makes it possible to create case patterns and use them for strategic purposes. A text where the subjects are mostly Patiens makes an impression a lot different from one where the subjects are mostly Agens or Object.

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[1] A somewhat longer version of my case theory can be found in my article "On the role of case, aspect and valency in the narrative technique of The Rainbow by D.H.Lawrence" in Papers from the second Scandinavian symposium on syntactic variation.

As verbs in their case frames have few nuclear arguments compared to the number of situational roles, the slots for these arguments can be filled with more than one kind of situational role, more or less paradigmatic in the position. We can choose to move the Agentive out of the nucleus of the sentence by using the passive. We can leave it out of sight completely and place an Instrument in the Agens position instead, all for strategic reasons. We can also move non-paradigmatic roles into the Agens slot in order to achieve a desired effect, e. g. to make nature seem animate. This is possible because we expect to find a certain type of noun in each slot. The position as such entails certain very basic features, and these tend to be grafted on to nouns not normally occurring there.

	Animacy	Power	Action
Agens	(+)	(+)	+
Patiens	+		
Object			

Table 2. Verb cases

A non-paradigmatic role can be moved into the Agens Position by being made the subject of a verb which in its case frame has Agens, as this case is at the top of the hierarchy. For statistical reasons we tend to supply this non-paradigmatic Agens with an Agentive shadow participant. I call this the shunting mechanism.

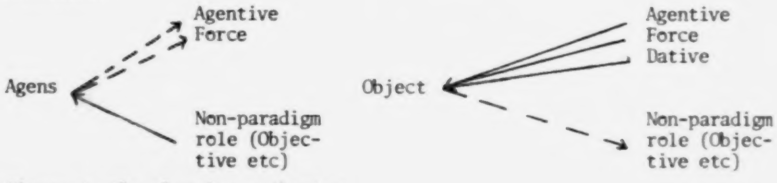
Agentive
Force
Agens
Non-paradigm role (Objective etc)
Agentive
Force
Dative
Object
Non-paradigm role (Objective etc)

Figure 1. The shunting mechanism

As can be seen the shunting mechanism can work both ways. It is very unusual for a noun in the subject position to be shunted downwards, however, as the position as such tends to presuppose agentivity, due to the hierarchy.

The shunting mechanism often leads to case metaphor, which can be regarded as a sub-set of conventional metaphor. In B13 it is a Locative that has been shunted up to Agens.

B13. The duckpond lay beyond the furthest wall, littering its white feathers on the padded earthen banks, blowing its stray soiled feathers into the grass and the gorse bushes below the canal embankment,

When a verb has alternative case frames, there has to be disambiguating material not too far away in the text to make the shunting mechanism work. In A17 pulse and body and like desire help us to read soil as Agens instead of Object.

A17. Their life and interrelations were such; feeling the pulse and body of the soil, that opened to their furrow for the grain, and became smooth and supple after their ploughing, and clung to their feet with a weight that pulled like desire, lying hard and unresponsive when the crops were to be shorn away.

This is also the way faded metaphors are revived.

A 1. The Brangwens had lived for generations on the Marsh farm, in the meadows where the Erewash twisted sluggishly through alder trees, separating Derbyshire from Nottinghamshire.

Abstract nouns have no "root" on the situational level, as they do not stand for a participant, but for a relation or a quality. When they occur on the verbal level, we sometimes supply them with a "shadow" participant role, love can become Love or even Venus. How far up the scale they go is dependent of the selection restrictions of the verb, but they can easily become concrete.

A18. The young corn waved and was silken, and the lustre slid along the limbs of the men who saw it.

The A-text

Metaphors

The Rainbow was written as early as 1915, and its opening lines describe a setting. Such a text could be expected to make a rather static impression, but this one is, in fact, very dynamic. Man and nature alike are filled with life and vitally connected, and this is signalled by a number of carefully planned metaphors[1].

A 7. They were fresh, blond, slow-speaking people revealing themselves plainly, but slowly, so that one could watch the change in their eyes from laughter to anger, blue, lit-up laughter, to a hard blue-staring anger; through all the irresolute stages of the sky when the weather is changing.

A22. Then the men sat by the fire in the house where the women moved about with surety, and the limbs and the body of the men were impregnated with the day, cattle and earth and vegetation and the sky, the men sat by the fire and their brains were inert, as their blood flowed heavy with the accumulation from the living day.

Nature is his partner.

A17. Their life and interrelations were such; feeling the pulse and body of the soil, that opened to their furrow for the grain, and became smooth and supple after their ploughing, and clung to their feet with a weight that pulled like desire, lying hard and unresponsive when the crops were to be shorn away.

But, after all, he is the inheritor, the master.

A 6. They had that air of readiness for what would come to them, a kind of surety, an expectancy, the look of an inheritor.

A20. They mounted their horses, and held life between the grip of their knees, they harnessed their horses at the wagon, and, with hand on the bridle-rings, drew the heaving of the horses after their will.

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[1] I use the term in a wide sense, including also simile, comparison etc.

Roles and cases

The number of predicates where the Brangwens, or parts and properties of them are subjects, is balanced by the number where the subjects come from the countryside, 45 - 41. Three things in Table 3 are especially worth noticing:

1. The large number of participles as predicates of nature subjects.
2. The large number of predicative nouns derived from verbs and adjectives.
3. The very small number of modifying adjectives.

	Finite Predicates	Participles as		Derived Nouns	Adjectives as Modifiers
		Predicates	Modifiers		
People	29	4	1	22	2
Properties	9	-	2	2	2
Nature	27	11	3	14	7

Table 3. Distribution of predicates

What is needed, however, in order to really place man and nature on the same level is to make them act and feel to the same extent. Tables 4a - c show the case patterns and the distribution of the underlying roles. A count of the Agens subjects of finite verbs and participles in Table 4a yields 21 for people and properties as opposed to 26 for nature. Where man is concerned, the majority of the underlying roles are, paradigmatically, Agentive. The others are Dative, and their Agens effect is very weak, e. g.

A 1. The Brangwens had lived for generations on the Marsh Farm,

A11. So the Brangwens came and went without fear of necessity,

As for the 2 properties, I have classed instinct as Force, as it has power and is part of their character, but anger, which is more temporary, is a predicate on the situational level.

A13. They were aware of the last halfpenny, and instinct made them not waste the peeling of their apple, for it would help to feed the cattle.

A 7. .. one could watch the change in their eyes from laughter to anger, blue, lit-up laughter, to a hard blue-staring anger;

Where nature is concerned, we get a small group of underlying Agentive animals. But the predominant group is, as could be expected, Force of nature. It has to be pointed out here that the dividing line between Force and Objective is a problematic one, since it is culture dependent. In accordance with Lawrence's own philosophy, at least in this book, and also with mythology and folklore, I have classified earth, winds, weathers, rivers etc. as Force. One can in this connection think of goddesses of earth and fertility, e. g. Demeter, different gods of the winds, such as Aeolus, etc. Even the Mississippi, as it is used in Ole man river fits in here. What they all have in common is the feature power.

A14. But heaven and earth was teeming around them, and how should this cease?

A15. They felt the rush of the sap in spring, they knew the wave which cannot halt, but every year throws forward the seed to begetting, and, falling back, leaves the young-born on the earth.

A17. Their life and interrelations were such; feeling the pulse and body of the soil, that opened to their furrow for the grain, and became smooth and supple after their ploughing, and clung to their feet with a weight that pulled like desire, lying hard and unresponsive when the crops were to be shorn away.

Table 4a	Case				Roles											
	AGENS				1. Agentive[1]		3. Force		5. Dative		6. Objective		7. Instrument		10. Reason	
	F[2]	P	N	A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A
People	15	4	6		12	3			7	3						
Properties	1	1	4				1							4[3]		
Nature	19	7	11		4	1	17	9		1	5					1

Table 4b	Case				Roles											
	PATIENS				2. Experiencer		4. Benefactive		5. Dative		6. Objective		7. Instrument		8. Locative	
	F	P	N	A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A
People	15	1	11	2	10	7		2	4	4						
Properties	3		1	1						1			1	1	2	
Nature	1	2							1		2					

Table 4c	Case				Roles											
	OBJECT				3. Force		4. Benefactive		5. Dative		6. Objective		7. Instrument		8. Locative	
	F	P	N	A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A
People																
Properties	5	2		1	2							1	1			
Nature	8		3	6	2			1	1		5	8				

Tables 4a - c. Case patterns and distribution of roles

There are no Agens arguments of adjectives either for man or nature, but there are about 10 predicative derived nouns on either side. It is very difficult to pinpoint the arguments of derived nouns. I have included them all the same, because this investigation would be incomplete without them, as they keep much of their verbal/adjectival quality.

A16. They knew the intercourse between heaven and earth, sunshine drawn into the breast and bowels, the rain sucked up in the daytime, nakedness that comes under the wind in autumn, showing the birds' nests no longer worth hiding.

They have an intermediate, half dynamic function. You can get away with more, when you want to animate nature, if you use them, and at the same time they can be used if you want to reduce the dynamic impression people naturally make.

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[1] I have numbered the roles in the order they appear in Table 1, and excluded those that are not represented in each table in order to save space.

[2] F=Finite predicate, P=Participle, N=Derived noun, A=Adjectives

[3] The sums of the roles are sometimes less than the sums of thecases, because the abstract nouns normally do not have a root on the situational level.

In Table 4b we see that in the Patiens group there is no balance between man and nature. The numbers are 19 - 3 for finite predicates and participles. For people we find 10 Experiencer roles, for nature none. Nature is monitored by the people, and the tempo increases.

A 3. Whenever one of the Brangwens in the fields lifted his head from his work, he saw the church-tower at Ilkeston in the empty sky.

A 4. So that as he turned again to the horizontal land, he was aware of something standing above him and beyond him in the distance.

A15. They felt the rush of the sap in spring, they knew the wave which cannot halt, but every year throws forward the seed to begetting,

The proportions are the same for nouns, 12 - 1, and adjectives, 3 - 0. Here, too, the underlying role is mostly Experiencer. We get a description of the characteristic surety and openness with which the Brangwens react to their surroundings. We also learn about their economic situation, and there the role is Benefactive.

A 6. They had that air of readiness for what would come to them, a kind of surety, an expectancy, the look of an inheritor.

A11. So the Brangwens came and went without fear of necessity, working hard because of the life that was in them, not for want of the money.

This use of derived nouns gives density to the style. It can be used to give background information or to make us accept things we might otherwise find odd. It is also an important ingredient in Lawrence's new way of describing, or rather of atomizing character. I do not intend to go further into that in this paper.

In Table 4c we find the Object group. Here the numbers of human and nature subjects of finite predicates and participles are 7 - 8. All the human subjects are properties, and only 2 of those have a root on the situational level.

A11. So the Brangwens came and went without fear of necessity, working hard because of the life that was in them,

A22. .. the men sat by the fire and their brains were inert, as their blood flowed heavy with the accumulation from the living day.

In spite of the selection of the predicates I have classified both as Force. In Lawrence's philosophy the blood is a very powerful thing. For most people it would probably be Objective, however. It is certainly a good example of an exploited borderline. Even the subject position as such tends to mobilize such a feature as power, if it is there at all, due to the above mentioned hierarchy.

The seemingly down-graded instances of Force on the part of nature in A16 are rather meant to illustrate the balanced unity in this pre-industrial world.

A16. They knew the intercourse between heaven and earth, sunshine drawn into the breast and bowels, the rain sucked up in the day-time.

The birds in A21 are downgraded Agentive in the subject position.

A21. In autumn the partridges whirred up, birds in flocks blew like spray across the fallow,

Aspect

The A-text describes a static situation, and yet it is filled with action and interaction. This is because the perspective is iterative rather than static. The place is filled with activity, but there is no change. The use of aspect plays an important role here.

The main division of the verbs is between state verbs and dynamic verbs, 19 - 66. Of the dynamic verbs 18 are uncertain, they hover between state and dynamic. Of these 8 are what I call resultant states, i. e. they describe states that are results of actions, e. g.

A 8. .. they had forgotten what it was to be in straitened circumstances.

A 9. They had never become rich,

A17. .. when the crops were to be shorn away.

A22. .. the limbs and the body of the men were impregnated with the day, cattle.. One could easily have said that the crops were ripe, the Brangwens not rich etc.

Aspect	Total	People	Properties	Nature
State	19	12	5	2
Dynamic	48	16 (+6) Process 12(11-perf) Event 10 Activity 10 o 2 Act 7 o 3	3 (+3) Process 5(4-perf) Event 1 Activity 2 o 3 Act 0 o 1	29 (+9) Process 26(18-perf) Event 12 Activity 18 o 8 Act 7 o 5
Uncertain	18	6	3	9
(Of which Resultant states)	(8)	(2)	(3)	(3)

Table 5. Aspect

When we break down the figures in Table 5 we get 17 state verbs for people, mostly describing their looks and other characteristics, 28 dynamic verbs, including the uncertain, 5 of which are resultant states. For nature we get 2 state verbs as opposed to 38 dynamic, including the uncertain, 3 of which are resultant states.

The uncertain verbs, those that can be either state verbs or dynamic, are a borderline very fruitfully exploited. It is often the surrounding text that disambiguates them as to aspect and case frame. But they still tend to be uncertain, if the reality behind them is a state, e. g.

A 1. .. the Erewash twisted sluggishly through alder trees, separating Derbyshire from Nottinghamshire.

A16. .. nakedness that comes under the wind, showing the birds' nests no longer worth hiding.

A17. .. the soil...clung to their feet with a weight that pulled like desire, lying hard and unresponsive when the crops were to be shorn away.

The numbers of process verbs and event verbs are 43 - 23. Within the group of process verbs the activity verbs, i. e. verbs that have Agens subjects, dominate. The numbers of activity verbs as opposed to other process verbs are for people 12 -5 and for nature 18 - 8. The overwhelming majority is -perfective. As few actions as possible in this iterative, stable world are allowed to be completed. Everything must seem as if it could go on for ever.

The events, i. e. the momentary verbs, are much fewer, as they tend to break the continuity. The numbers of acts vs other events are the same for both man and nature, 7 - 4. The main difference here between people and nature is not in the numbers, but in the underlying roles, people as Agentive are animate and act consciously.

A 3. Whenever one of the Brangwens in the fields lifted his head from his work,

A19. They took the udder of the cows, the cows yielded milk and pulse..

A20. They mounted their horses, and held life between the grip of their knees, they harnessed their horses at the wagon, and, with hand on the bridle-rings, drew the heaving of the horses after their will.

Where nature is concerned there is Force behind the Agens subjects, apart from the cows in A19, and the consciousness of the action is explicitly negated in A15. In A17 it is even difficult to decide whether the verbs are acts or activity verbs.

A15. They felt the rush of the sap in spring, they knew the wave which cannot halt, but every year throws forward the seed to begetting, and, falling back, leaves the young-born on the earth.

A17. .. feeling the pulse and body of the soil, that opened to their furrow for the grain, and became smooth and supple after their ploughing

Valency

Valency is used in a very simple way. The verbs are divided into 1-place predicates on one hand and multi-place predicates on the other. The latter are divided into one group where the second argument is a locative expression, and another where it is an object. The idea is that the action of the verb is more directed towards some purpose in the object group than in both the 1-place group and the locative group. The latter is a pretty motley bunch, since I have included both inner and outer adverbials of place, and since it makes quite a difference, whether the verb is a state or not.

Arguments	People	Properties	Nature
1-place	9	8	22
2-place locative	6	2	11
2-place object	19	1	7

Table 6. Valency

Most of the human subjects fall in the object group, whereas most of the nature subjects fall in the 1-place group. The human acts in A19 and A20 are more convincing than the acts of natural phenomena in A15 and A17. And when it comes to experiencing, it is the Brangwens alone, who monitor the description of the country. For examples see A3, A4 and A15 in the section on roles and cases.

The B-text

Metaphors

In the B-text a number of metaphors describe the industrial invasion.

B 4. The Brangwens received a fair sum of money from this trespass across their land.

B 5. Then, a short time afterwards, a colliery was sunk on the other side of the canal, and in a while the Midland railway came down the valley at the foot of the Ilkeston hill, and the invasion was complete

B13. The duckpond lay beyond the furthest wall, littering its white feathers on the padded earthen banks, blowing its stray soiled feathers into the grass and the gorse bushes below the canal embankment, which rose like a high rampart near at hand,

Above the invading agent himself is not stated openly in the text, but hidden behind two derived nouns and a simile. Below he is omitted in a number of passive expressions.

B 3. So the Marsh was shut off from Ilkeston, and enclosed in the small valley bed, which ended in a bushy hill and the village spire of Cossethay.

B 8. But, looking from the garden gate down the road to the right, there, through the dark archway of the canal's square aqueduct, was a colliery spinning away in the near distance, and further, red, crude houses plastered on the valley in masses,

This is a good way of suggesting that it is one powerful agent who does all this to the country and its people. And it all affects them very deeply, in their brains and hearts.

B16. As they worked in the fields, from beyond the now familiar embankment came the rhythmic run of the winding engines, startling at first, but afterwards a narcotic to the brain.

B17. Then the shrill whistle of the trains re-echoed through the heart, with fearsome pleasure, announcing the far-off come near and imminent.

B20. As they pulled the turnips in November, the sharp clink-clink-clink-clink-clink of empty trucks shunting on the line, vibrated in their hearts with the fact of other activity going on beyond them.

Roles and cases

In Table 7, as far as predicates and participles go, "old" material, i. e. man and nature, on one hand, and "new" material, i. e. industrialism, on the other, balance each other perfectly, 32 -33. Within the old category people and nature balance each other, just as in the A-text, but the numbers are lower, 14 - 18. Four things are worth noticing compared to the A-text.

1. The number of participles has gone down for nature, 11 - 3.
2. The category parts and properties of people has gone down considerably.

3. The number of derived nouns as predicates of people and nature has gone down drastically, 38 - 1.

4. The number of adjectives used about people is low in both texts, but has doubled for nature in the B-text, 7 - 13.

All this points to less density and possibly less dynamism in the description of people and nature in the B-text.

	Finite Predicates	Participles as		Derived Nouns	Adjectives as Modifiers
		Predicates	Modifiers		
People	11	2	-	-	-
Properties	1	-	-	1	-
Nature	14	3	1	-	13
Industrialism	17	11	5	8	19

Table 7. Distribution of predicates

The main interest focuses on the new influence, industrialism. Half of the predicates are participles. There are also 8 derived nouns. This points to great density. The number of adjectives is as large as 17, compared to only 7 for the new influence, nature, in the A-text. The B-text may be less dynamic than the A-text, also where the new influence is concerned.

The case patterns in Tables 8a - c show that where Agens is concerned, there is a balance between man and nature, 7 - 8. All the underlying roles for people are Agentive. The Brangwens go on working diligently, but they are dominated by industrialism, e. g.

B 6. The town grew rapidly, the Brangwens were kept busy producing supplies,

B16. As they worked in the fields, from beyond the now familiar embankment came the rhythmic run of the winding engines,

B19. As they gathered the harvest, the west wind brought a faint sulphurous smell of pit-refuse burning

Apart from 2 animal instances of Agentive and 1 of Force, the west wind in B19 above, most of the roles underlying nature Agens are Objective and limited to the Marsh, where the old dynamic life goes on. But the wide horizon and the cosmic perspective are both gone, e. g.

B 7. Still the Marsh remained remote and original, on the old quiet side of the canal embankment, in the sunny valley where slow water wound along in company of stiff alders, and the road went under ash-trees past the Brangwens' garden gate.

Industrialism has more Agens predicates than both man and nature together. The majority of the underlying roles are Objective, e.g.

B 2. A high embankment travelled along the fields to carry the canal, which passed close to the homestead, and, reaching the road, went over in a heavy bridge.

Only 2 of the underlying roles have power enough to be classified as Force, the Midland railway in B5, see the section Metaphors, and the colliery in

B 8. .. there, through the dark archway of the canal's square aqueduct, was a colliery spinning away in the near distance.

It is more difficult to classify technical things as Force than it is with nature phenomena, because there is no developed mythology in this fairly new field yet. But compare the engine in Zola's La Bête humaine, and also many people's reactions to new inventions

I have classed the subject of carry in B2 above as an underlying Instrument together with

B16. .. from beyond the now familiar embankment came the rhythmic run of the winding engines, startling at first, but afterwards a narcotic to the brain.

It can sometimes be difficult to draw the line between Instrument and Reason in Agens position. But when somebody experiences something that causes him to react in some way, regardless of whether this effect was intended or not, then it is justified to class that "something" as Reason. When Reason is in Agens position it is often the case that the effect seems intentional on the verbal level without being so on the situational level. See startling in B16 above and

B15. The building of a canal across their land made them strangers in their own place, this raw bank shutting them off disconcerted them.

B17. Then the shrill whistle of the trains re-echoed through the heart, with fearsome pleasure, announcing the far-off come near and imminent.

There is only one underlying Agentive among the predicates in the industrial group, the colliers trooping from the pit-mouth. The others are hidden behind trespass and invasion, see Metaphors above, and other nouns.

Table 8a	Case				Roles											
	AGENS				1. Agentive		3. Force		6. Objective		7. Instrument		8. Locative		10. Reason	
	F	P	N	A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A
People	5	2			7											
Properties																
Nature	5	3			2		1		4				1			
Industry	9	9	7		2	4	2		7		2	2			4	2

Table 8b	Case				Roles								
	PATIENS				2. Experiencer		4. Benefactive		5. Dative		6. Objective		
	F	P	N	A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A	
People	6				1		2		3				
Properties			1			1							
Nature													
Industry	1	1									2		

The Patiens group is totally dominated by the Brangwens. As Dative they are affected by industrialism (B6), as Benefactive they profit from it (B4 and 6 (became richer)), as Experiencer they react emotionally to it (B17 pleasure, the only derived noun in the group).

B 4. The Brangwens received a fair sum of money from this trespass...

B 6. .. the Brangwens were kept busy producing supplies, they became richer, they were almost tradesmen.

Table 8c	Case				Roles											
	OBJECT				1. Agentive		3. Force		6. Objective		8. Locative		9. Time		10.Reason	
	F	P	N	A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A
People																
Properties	1				1											
Nature	9	1		13					10	7		6				
Industry	7	6	2	19					7	10		2		1	2	1

Tables 8a - c. Case patterns and distribution of roles

In the Object group we catch a glimpse of a human being, shunted down to absolute anonymity.

B13. .. so that occasionally a man's figure passed in silhouette.

Industrialism outnumbers nature where predicates, 13 - 10, nouns, 2 - 0, and adjectives, 19 - 13, are concerned. All the subjects of the 10 nature predicates are Objective. The perspective has narrowed down to the Marsh, e.g.

B 3. So the Marsh was shut off from Ilkeston, and enclosed in the small valley bed, which ended in a bushy hill and the village spire of Cossethay.

When we get to the adjectives, there is a surprising number of underlying Locative, apart from all the Objective subjects. See sunny and quiet in B 7.

In the industrial group most of the underlying roles are also Objective, as in B1, where, like in B3 above, the unknown agent seems to be at work.

B 1. About 1840, a canal was constructed across the meadows of the Marsh Farm,

But a couple of the subjects have Reason as their underlying role.

B17. Then the shrill whistle of the trains re-echoed through the heart,

B20. .. the sharp clink-etc. of empty trucks shunting on the line, vibrated in their hearts with the fact of other activity going on beyond them.

Aspect

Some of the figures in Table 9 seem surprising at first. Earlier I suggested that the B-text is less dynamic than the A-text, and yet the number of state verbs has gone down, 19 - 10. It is for people they have gone down the most, 17 - 1. And so have the the uncertain verbs used about people. It is only when it comes to certain dynamic verbs that we get something like a balance between people and nature, 13 - 19. The explanation is that in the A-text the Brangwens were introduced to us, and there was need for a number of state verbs for that. And for strategic reasons Lawrence needed to conceal their power a bit and hid some of their dynamism in the uncertain borderline between state verbs and dynamic verbs. In the B-text, however, they are no longer the masters, their only function is to go on working diligently, so 9 of the 12 predicates used about people are -perfective activity verbs.

Aspect	Total	People	Properties	Nature	Industrialism
Sate	10	1	-	7	2
Dynamic	49	12 / \ Process Event 9(9-perf) 3 / \ / \ Activ- o Act o ity 6 2 1 2	1 / \ Proc. Event 0 1 / \ Act o 0 1	10(+2) / \ Proc. Event 8(8-perf) 4 / \ / \ Activ- o Act o ity 7 1 1 3	26(+4) / \ Proc. Event 25(14-perf) 5 / \ / \ Activ- o Act o ity 13 12 3 2
Uncertain (Of which Resultant States)	12	6 (5)		2 (1)	4 (4)

Table 9. Aspect

Nature is not a new interest either, so the number of predicates has gone down here, too, 40 - 19. The state verbs have gone up, 2 - 7. What has been done to the farm is described by the small group of events, e.g.

B 3. So the Marsh was shut off from Ilkeston, and enclosed in the small valley bed, which ended in a bushy hill and the small village spire of Cossethay.

It is inside this enclosure the small activities go on. The same mechanisms are used as in the A-text, but the impression is lamer. There are 8 non-perfective activity verbs out of in all 12 dynamic verbs, e.g.

B 7. .. the sunny valley where slow water wound along in the company of stiff alders, and the road went under ash-trees past the Brangwen's garden gate.

The coming of industrialism is described by means of a small group of events.

B 1. About 1840, a canal was constructed across the meadows of the Marsh farm,

B 5. .. a colliery was sunk on the other side of the canal,

And most decisive are the acts in B2 and B15 below

The resultant states are very similar to B1 and B5, e.g.

B 8. .. red, crude houses plastered on the valley in masses,

Both the events and the resultant states above have the feature perfective, and so do e. g.

B15. The building of a canal made them strangers in their own place,

B 2. A high embankment travelled along the fields to carry the canal, which passed close to the homestead, and reaching the road, went over in a heavy bridge.

The trouble with many of the above verbs is the feature duration. I have classed was constructed, was sunk, was shut off, was enclosed as events, i.e. as having the feature -duration, because they are seen here from the outside as points in a summary. Another thing is that in relation to the omitted Agentive, they are, of course acts.

The acts reaching and went over are both clearly momentary verbs. They are used metaphorically, the road is there all the time, once it has been built. Cf. also connecting, which is ambiguous as to duration, and the perfective activity made them strangers. Both acts, perfective activities and resultant states can be used to build up aspectual patterns and to create aspectual metaphors with the features perfective and intention.

The bulk of the verbs in the B-text are non-perfective activity, or at least, process verbs. Once industrialism has been established its different agencies busy themselves with their own affairs.

On the whole it can be said that the text is less dynamic than the A-text. It exploits fewer borderlines, such as derived nouns and uncertain verbs, and it has more adjectives.

Valency

In Table 10 we can see that people in the object group do not dominate so much as in the A-text. But the 3 verbs in the locative group are also consciuos actions, e,g.

B18. As they drove home from town, the farmers of the land met the blackened colliers trooping from the pit-mouth.

Industrialism is everywhere. In their work they are controlled by it, aware of it all the time.

B 6. The Brangwens were kept busy producing supplies,

B19. As they gathered their harvest, the west wind brought a faint, sulphurous smell of pit-refuse burning.

The above predicates are non-perfective activity verbs. When valency co-operates with the Agens case and the perfective aspect, it has a decisive effect.

B 2. A high embankment travelled along the fields to carry the canal, which passed close to the homestead, and, reaching the road, went over in a heavy bridge.

B15. The building of a canal across their land made them strangers in their own place, this raw bank shutting them off disconcerted them.

Here we have the new masters.

Arguments	People	Properties	Nature	Industrialism
1-place	4	1	5	12
2-place L	3	-	9	13
2-place O	6	-	4	7

Table 10. Valency

C-text

Metaphors

Wiggiston is a place after the invasion. It is ugly and sick.

C 6. The streets were like visions of pure ugliness,

C14. There it lay, like the new foundations of a red-brick confusion rapidly spreading, like a skin disease.

It is unorganic.

C 6. The streets were like visions of pure ugliness; a grey-black macadamized road, asphalt causeways, held in between a flat succession of wall, window and door, a new-brick channel that began nowhere and ended nowhere.

C13. There was no meeting-place, no centre, no artery, no organic formation.

It is unreal, which can be seen above, vision, and, confusion, and in

C21. It was like some gruesome dream, some ugly, dead, amorphous mood become concrete.

C23. The place was a moment of chaos perpetuated, persisting, chaos fixed and rigid.

It is dead.

C10. The place had the strange desolation of a ruin.

C11. Colliers hanging about in gangs and groups, or passing along the asphalt pavements heavily to work, seemed not like living people, but like spectres.

It is a prison to its inhabitants.

C27. Like creatures with no more hope, but which still live and have passionate being, within some utterly unliving shell, they passed meaninglessly along, with strange isolated dignity.

C28. It was as if a hard, horny shell enclosed them all.

Roles and cases

	Finite predicates	Participles as		Derived Nouns	Adjectives as Modifiers
		Predicates	Modifiers		
People	12	4	2	5	1
Properties	1	1	1	1	2
Nature	2	1	2	–	7
Industry	24	12	2	12	48

Table 11. Distribution of predicates

In Table 11 we can see that there is no balance anymore. Industrialism outweighs both man and nature, 38 - 26. Nature subjects have almost disappeared. Industrialism is still the main interest. Compared to the B-text

1. The total number of predicates has gone up, 33 - 38.
2. The number of participles is still high, 13.
3. The number of derived nouns is slightly higher, 8 - 12.
4. The number of derived nouns has sky-rocketed, 19 - 48.

When it talks about industrialism, the C-text is dense, but not dynamic.

On the verbal level we find only 6 Agens subjects of predicates and participles, where people are concerned, 5 Agentive and 1 Dative. The only real action is performed by Ursula and Winifred, and even here one cannot be sure they were not, in fact, driven by a chauffeur.

C22. Ursula and Winifred were met by the motor-car at the raw little station and drove through what seemed to them like the horrible raw beginnings of something.

All the others have Wiggiston people as their subjects.

C11. Colliers hanging about in gangs and groups, or passing along the asphalt pavements heavily to work,

C24. .. groups of men standing in the streets, four or five men walking in a gang together, their dogs running behind or before.

Actually the only actors are the dogs.

Table 12a	Case				Roles									
	AGENS				1. Agentive		3. Force		5.Dative		6.Objective		10. Reason	
	F	P	N	A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A
People	3	3	1		5	1			1					
Properties	1												1	
Nature	1	1					1				1			
Wiggiston	4	2					1				3		1	

Table 12b	Case				Roles								
	PATIENS				1. Agentive		2. Experiencer		4. Benefactive		5. Dative		
	F	P	N	A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A	F+P	N+A	
People	9	3	3	1	2		2		1		7	4	
Properties			1	2								1	
Nature													
Wiggiston													

Table 12c	Case				Roles				
	OBJECT				6. Objective		3.Force		
	F	P	N	A	F+A	N+A	F+ P	N+ A	
People									
Properties		2							
Nature	1	2		7	3	7			
Wiggiston	20	12	10	48	30	36	1		

Table 12a - c. Case patterns and distribution of roles

Where nature is concerned, we get 2 Agens, one of which, the shell metaphor, is negative for the first time in this material.

C28. It was as if a hard, horny shell enclosed them all.

There are only 6 Agens where industry is concerned, and they, too, are very weak, with underlying Objective roles, except C12, which probably is Reason.

C12. The rigidity of the blank streets, the homogeneous amorphous sterility suggested death rather than life.

The only real Agens, with an underlying Force, is

C17. Farther off was the great colliery that went night and day.

There are twice as many Patiens than Agens human subjects. Only 2 of those are Experiencer, and those are both Brangwens. The Wiggiston people are mostly

Dative, reduced to very elementary things.

C11. Colliers ... seemed not like living people, but like spectres.

C27. Like creatures with no more hope, but which still live and have passionate being,

Among the Objects there are no human predicates, and only 3 nature predicates. There are 7 adjectives used about nature. It acts very little now, it is described instead.

The bulk of the predicates are industrial, 32, and they have underlying Objectives or shadow participants. To this comes 10 derived nouns, e.g.

C10. The place had the strange desolation of a ruin.

C12. The rigidity of the blank streets, the homogeneous amorphous sterility of the whole suggested death rather than life.

And there are no less than 48 adjectives used about this industrial environment.

C 9. In the middle of the town was a large, open, shapeless space, or market-place, of black, trodden earth, surrounded by the same flat material of dwellings, new, red-brick becoming grimy, small oblong windows, and oblong doors, repeated endlessly, with just, at one corner, a great and gaudy publichouse, and somewhere lost on one of the sides of the square, a large window opaque and darkish green, which was the post-office.

Aspect

Aspect	Total	People	Properties	Nature	Wiggiston
State	28	9	-	3	16
Dynamic	22	8(+1) Process Event 8(7-perf) 1 Activity o Act o 4 4 1	1 Process Event 1(-perf) 0 Activity o 1	2 Process Event 2(1-perf) 0 Activity o 2	11(+11) Process Event 17(15-perf) 5 Activity o Act o 6 11 5
Uncertain (Of which Resultant States)	14	1 (1)	2 (2)	-	11 (11)

Table 13. Aspect

For the first time, where people are concerned, do state verbs and dynamic verb verbs balance each other. And there are only three activity verbs of interest.

C11. Colliers hanging about in gangs and groups, or passing along the asphalt pavements,

C24. Ursula was fascinated by the many men who were there - groups of men standing in the streets, four or five men walking in a gang together,

Also the derived nouns contribute to this very undynamic impression.

C26. The terrible gaunt repose of their bearing fascinated her.

C27. Like creatures with no more hope, but which still live and have passionate being, within some utterly unliving shell, they passed meaninglessly along, with strange, isolated dignity.

Nature is negligible. There is only one predicate having to do with the countryside.

C18. And all around was the country, with two winding streams, ragged with gorse, and heath, the darker woods in the distance.

To this should be added the 7 adjectives, 2 of which are found in the above example: green and darker.

On the part of industry there are 16 state verbs, 48 adjectives, 11 resultant states and only 11 dynamic verbs. There are no acts and only 6 activity verbs, e.g.

C 7. Everything was amorphous, yet everything repeated itself endlessly

C12. the homogeneous amorphous sterility of the whole suggested death rather than life.

C14. There it lay, like the new foundations of a red-brick confusion rapidly spreading, like a skin-disease.

C23. The place was a moment of chaos perpetuated, persisting, chaos fixed and rigid.

In the latter two examples one could possibly shunt back to some Force. But the only credible Force is

C17. Farther off was the great colliery that went day and night.

Valency

Arguments	People	Properties	Nature	Wiggiston
1-place	1o	2	4	26
2-place L	6	-	-	8
2-place O	2	1	1	3

Table 14. Valency

As can be seen there is very little acting on something in this text. For people one of the 2 predicates in the object group has Tom Brangwen as its subject, the other is not a dynamic verb. Among the verbs in the locative group the only directed activity has a Brangwen subject again.

For industrialism the closest we get to directed activity is C12 above, and that is not much.

Summary

Lawrence uses carefully planned metaphors to emphasize important features in the text. In the A-text those features are the animacy of nature, and the balanced, sensual relationship between the Brangwen men and their land, a relationship where the men are the masters. In the B-text it is the power of the invading industrialism which deprives the men of their mastership. In the C-text it is the ugliness and petrification of Wiggiston after the invasion, and the lack of contact with the organic, natural life of the countryside.

The metaphors are the tip of the ice-berg. Most of the work is done below the surface with the help of deep cases, aspect and valency. The use of case patterns makes it possible to shunt non-paradigm roles up to Agens position, thereby endowing them with features such as animacy and power, which they may not normally have, or to shunt people and powers down from that position to conceal those features. Sometimes it is easier to do the shunting via predicative participles or derived nouns, where the effect is less conspicuous, and where one gets away with more. The effect of the shunting is sometimes metaphoric. Verbs often have alternative case frames, which gives a borderline which is easy to exploit.

The choice of aspect, state vs dynamic, durative vs non-durative, perfective vs non-perfective, supports the use of cases to produce the desired effect Verbs with alternative aspects is another fruitful borderline to exploit, and by means of which one can reach the effect of presence or absence of such features as perseverance and intention.

The choice of valency can support the presence or absence of such features and help to produce the impression of varying combinations of such features. The use of valency is essential in the A-text, when the Brangwen men show that they are able to act on their surroundings as masters, in the B-text, where they are deprived of that mastership, and where it is given to industrialism instead, and in the C-text, where no initiatives are taken any more by anybody, and where everything is static and the mine just keeps going.

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ANDRÉ BRINK AND THE CHALLENGE FROM WITHIN IN SOUTH AFRICA

Let me put forward the list of some exiles and expatriates; William Plomer, Laurens Van Der Post, Roy Campbell, Ezekiel later called Eskia Mphalele, Dennis Brutus, Breyten Breytenbach, Alex La Guma, Doris Lessing; and the list of some suicides, Ingrid Jonker, Arthur Nortje, Can Themba, Nat Nakasa. The names remind us of the habit of South Africa of rejecting her writers and a glance at her history in the sixties and seventies recalls the rapidly deteriorating situation and the close influence of political events on books published.

In the early sixties, at the beginning of his literary career, André Brink was writing novels and short plays, first in Afrikaans, many, later personally translated to English, sometimes with passages rewritten; Lobola vir die Lewe, 1962, a novel, and Die Koffer, a play, 1963 Die Ambassadeur, a novel, 1964 Orgie, a novel, 1965, Elders Moiweer en Warm, a play. His literary production is still initially in Afrikaans but the novel has become his favoured form. He uses it to question and weaken the attitudes, the resolutions and clichees, and thereby the rationale, of the established social, political and economic strata.

For those outside South Africa his writing has brought him notice because of five novels in English which reaffirm the present near-inseparability of literature and politics there, the fifties and sixties liberal protest tradition of Alan Paton, Doris Lessing, Alex La Guma, Ezekiel Mphalele having gained strength with the seventies' writing of Nadine Gordimer, Jack Cope and John Coetzee. Brink's first committed novel, Looking on Darkness, Afrikaans original 1973[1], made available in English the following year, was seconded in 1975 by the Afrikaans version of An Instant in the Wind, Englished 1975[2]. A black African's erotic attachment to a white woman and their love-odyssey, is a central concern in these two novels through which Brink protests against the anti-miscegenation laws and practices of South Africa. Brink began his next novel, A Dry White Season[3], in 1976 but abandonned it in 1977 when the killing of Steve Biko forestalled his fiction with chilling reality. Rumours of Rain[4] therefore appeared third in 1978 and was Englished the same year and then A Dry White Season finally appeared in Afrikaans and English in 1979. Where the two former were pro-Black novels, the two latter aim at a broader twentieth century social spectrum and are firmly anti-White. The fifth, A Chain of Voices[5], 1982, combines both approaches. R.O.R. and A.D.W.S. mark Brink's reaction to the hard mid-seventies by complementary studies of respectively the aggressive hypocritical tycoon, Martin Mynhardt and the timorous but posthumously vindicated liberal intellectual, Ben du Toit, the schoolmaster. A.C.O.V. is the fictionalised account of an early nineteenth century farm-slave revolt, its causes and tensions, shown in Brink's model of the colonial community.

In addition to his part in mediating the interaction of forces of political repression and literary response, Brink accepted a controversial public role in the judicial cause-célèbre in 1974 in the wake of the banning of L.O.D.. His other later novels have also been employed for stalking and skirmishing purposes connected to the censorship issue; partly a calculated and ominous cat-and-mouse game, partly a bout of Bohemian exhibitionism not without a certain academic élan and the consequent reputation. The writer-rejection tradition in South Africa need not surprise us if we recall the violent cultural tumults that have intruded on a scene which once framed the sovreign artistry of Olive Schreiner's The Story of an African Farm.

At the heart of all five novels is Brink's merciless rapport with chronic Africander racial prejudice, ranging through its ideology, social institutions, legislation, and daily customs and idiom. Both Gordimer's Late Bourgeois World, 1966, and Jack Cope's My Son Max, 1977, touched on subversion and in The Dawn Comes Twice, 1969, Cope's plot even traces a series of moves up to checkmate between the forces of law and a liberal activist. Brink has no novel dealing with militant urban protest. Several characters, black and white, are gestures in this direction but are given fast exits to uncommented future activity 'off page'. Short of this however, Brink has directed his writing firmly at the entrenched indifference of the white community to the difficulties and humiliations of the non-white, and against the brutality of those White instruments, the totalitarian police and judicial powers, given support despite their connivance in the unilateral furtherance of the interests of one ethnic group.

Brink exerts untiring determination to present his countrymen with incontrovertible tape recorder and mirror evidence concerning their everyday lives, suffused in the moral glow of his condemnation, the whole relentlessly presented as an inescapable collision situation. Jack Cope in My Son Max, 1977, reconnoitres border areas of possible multi-racial compromise and presents the ethnic groups as in a dialogue, while Nadine Gordimer's The Conservationist, 1974, accepts the present White supremacy and treats its vagaries, though with ominous undertones of a future other order. Brink's diagnosis stridently displays the present and fatal infection of the body politic, and his broad, passionate humanism forces him without pause to give literary vent to protest from the narrow geyser cleft of Africander moral censure.

According to André Brink, White greed and callousness and black suffering and worth must be eloquently portrayed so that the loyalties and habitual interests of his own people can reformulate. For them therefore these novels have twittered out from the formally religious tip of the continent, threatening, blackmailing and pointing the finger of condemnation. For the black South African they castigate passivity and pious defeatism, and exhort to self reliance and renewed ethnic hope; but for all they reassert the present situation to be, once again, a collision course and no other. Gordimer and Coetzee meditate and cogitate with wide cultural perspectives, Brink seizes his pen and scathingly castigates his compatriots alone, relaying this to the English-speaking world immediately thereafter.

The dedication of A.I.I.T.W. reads, "For Breyten such a long journey ahead for you and me". This thought of "the colour journey" for white South Africans is transformed when on page fifteen it is attributed to the female protagonist, the eighteenth century Capetown debutant, Elisabeth Larsson, after the death of her White husband in the course of a scientific expedition they were making. These words, while she is brooding over her new-found companionship with Adam Mantoor, the runaway black, anticipate a motif which I shall return to later. Brink is convinced of the inevitability of fatal collision and of the unworthiness of the ethnic cause but his protest is not devoid of undertones expressing appeal, fear of non-response, blank exasperation, and reconciliation to the indignity latent in any cri de coeur.

For his polemical purpose Brink has settled on the novel form, combining psychological realism and great topicality. In L.O.D. the second male in the multi-racial triangle, Richard Cole, the writer, says to the other, Joseph Malan, the coloured actor, of an incident of egregious maltreatment of rural blacks, "'The first novel I wrote after that was based on the incident. But now it's banned here.' He looked at me: 'You read it, didn't you? - I gave you a copy." I was silent for a moment. Yes I'd read it. It was technically brilliant, but the anger in it was too screwed up, it never broke loose from the self.", p. 301. This appears to be an early sign from Brink of awareness of the difficulty of novel writing.

The most obvious means by which Brink gives weight to his approach is a highly developped historical dimension, only briefly relaxed in the fourth novel A.D.W.S.. After an initial thirty-page section setting L.O.D. firmly in the sixties, an equally large one follows immediately which sketches the story of the Black, generation by generation, the twisting of this, the thinnest, most worn strand of South Africa's multiracial rope. Battered into idiocy or maimed into physical incompetence, the body survives continuous abuse and mere exploitation, down to Joseph Malan whose powerful inheritance is none the less the engrained, residual, instinctive will to survive, relentlessly bearing him forward till the moment of extinction and release. "I am really an almost incidental moment in a pattern fulfilling itself over generations and centuries and in indefinite space", he says, p. 34, op.cit.

This is a novel of early seventies' South Africa and Joseph Malan's sufferings are skilfully grounded in that area of the coloured ethnic identity called, 'have always suffered". The South African reader meets himself anew and in depth, as the unfailing, brutal, exploiter, monotonously extemporising on his insecurity and guilt in acts of sadism; for Brink, as for Wilfred Owen the pity is in the poetry. In section five of L.O.D., Joseph, a prisoner, is being mishandled prior to trial, and at p. 262, the prison officer says;

"'Are you going to sign?'
'No'
They lift the electrodes to my earlobes. Splitting through my head
my gramophone voice screams into darkness."

Then Brink imposes the sufferings of an unknown ancestor as an indispensable component of any present black identity.

"He lies spreadeagled among the horses and when the animals are suddenly, violently, hit on the rumps they tear him apart, galloping off to the four corners. The labourers are allowed to have the meat for burial."

In A.I.I.T.W. Brink turns to the eighteenth century Africander story and uses the figure of the pioneer struggling against the veldt. The motif of economic and sexual exploitation and discardment is present as an obligato but a surprising note of conviction enables the cycle of scenes of excess to survive its own repetitiveness. The male Black protagonist, Adam Mantoor, is on one occasion branded as a thief when his White playmate, Lewies, denies that they have often taken raisins from the loft, A.I.I.T.W., p. 28; the master and Lewies' father, Willem Louwrens Rieckert, is speaking,

> "'You're still young, Adam, and you've got to learn. So we'll make it only one pipe.'
> And then he sat down on the bottom rung of the loft ladder and lit his pipe, watching detachedly while the two yard-slaves used the good hippo-hide sjamboks to cut my thighs and buttocks and my back with blow after blow, as neatly as if a knife had done it, causing the warm ticklish blood to run down my sides. Afterwards the Madam brought the small brown box to rub salt into the cuts, while I screamed and pissed into the wheelbarrow."

The effects here are as coarse as the unavenged humiliation and the unabated misuse but Brink also successfully subverts white interest for the familiar pioneer figure, to hypothesize on an alternative society today by attempting the spiritual rehabilitation of the white female and black male protagonists. By their exceptional experience, a 'brief "instant in the wind"', Brink insists on taking his readers back to the making of their ethnic mistake, thus reopening the choice. That this Cape Dutch woman finally condones the murder of her common law black husband, speaks its denunciation of the "civilisation" she regained after their epic journey. The difficult landscape of social and personal rediscovery which they traverse is the journey ahead for South Africans, a journey of unlearning and disruption towards harmony and rediscovered integrity. In R.O.R. Brink sketches in the whole Mynhardt clan history beginning with Wilhelmus Martinus Mynhardt, their first East India Company scion, down to Louis, their future hope, R.O.R., pp. 210-217. The Africander heritage and origins are made personal and the genesis of their national ethos, insights and attitudes, analysed. Behind Martin Mynhardt, the main figure, are "Ma" and "Pa", his links to the clan - and at the same time contemporary examples of the Boer farmer tradition. For Brink this tradition did never offer the black South African human dignity or just treatment.

In the first three novels that historical perspective is deepened into an anthropological one too. In L.O.D. the White is chiefly jailer and legal persecutor of the Black but in one incident the White meets a primitive, an aged Zulu, superficially urbanized as an industrial night-watchman, who tells his fortune using the dolos bones, op.cit., p. 230. In A.I.I.T.W., the white woman, Elisabeth Larsson, representing a stage of culture, finds her new black husband the central focus in a process of re-evaluation of that culture. Her journey is cartographically and culturally a reversal and erosion of her scientist husband's progress to the primitive African interior. It is also the shedding of familiar externals, like dress and food, and it anticipates new mental attitudes with the relinquishing of her white mistress role and the elevation of the menial Black to become her husband and soulmate, p. 170, op.cit.

> "Still there is a hard and hidden compassion in the land which keeps surprising them. Once, when they least expect it, it takes the form of a long pool of water in the wide bed of an otherwise dried-up river among the large bony knuckles of scorched hills. It is surrounded by thickets of mimosa with fluffy yellow flower-balls buzzing with bees. Did not she and Larsson camp here too" She is almost convinced of it; every time, this curious discovery of moving in against him, against her previous self - on her way back to a beginning."

This is challenging reading for the Africander woman.

The two ethnic groups are largely seen in the South African background without the comment or participation of other nationalities not directly involved. In R.O.R., while on a visit to Gibraltar, Martin Mynhardt glimpses the African coast to the south. Brink writes, op.cit., p. 74, "As we turned to go, we noticed the Black man behind us, also staring across the strait. And with sudden unashamed pride, like a child announcing his birthday to a total stranger, he said: 'That's my land over there!" A pause for South African readers. Later, Martin gets lost, significantly, only some hundreds of yards from his own home. Then a stealthy black nestor unaccountably appears from the bush and explains to the frightened tycoon that he too is searching and lost, p. 355, op.cit. He was, however, "following the Momlambo", the quest of Eros. Thus the two are shown as universals, partners and rivals on the backcloth of Africa as environment.

In contrast to the use of the historic dimension another important device for Brink is the persistent and multiple use of documentary material, real or fictive. In respect of the national issue of miscegenation L.O.D. was extremely, not to say sensationally, topical in 1973. The subsidiary theme, judicial connivance by the police, was likewise still of current concern after fifteen years of treason trials. So familiar South African venues are identified by name as settings for action, for example Capetown's District Six, pp. 116-118, the exit roads from the city when the young acting troupe are leaving for their repertory tour, p. 220, and others. The public remembrance service on Signal Hill for the main figure's friend, Dulpert Haidoo, p. 250, seems obviously a fictional echo of a recent event, as Dulpert's suicide too. Then at p. 229, after some general description of throbbing Johannesburg poverty and crime, Brink interrupts the "fictional" account of a visit to court with the following,

> "Violence. Three young White miners raping a pregnant Black woman repeatedly before throwing her from their moving car, resulting in a miscarriage. 'You have acted like animals,' said the Judge. 'Two years imprisonment each.' A nineteen-year-old Black gardener raping the daughter of his employer. For him the death sentence: 'Our White women must be protected.' A young Black boy accused of stealing a loaf of bread from a café. I was hungry, Baas, the pollies they took my mother away.' Eight strokes with a cane.' The farmer and his two sons beating up a labourer with a length of hose, afterwards tying him up in a bag suspended from a rafter in the servants' toilet, resulting in death from suffocation and internal hamorrhage. Two hundred rand fine, collected by their neighbours packing the courtroom. The messenger from Soweto who's spent the night with his wife in her room in the yard of a Randburg home: 'But she's my wife, your Worship.' 'Six months imprisonment. 'Our White suburbs must be kept clean at night.'"

Elsewhere in L.O.D., we are given lists of Joseph Malan, the protagonist's stage roles, p. 188, his drama reading-lists, p. 183, and pp. 225-26, some of his undergraduate idols. A prefatory page bears this notice, "Nothing in this novel has been invented, and the circumstances from which it arises are those of South Africa today. But separate events and people have been recast in the context of a novel, in which they exist as fiction only. It is not the surface reality which is important but the patterns and relationships underneath that surface. Therefore all resemblance between the characters and the incidents in this book and people and situations outside is strictly coincidental."

In the initial chapter of A.I.I.T.W. the Cape Archives, p. 11, are cited, and the records of the London Missionary Society, p. 12, then follow lists of stores and equipment as the expedition sets off. Pages 45-6 and 249-50 present supposed contemporary eyewitness accounts of Capetown in the eighteenth century with an adequate sprinkling of Dutch terminology to authenticate the description. Brink's achievement is graphic historical recreation. Only occasionally, as in discussing the sexual exploitation of Blacks, p. 36 and p. 51, or the life of a slave as child and bondman within a compound, p. 41, does documentary go beyond this to overt satire on racism, its customs and attitudes.

In the three later novels the renewed possibility of using documentary is realised with varying intensity, attuned to the ideological temperature of the decade. The plot in R.O.R. is merged into the stream of South African history from the surprise 1948 victory of the National Party under Dr Malan, pp. 53-4, through the violent events and atmosphere of the early seventies, to the climax of the novel in the Soweto riots, p. 443. This close focus and immediacy of atmosphere is approached by frequent mention of the names of the population centres and of important motorists' routes. We move around in Johannesburg to Dullabh's Corner, Hillbrow and Diagonal Street; in Pretoria it is Vermeulen Street, Church Square, the Paul Kruger statue and Putco, the Public Transport Company buses. To these must be added meetings with the ministers and mandarins, thinly disguised but all familiarly and colloquially referred to. Into this contemporary milieu Brink adds, in italics, the "hero", Bernard Frankin's, extensive prepared court statement, p. 64 et passim, and the fictive diary of Martin's son Louis, p. 298 et passim, achieving near contemporaneity with both the treason trials and the return of Angolan war veterans. Young Louis', Martin's son's diary establishes for too gullible or credulous citizens the northward penetration of their armed forces, town by town, from Ruacana to Novo Redondo, 180 miles inside Angola. Brink lets Bernard's statement close with a polimical question put to Bernard by a supposed ANC friend, p. 110,

> "How would you Afrikaners react if ever my people were to say to them: 'From now on you may own land only in the Orange Free state, excluding the gold and coal mines in the area; if you go elsewhere in South Africa, where the majority of your people live and work, you must have a pass - and stay out of our schools and universities and restaurants and theatres; you will be allowed to work in our industrial areas, provided you leave your families behind, you live in locations or in compounds, and you be excluded from performing skilled work, accepting that you are there on sufference only and that you can be sent back to your area whenever it suits us - ' ?"

Through Bernard, Brink writes with the court voices of Robert Sobukwe, Nelson Mandela and others.

In A.D.W.S. the social context has been moved from top businessmen to the middle class of Ben Du Toit, its schoolteacher protagonist, to the taxi-driver, the journalist, the lawyer, the jail nurse, the schoolcleaner and the clergyman. The documentary material again includes town and street details and in addition a series of important visits by the suspect schoolmaster to police headquarters, pp. 57-63. The prototype of this is a brief mention in L.O.D., p. 315. In effect Brink's clear, terse description puts their strength, their shameful lawlessness, their suffocating hypocrisy and their callousness,in dock before his countrymen, hoping that they will disown the system - and remember the men. He insists on pointing out the building and the men by as many recognition marks as he can assemble, for example physical or architectural and he adduces, see p. 50, a specific accusation of police brutality in their treatment of detainees. The tenacity of Brink's purpose reflects the death of Steve Biko but his aim is to challenge the attitude of law-abiding but ignoble acceptance of these injustices, and to awaken the white conscience and the black will.

Like R.O.R. this novel includes a compulsory tour of Soweto, introduced by familiar well-described routes of approach by car, p. 89. Finally pages 104-8 give an account of the police-victim, Gordon Ngubene's case, as if archived by the Institute of Race Relations. For the novelist, documentary material has perhaps the great advantage of being self-contained; after it has done its job there is no further liability for the author to harmonize figures or events or to return to them.

A final device related to this category of documentation is Brink's satiric use of prejudicial clichées - especially in the three earlier novels. L.O.D. affords, p. 34, "the facts of the case", used when a legal and ethnic reality are sharply opposed, and for more extensive treatment, pp. 44, 79, 80 and 89, "he wouldn't know his place". The same novel, pp. 62, 67, 74 and 251, attacks cowed and culpable black piety, "The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away, blessed by the name of the Lord" and, p. 312, "I'm a decent person." A.I.I.T.W., p. 26, as "One can't take chances with a kaffir, my boy," and, also, "If you go back in our history"; and A.D.W.S. finishes the list with, p. 70, "What can one man do against the whole system?" and, p. 211, "I'm sorry, but I'd rather not have anything to do with this kind of thing." I have associated Brink with liberal white writing and it is reasonable to record that his strongest motive for writing is patently his sympathy for the black South African - of any shade.

Writing on, "Fiction of Black South Africans" in Black Orpheus, 19, March 1966, the African critic Lewis Nkosi says, "What we do get from South Africa therefore - and what we get most frequently - is the journalistic fact parading outrageously as imaginative literature." Earlier in the same passage he had said, "It may even be wondered whether it might not be more prudent to 'renounce literature temporarily', as some have advised".[6] Brink's five novels have been a contribution towards solving that problem via literature.

NOTES

1. Looking on Darkness, André Brink, Star Books, London, 1977, hereafter, L.O.D.

2. An Instant in the Wind, André Brink, Star Books, London, 1980, hereafter, A.I.I.T.W.

3. A Dry White Season, André Brink, W.H. Allen, London, 1979, hereafter, A.D.W.S.

4. Rumours of Rain, André Brink, W.H. Allen, London, 1978, hereafter, R.O.R.

5. A Chain of Voices, André Brink, Faber and Faber, London, 1982, hereafter, A.C.O.V.

6. Quoted, p. 196, Okpure C. Obuke, "South African History, Politics and Literature: Mphalele's Down Second Avenue, and Rive's Emergency", in African Literature Today, 10, ed. Eldred D. Jones, London, 1979.

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THE PRICE OF INDEPENDENCE
The Partition of India in Some Indo-English Novels

Again and again throughout human history the journey as well as the armed conflict have been used as basic patterns of epic works. To a greater or lesser extent the stories have been founded on real facts, have had a documentary background. When we come to the fiction which is growing up around the drastic changes in Indian society in 1947, we are dealing at one and the same time with journeys and with warfare. In the old days, both the journeys and the fighting were seen as heroic. Here, on the other hand, travelling is a slow movement in dust and dirt into an unknown future, and heroism certainly does not colour the fighting, which can rather be described as a butchering of defenceless victims.

The origin of the Indian conflicts referred to lies very far back in time, we might even say in the very structure of Hindu society with its castes and, more precisely, in the first clashes between Hindus and Muslims as the Mogul emperors were conquering the country. In contrast to Hindu hierarchy, Islam can be seen as a brotherhood of faith, a brotherhood that, in missionary zeal, was prepared to welcome the pariahs and outcasts. In this way the inherent differences of the Hindu system were sharpened into an opposition to the conquerors as well as to those untouchables who had turned traitor, leaving their Hinduism for the Muslim religion. We might also say that it was because India was a divided country that the English were led to turn their economic and trading interests into political power. It was also due to this split in the country that it became so difficult for England to disentangle herself in the end.

It is not my purpose now to go into all the historical facts leading up to Indian independence and partition. Some of them have recently been brought to the attention of large audiences who have seen the film about Gandhi. To give a general idea I will simply use the panorama painted in one of the novels to be discussed:

> The summer before, communal riots, precipitated by reports of the proposed division of the country into a Hindu India and a

> Muslim Pakistan, had broken out in Calcutta, and within a few months the death roll had mounted to several thousand. Muslims said the Hindus had planned and started the killing. According to the Hindus, the Muslims were to blame. The fact is, both sides killed. Both shot and stabbed and speared and clubbed. Both tortured. Both raped. From Calcutta, the riots spread north and east and west: to Noakhali in East Bengal, where Muslims Massacred Hindus; to Bihar, where Hindus massacred Muslims. ... Hundreds of thousands of Hindus and Sikhs who had lived for centuries on the Northwest Frontier abandoned their homes and fled toward the protection of the predominantly Sikh and Hindu communities in the east. They traveled on foot, in bullock carts, crammed into lorries, clinging to the sides and roofs of trains. Along the way - at fords, at crossroads, at railroad stations - they collided with panicky swarms of Muslims fleeing to safety in the west. The riots had become a rout. By the summer of 1947, when the creation of the new state of Pakistan was formally announced, ten million people - Muslims and Hindus and Sikhs - were in flight. By the time the monsoon broke, almost a million of them were dead, and[1] all of northern India was in arms, in terror, or in hiding.

The extract above shows clearly the journalist's approach in the effective account of the turmoil. It would, however, seem as if artists needed some distance in time to be able to look at the violence and confusion of the process of partition.[2] It was thus almost a decade before Khushwant Singh's Train to Pakistan was published as the first treatment of the subject in the form of a novel. Its original title was "Mano Majra", the name of the little village close to the new border between India and Pakistan. Here Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus live peacefully together, "drinking water out of the same pitcher" (p. 157) without realizing what is happening in the rest of the country. The Sutlej river flows by, spanned by a railway bridge. The seasons are marked by the rising of the river after the monsoon and its subsiding again after the long dry months. The days are marked by the regular passing of the trains. It is through the increasing irregularity of these that the villagers become aware of the unrest in the country as a whole and it is with the arrival of one train that the meaning of partition is brought to their very doors. The train had been filled with Hindus fleeing from murder in Pakistan. The passengers have been massacred, men, women and children.

The impact of this and a following similar train on the villagers and on its administrator results, first, in the evacuation of the Muslim families to a refugee camp, there to await transport to Pakistan. Then feelings of revenge are roused by a militant group of fanatical Sikhs. The villagers are induced to take part in an ambush of the train that is to take their former Muslim neighbours across the river into their new country. Only one person dares resist the well-armed pressure group - the village jail bird.

In the big, strong Juggut Singh the author has painted a man with a rough appearance but with a loving heart. He cannot stand the thought of fellow human beings slaughtered for other people's crimes, whether they be of the same religion or not. Particularly he cannot bear to think of his love Nooran, a Muslim girl, exposed to rape and murder. In his efforts to thwart the arrangements to stop the train, he risks his life and is, as a consequence, run over by the train, which is thus left free passage over the bridge that forms the frontier. Juggut Singh's saving action is, in a lower key, paralleled by the deputy commissioner's urge to save as many Muslim lives in his responsibility as possible, notably that of his would-be mistress.

The second major novel on this subject, Manohar Malgonkar's A Bend in the Ganges, appeared in 1964.[3] If Khushwant Singh presents the Sikh point of view, Malgonkar primarily looks at the events as a Hindu. Gian Talwar, who is attracted to the non-violence movement, out of duty to his family finds himself a murderer and is transported to a prison camp. His life is intertwined with that of Debi-dayal, who is also a Hindu but otherwise diametrically opposed to Gian in every way. He belongs to a terrorist group and it is in this group that we first see the division between Hindus and Muslims come into effect as friendship turns into persecution and revenge. "What had been aimed against the British, has turned against itself" (p. 290). The meetings of the terrorist movement had always ended with the members "partaking of a curry made of equal parts of beef and pork, symbolising the flouting of the sacred impositions of all the religions of India: Hinduism, Sikhism, Islam" (p. 72). Under the force of events, however, Shafi, the Muslim leader of the group, turns against Debi-dayal who had been closest to him and who, out of spite, takes his woman, a Muslim prostitute. Against his will, Debi becomes strongly attached to this Mumtaz. He is made to suffer pain and disfiguration and, finally,death for her sake. Meanwhile Gian, who had earlier unintentionally exposed him to flogging in the prison camp, tries to make this up to Debi's family, falls in love with his much-loved sister and just manages to save her from Muslim mobs and rescue her out of West Punjab as the book ends.

Some ten years later, in 1975, Chaman Nahal's Azadi lays open the tragedy of the individual and of the masses in the disastrous division of the nation.[4] The novel begins on the third of June, 1947, on the day the Viceroy announces partition in a radio speech and takes us, with frequent references to earlier events, to the day of Gandhi's death in January, 1948. It is centered on a Hindu family, particularly father and son, and their attitudes to people around them and to the political development. At the outset, before the radio speech, there is still uncertainty about the shape of independence. Will it imply a division of the country or not? To Hindus in the Punjab this is a crucial question. The father, Lala Kanshi Ram, is certain that the creation of Pakistan will mean the slaughter of many but he does not think that Gandhi will "give in to such butchery" (p. 43). His son, Arun, feels split asunder by what he sees as the conspiracy of politicians for their own selfish purposes: "Why else would they rush into azadi at this pace - an azadi which would ruin the land and destroy its unity? For the creation of Pakistan solved nothing. One would have to go around with tweezers through all the villages to separate the Muslims from the Hindus. Arun knew this, the game of which he and Nur and millions like them were only victims" (p. 90). Nur is the girl he loves, but she belongs to a Muslim family who regard themselves as "good Muslims because they believed in the unity of all religions" (p. 90). It is shown that as much as they can and as long as they can this Muslim family will help and support the Hindu family they feel so close to.

Just like Khushwant Singh's novel, Chaman Nahal's Azadi is set in a comparatively quiet place, not in those areas that had been "aflame for months" (p. 119). Gradually, however, violence becomes "almost a daily ritual" (p. 119). Then Lala Kanshi Ram is warned that his street is to be looted and burned in the night and the seven families living in the two adjoining buildings together leave for the refugee camp. This is where they await the fifteenth of August, the longed-for independence day, huddled together under the monsoon rains, aggrieved, yet "inexplicably proud" (p. 157). This is the day when the Lala Kanshi Ram family get the message that their married daughter has been killed with her husband and all other Hindus and Sikhs in the same train. "Trains had been as much victims of violence as individuals" (pp. 135-136), it is explained. The people in the refugee camp, however, realize that they have to get to India one way or another and a foot convoy is decided on. These are their prospects: "Many starvation deaths in other convoys were reported, and it was common knowledge that only about half the number of any convoy got through safely. They perished of hunger, or disease, or exposure, or they were killed by violence" (p. 254). This also means that Arun, the young boy, will have to leave his Muslim love for good. Her father and brother walk the first day's journey with their friends and then leave them with the words: "We are one people and religion cannot separate us from each other" (p. 271). As the convoy slowly moves on through the days the refugees see the remains of earlier parties, human bodies butchered and dismembered. They experience attacks and ambushes, horrors and humiliations, which can only be rendered in apocalyptic terms: "... it became evil incarnate. Darkness was added to darkness and a strange terror was let loose on earth" (p. 293). This is what Hindus are exposed to. To set the tally right the author allows his characters, once they have crossed the border to India, to learn what is being done there to Muslims trying to make their way to Pakistan. Lala Kanshi Ram draws his conclusions: "I can't hate the Muslims any more. ... What I mean is, whatever the Muslims did to us in Pakistan, we're doing it to them here!" (p. 334). Through the novel recurs, as a leitmotif: "If only they had not given in so easily to the partition" (p. 362). The helpless judgment of the actions committed by mobs and by individuals on either side runs: "It is really a failure of man" (p. 135).

When we come to Salman Rushdie's Midnight's Children from 1981, we find a totally different kind of novel.[5] It is not about the partition of India in the same way as the novels described above and yet, in a much wider sense, it is about the division of the country. There is very little with regard to detailed descriptions of the horrors and mass migration attending India's independence. In the grim comedy of the story, political events at the highest level are referred to as dashes of names in unfinished sentences. Earl Mountbatten's speed and precision is brought down to the homely level of "... his inexorable ticktock, his soldier's knife that could cut subcontinents in three" (p. 65). While historical and geographical facts are represented in a straightforward, rather didactic way by Chaman Nahal, Rushdie throws out a scattering of evocative, anecdotal references. In a few quick lines the burning down of Muslim property in Delhi is sketched, but it is seen primarily as a "brilliantly-conceived commercial enterprise" concealed behind a "facade of racial hatred" with the comment that "the police, in 1947, were not to be relied upon by Muslims" (p. 72). Typical of Rushdie's narrative policy it places the reader with some of his characters to see "cremated bicycles rise up into the sky". The onlookers cough and splutter as "the vaporized ghosts of chains bells saddlebags handle bars, the transubstantiated frames of Arjuna Indiabikes moved in and out of their lungs" (p. 74). In passing, in what might be taken as a modern version of Homeric epithets, we hear of "S.P.Butt, who got his throat slit in the Partition riots and lost interest in time" (p. 79) and "Mustapha Kemal who will be murdered by goondas in his grand Flagstaff Road house and have the words 'mother-sleeping hoarder' written on his chest in his own blood" (p. 83). We should note that this is told in advance, as a sort of identification, in the same spirit as the fate of a hero is foretold in an epic poem.

Rushdie is very much setting recent convulsions in an historical perspective. Time and timing are central concerns in his novel. Also as he sees it, independence will be

> a new myth to celebrate, because a nation which had never previously existed was about to win its freedom, catapulting us into a world which, although it had five thousand years of history, although it had invented the game of chess and traded with Middle Kingdom Egypt, was nevertheless quite imaginary; into a mythical land, a country which would never exist except by the efforts of a phenomenal collective will - except in a dream we all agreed to dream; it was a mass fantasy shared in varying degrees by Bengali and Punjabi, Madrasi and Jat, and would periodically need the sanctification and renewal which can only be provided by rituals of blood. India, the new myth - a collective fiction in which anything was possible, a fable rivalled only by the two other mighty fantasies: money and God.(p. 112)

Programmatically he declares: "I shall not describe the mass blood-letting in progress on the frontiers of the divided Punjab (where the partitioned nations are washing themselves in one another's blood". What is important to the narrator here is his own birth as one of midnight's children: "I shall avert my eyes from the violence in Bengal and the long pacifying walk of Mahatma Gandhi. Selfish? Narrow-minded? Well, perhaps; but excusably so, in my opinion. After all, one is not born every day" (p. 112).

A fortune-teller has prophesied that the baby, who is and is not the narrator, will have two heads, but his mother shall only see one. This "synchronistic birth" is thus the birth of Saleem Sinai at the same time as the new nation but also the birth of all the other midnight's children all over India, in particular the boy with whom he is in that first hour exchanged. The idea of the real unity of India combined with the idea of enforced division is incarnated in the dark revolutionary action of the midwife Mary for the love of her man Joseph. The two boys who are born at the same midnight hour in the same clinic have their name tags swopped so as to give the poor Hindu boy the opportunities of a rich Muslim family while condemning the Muslim boy to fend for himself as a Hindu in poor circumstances. In one earlier political novel we find something similar. Inqilab, a title that means 'revolution', written by Khwaja Ahmad Abbas in 1958, deals with a Hindu boy who, unaware of his identity, is brought up by Muslims and so becoming a "strange symbol of Unity".[6]

Rushdie goes on to demonstrate the innate enmity between the two boys as they grow up to men, the hatred particularly of Shiva, the boy brought up in poverty, fighting his destructive way to a position of power. There are elements in their relationship, notably the pursuit on the part of the stronger, craftier boy or man who is involved with terrorism, of the weaker, more idealistic one that recall the pattern traced by Debi-dayal when he is on the track of Gian Talwar in Malgonkar's A Bend in the Ganges. The difference is basically the general differnece between Rushdie's novel and any other novel on the partition of India: Its richness and variety of mood, and its symbolic depth as myth and legend taken from Hinduism, Islam and Christianity, are woven into the carpet.

So far four varieties of more or less documentary presentation of the partition have been discussed. While Singh's novel has the effectiveness of journalism, A Bend in the Ganges attempts something on a much larger scale, roaming over the whole of India and even outside. In the process, however, the reader may become a little uncertain of the focus. Azadi, on the other hand, is more consistent in its point of view. In taking the action beyond the actual migration and outbursts of violence and on to an assessment of the outcome as far as the main characters are concerned, Chaman Nahal also gives a more mature artistic picture of the subject. Midnight's Children differs from all three by being a metanovel[7] with an indefinite number of time levels merging and with a preoccupation with memory and its functions as well as its relation to reality.

A quite separate category consists of novels where partition is presented indirectly and where facts are less important than reactions to them. In sensitive evocation Attia Hosain thus conveys what it is to be a Muslim and a woman at the outbreak of Indian independence. The main character of her Sunlight on a Broken Column has seen friends and members of the family go to "the Muslim neo-Paradise across the border" (p. 279) while staying on herself in an increasingly hostile environment.[8] What is strong and powerful in her novel is the life of the emotions. The glimpses of the horrors that we catch in passing are either offered with great restraint: "Full of bright hope and triumph Zahid had boarded the train on that thirteenth day of August which was to take him to the realisation of his dreams, on the eve of the birth of the country for which he had lived and worked. When it had reached its destination not a man, woman or child was found alive" (p. 310), or they are shown as impressions on Laila's, the main character's, imagination:

> I had known the fear of violence, murder, rape and mutilation, as hate-blinded revengeful men had streamed over the border closer and closer to that retreat in the hills. Had the silent

> hills turned suddenly into flaming volcanoes, and the primeval forests released their wild beasts, the terror would not have been greater then waiting with my child for the beasts that had been men.
>
> I had shared the fears of those others who had fled from the valleys to safety on the higher slopes, the fear behind the special prayers for God's protection, the fear of the fiery markings that branded Muslim homes. (p. 304)

The real tragedy, if we except the death of the young husband in earlier warfare, is the split in the family:

> But our disagreements were no longer youthful differences of points of view; they shaped our lives, and echoed bigger divisions.
>
> In the end, inevitably, we quarrelled, and though we made up before we parted I realised that the ties which had kept families together for centuries had been loosened beyond repair. (p. 303)

The alienation from those who have been closest to her is made concrete in Laila's farewell visit to the home of her childhood and adolescence that takes up the fourth and last part of the book. The house has become a living symbol flashing back memories from a kind of life that has, inexorably, come to an end.

In Anita Desai's Clear Light of Day the partition crisis looms menacingly in the background but has a decisive effect on the family in focus.[9] The longest of its four parts, the second, begins: "The city was in flames that summer. Every night fires lit up the horizon beyond the city walls so that the sky was luridly tinted with festive flames of orange and pink, and now and then a column of white smoke would rise and stand solid as an obelisk in the dark" (p. 44). The violence is very much there but seen rather than felt. One of the main characters is deeply involved in the conflict but significantly he is seriously ill during the crucial period. This is Raja, the elder brother of a Hindu family, who from an early age takes a passionate interest in Muslim Urdu literature and culture. He follows a Muslim family away from Delhi to their new home and later marries their only daughter thus leaving his own family and responsibilities behind. This changed relationship to his own people is the problem that is getting solved towards the end of the novel as, at last, the sister closest to him reaches a point where she can forgive and forget.

In Desai's novel the unrest in connection with India's independence, due to the division of its population, is thus seen as psychological issues, while physical violence is kept at a distance.

Three groups of partition novels can thus be distinguished: First novels focussing on the actual facts of killing and flight in a mostly chronological narrative. Secondly, novels written by women, with the historical events of partition reported indirectly. The focus is instead on psychological reactions and the emotional consequences of the division of families and separation of friends. Midnight's Children stands in a group by itself. It gives some prominence to the murders and migration caused by the partition. At the same time it is on a much larger scale with an extended prehistory as well as posthistory to the central process of Indian independence. It also takes up and plays around with more general questions of politics, philosophy and literary technique.

The Indian partition novel, if we can speak of such a sub-genre at all, should be seen in the context of literature expressing the anguish of societies divided between races or groups of people with an unsatisfactory division of power. If we consider only works written in English, we are immediately reminded of the situation of the authors in South Africa or Northern Ireland. What is specific to the Indian partition novel is the climax of events on a massive scale that it depicts as well as the long historical development that leads up to this climax.

What I wish to emphasize is the passionate engagement in human suffering, particularly in Singh's and Nahal's more traditional rendering of a historic decision and its consequences but also the sensitivity and psychological depth in laying bare the wider effects whereby the partition of India becomes the partition of families as shown in the work of Attia Hosain and Anita Desai. Not least, however, are we amazed at the furious torrent of words, description, narration, historical and political explanation as well as unashamed use of symbols - one element superimposed on the other - with which Rushdie manages somehow to erect a powerful structure of interpretation of the events. These are the means by which he creates a new mythology to chart the meaning of his country's recent history as well as of an individual life.

Reactions to British rule never had such far-reaching and complex treatment in Indian literature in English as the reactions to partition as a consequence of independence. Partition presupposes an original unity. What the authors dealt with here have in common is a vision of a unity that is still present in the hearts of friends and lovers parted by fanaticism and by the obstinate holding on to a history of oppression coupled with personal memories of wrongs undergone. This concept of unity is powerfully illustrated by the Sikh Juggut Singh sacrificing his life for the Muslim girl he loves in Khushwant Singh's Train to Pakistan, by

Hindu Debi-dayal who also suffers for his love of a Muslim woman in Manohar Malgonkar's A Bend in the Ganges and it is demonstrated again in the friendship between the Muslim and the Hindu families in Chaman Nahal's Azadi. It is no less present in Salman Rushdie's Midnight's Children where the exchanged baby with two mothers and four fathers coming from opposed camps make him into a pervading symbol of Indian unity.

NOTES

1. Khushwant Singh, Train to Pakistan (1956), Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1975, pp. 1-2.

2. Cf.: "Most of us were benumbed. I did not write a word of any significance for a whole year." Mulk Raj Anand in "Attia Hosain: A Profile" introducing Attia Hosain's Sunlight on a Broken Column (1961), New Delhi: Arnold-Heinemann, 1979, p. X.

3. Manohar Malgonkar, A Bend in the Ganges, New Delhi: Orient Paperbacks, n.d.

4. Chaman Nahal, Azadi, New Delhi: Orient Paperbacks, 1979.

5. Salman Rushdie, Midnight's Children , London: Pan Books, 1982.

6. Khwaja Ahmad Abbas, Inqilab, Bombay: Jaico Publishing House, 1958, p. 348, as quoted from S.C.Harrex, The Fire and the Offering, Calcutta: Writers Workshop, 1977, vol. I, p. 157.

7. 'Metanovel' is here used in the sense of a novel about writing a novel.

8. For page references see note 2.

9. Anita Desai, Clear Light of Day, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1980.

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SOURCES OF VERBAL HUMOUR IN THE WORKS OF TOM STOPPARD

This workshop report was a preliminary account of a planned project to categorize and explain linguistically verbal humour in the works of one of Britain's most celebrated modern playwrights.

The subject lies at the meeting point of many disciplines, for example literary criticism, human psychology and linguistics. It overlaps text linguistics, speech act theory, psycho- and sociolinguistics, pragmatics, linguistic stylistics and other -ics and -tics. Ever since linguistics took the giant leap beyond the sentence to discourse, it has been extending its field. Leech wrote his well-known Linguistic Guide to English Poetry; there is room for a similar guide to English Humour. Tom Stoppard seems a particularly good subject for an investigation of this nature, as he is a writer with a highly developed sense of the humorous possibilities of language.

Verbal humour would seem to be the result of deviance between, for instance, language and situation or expectation and realisation. Deviance, which is a statistical matter related to a norm, gives a unit of speech prominence, which is a psychological factor. If this is deliberate on the part of the author, i.e. the result of foregrounding, then it clearly has literary relevance. Now obviously, not all deviation is humorous, as is illustrated by poetry. The interesting challenge is therefore to seek to answer the question: what sorts of deviation are humorous, and why?

The report then presented a number of types of deviation exemplified by quotations from several of Stoppard's plays. As a full presentation would demand too much space, the following merely outlines some of the varieties of deviation discussed:

Lexical; 1. morphological (rare)
2. syntactical, e.g. embedding sequences

Phonological; a very large category which could be subdivided. Examples were given of phonological resemblances leading to misunderstanding, spoonerisms, recurrence, the like-sounding euphemism and puns (mainly dealt with under semantic deviation).

Semantic; selectional "errors", tautology, metaphor (e.g. mixed), language at odds with the situation - a poor semantic fit, ambiquity (a major source of humour) including puns - homophonic and, most commonly, polysemic. Many other types of semantic humour were mentioned but not exemplified.

Register; e.g. disparity between level of language and of subject (irony of tone) or between sender language and receiver competence; the language of one type of activity applied to another.

Another major line of investigation - as this is drama - is speech act theory. Examples were given of humorous deviation from the principles embodied in Grice's maxims, i.e. strategies and precepts normally observed in conversation - co-operation, quantity, quality, relation and manner.

Both literary criticism and linguistics meet in the study of foregrounding and deviation. Linguistic humour is language heightened and therefore enriched. The study of this form of humour must also enrich our understanding of the nature of language and its use.

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GUIDES TO ENGLISH LITERATURE

Once upon a time... there was an age of innocence in literary studies: the typical university student (at least in Britain) would read a large number of texts, a few critical and scholarly works, all without the benefit of Student Guides, Reader's Guides, Casebooks, critical anthologies, even critical editions. The Guide was usually a tutor or supervisor. That age of innocence is gone; although one can sometimes hear traditional academics defending it: saying that the excess of study aids now on offer can only interfere with and reduce or schematise the growth of literary understanding, and that these publications tell the student what he or she should try and think through... test and re-test through reading and re-reading.

In this talk I start out without wanting either to attack or defend the use of this vast amount of new material that has come on the market in the last two decades. I want rather to examine, however briefly, the situation as I see it from the vantage point of teaching students of literature at a university (Bergen) where English is a second language and most of the students arrive with high linguistic competence but relatively limited experience in critical reading. I shall bear in mind particularly the needs of the middle-level (Mellomfag) student who is no longer a freshman but not yet an advanced, self-reliant student (not Hovedfag, though some of the problems overlap across the levels of attainment). I am using my own experience and observation, but I have also listened to two of my closest colleagues (Lars Hartveit and Ulf Lie) and to a number of informative students. I have taken some account of the features of contemporary educational publishing, of institutional pressures, and of the changing modes of literary criticism itself.

My main focus, in a brief report, is necessarily practical rather than theoretical: what are the benefits and/or risks of the most widely used Guides in forming literary competence? - that is the question. I remain aware of several philosophical dilemmas lurking behind my question: especially the dilemmas represented by those complicated Siamese twins, 'description' and 'interpretation' on the one hand, and text and context on the other. The major debates of criticism from the New Critics to the Deconstructionists are likely to cut across all the practical points I wish to make. However, it should be possible to suspend these dilemmas for twenty minutes or so, making theory implicit only. I will hazard a working distinction between Guides that offer primarily information (ranging from notes to the provision of immediate contexts, like letters and documents around a work) and guides that offer para-information (critical essays ranging from direct interpretation to special pleading, evaluation, ideological and theoretical criticism). It is the initial difference, if you like, between a Baedeker and a volume on the Aesthetics of Travelling. The traveller is, as I said, the student in the middle ground, just beginning a specialised study of a particular author or period. (For reasons of economy I shall choose my examples from material concerning Eliot and Lawrence, but I do have in mind a very much wider range of literary topics). We shall assume that our typical student has a healthy appetite for the Guide material, whetted by the need to contribute something interesting to a seminar, and a less healthy appetite for short-cuts and labour-saving devices.

Let us start at the 'information' end of the spectrum, the study notes. I will exclude discussion of histories of literature and the kind of material found in the truly excellent Longman Companion to English Literature by Christopher Gillie (1972, probably the best concise link between text and context at an introductory but critical level). Nor am I now concerned with the Oxford and the Norton Anthology of English Literature, each well-edited and each offering helpful introductions and notes to its selection of texts. I will merely mention such valuable series as the Penguin English Library and The Norton Critical Editions, which exemplify the kind of 'direct aid' in literary studies that was not available in that legendary age of innocence before the 'paperback revolution'. I will also exclude the elementary York Notes (and similar compilations) which resemble the old 'school crib' in format, popular with freshmen, and unpopular with teachers of literature, though I think these modest handbooks do no harm, if used just for revision, and if the student takes up the invitation to essay-writing and further reading contained in the final sections of the notes.

My first exhibit is a much-used guide to a modern poet students still find difficult: B.C. Southam's A Student Guide to the Selected Poems of T.C. Eliot (Faber and Faber, London, 1968). This work is intended to be used "like any dictionary or work of reference, to be consulted and then put aside", a modest aim, at first conceived as a collection of notes, without a continuous discourse of its own, and "quite free from interpretation". (Author's Preface, p. 14). However, in the course of compiling the Guide the author soon found it impossible to exclude a "speculative element", since the presentation of certain kinds of 'fact' in a literary text - pinning down a source of an allusion, for instance - could not be separated from interpretation. Nevertheless, the guide is offered essentially as an aid to literary knowledge: notes carrying "information relevant to single points in the text" (p.22) - elucidation rather than critical reading. At the same time, the student as reader is kept in mind, in particular the kind of student - now the majority of university students in a world context, I assume - who would not 'get' the various classical and biblical allusions, the supposedly 'public' as distinct from the more obscure or private allusions in Eliot's poetry. In short, here we seem to have just the kind of guide that the student will find useful on first reading Eliot, without running the risk of being impregnated, at too early a stage, with an overall interpretative structure. The student is left free to use his or her own impetus to discovery, responding to the shifting scenography, landscapes, figures, voices and rhythms of the poetry. Whether in private study or in the seminar, attention is still focussed on the poem as a whole (the details illuminating the whole) and a gradual ascent from personal response to articulated critical reading should be possible. However, even this reticent guide turns out to be less reticent than it sounds. From the minor notes - explaining the now-forgotten meanings of 'a cooking egg', or Prufrock's 'ether', or the nightingale's 'jug-jug' punning sexually in the Elizabethan manner - we modulate to major notes, for example to a centrally placed and expanded version of one of Eliot's own famous notes on The Waste Land claiming that Tiresias is "the most important personage in the poem". Southam caps this cryptic/Eliotic remark with a far from transparent extra emphasis on this "our most important guide to the reading of the poem". But there is nothing in the note to guide the student so that he or she might realise this supposedly omnipresent personage, Tiresias, as an embodied presence in the poem. And if one should fail to read into the shadowy Tiresias all that Eliot intended (for the good enough reason that between the conception of the note and the achievement in the poem falls the shadow), then the new note, the note on the note, will not spur the student on to further inquiry. In short, in primarily informative guides 'less is more': say 'yes' to elucidation, but 'no' to the kind of rudimentary interpretation that does not draw attention to its own problem.

As for the problem of using a guide, that becomes more complex in the more far-reaching Reader's Guide series. I turn to George Williamson's volume on T.S. Eliot (Thames and Hudson, London, 1955, rpt. 1967, 1971) a poem-by-poem analysis, conceived as a critical guide throughout. A challenging introduction (challenging at a metacritical rather than on the practical-critical level, and so better suited to the seasoned scholar than to the learner-reader) argues for 'structure' - 'the order of the parts', 'the syntax of the poem', 'sequential logic', and so on. In other words, Williamson takes a curative neo-Aristotelian position to firm the poem against the excessive fluidity of those New Critical readings which stress the 'musical' and 'imagistic' elements in the poems. Coupled with this underlying critical approach (which I would go along with), is the modest-sounding programme: to offer "some guidance to the evident but not obvious pattern of the poems, at most to chart their course". On examination, this guidance turns into fairly heavy 'plotting' for deliberately fragmented poems, poems which substitute a cinematic montage for old-world narrative links. The method of this guide works well enough for Prufrock, where the student is merely encouraged to follow the wanderings of the timid eponymous anti-hero from the mean London streets and the yellow fog into rooms where women "talking of Michalengelo" challenge him to some kind of response or action. Such a would-be narrative helpfully reconstructs the actual movement of the poem without imposing a premature interpretation, especially if the student heeds the author's plea: "never accept any explanation that conflicts with part of the context or the whole poem". (p. 67). But Williamson's idea of structure becomes an inadequate guide to The Waste Land. For the structure of the poem is here identified not with an implicit action (as in Prufrock) but with the Fisher King and the Holy Grail myths. Now this mythological quasi-drama is better used tentatively than as the solid-seeming framework for The Waste Land. Our guide has turned into an archeologist who reconstructs; and massive pillars of commentary are shored against the delicate "ruins" in the poem. Then the student might be better off with the guide as self-declared interpreter, like Helen Williams in The Waste Land volume in the 'Studies in English Literature' series, (where we do see the difficulty of 'reading' the presence of mythic characters in an allusive poem, not a play. (p. 28). The series as a whole aims, in the words of David Daiches, the general editor, not at "delivering opinions about works /students/ have not read, nor ... ready-made ideas applied to works that have been read", but Coleridgean 'aids to reflection'. I must stress that I do not wish to make general judgments here in favour of one series against another, since individual volumes naturally vary in each series. But when the need to choose presents itself, I would put my money either on the primarily informative or on the openly interpretative guide. The guide that turns out to be more para-informative than promised should at least be wrapped in a ribbon carrying a tutorial warning: "not to be taken before the work".

At this point we may turn from the text-centred guides to the context guides and critical anthologies. An enormous imaginary museum of criticism - a portable library of 'lit.crit.' - has become available. In a unique publishing phenomenon, over the last two decades or so - through that famous symbiosis between the egghead and the paperback - several prestigious series have been launched, reprinting otherwise scattered immediate reviews, letters, journals, marginalia, major essays, minor essays, media essays, evaluations and revaluations on almost every author and text in the canon of English (as well as American and European) literature. Ideally, this critical museum is to train the student to become aware of texts as problem-centred and multi-layered, not to be nailed down. In practice, here too we face the risks of rapid and reductive use: the critical essays, like the guides, can become mere exam-fodder; the problems and delights of reading become simplified and at times confused. But let us shop around a little.

In the Critical Heritage series (Routledge and Kegan Paul) each volume gives the reception history of one writer. Apart from offering relaxed browsing in the midst of more strenuously analytical reading, these volumes are well-suited to instil in the student an amused or bemused respect for the relativity of literary judgements: how fallible is the first response, how inconstant is the critical reputation - this can itself be a salutary discovery. For even though there are not many students who would claim that only one reading is right, there are many students who readily accept crystallised or supposedly central positions, if not for ideological reasons, or in deference to authority ('litteraturvitenskap') then as a short cut, to repeat an earlier point.

When students use the Critical Heritage volume on D.H. Lawrence for example, they will find, in addition to the indispensable letters to Garnett around The Rainbow, ("you mustn't look in my novel for the old stable ego", and so on) such responses to the new novels as these:

> Its perfervid futuristic style revolts me. Its reiterations bore me to death. (Galsworthy on The Rainbow in a letter dated 1916, p. 108; Lawrence later returned the compliment, in his famous essay on Galsworthy).

Or this:

> We should have thought that we should be able to distinguish between male and female, at least. But no! Remove the names, remove the sedulous catalogues of unnecessary clothing... and man and woman are indistinguishable as octopods in an acquarium tank. (Middleton Murry on Women in Love, in a review dated 1921, p. 170).

No doubt this material lends itself to a certain amount of mirth now, perhaps the lighter sort of exam question: "Lawrence's men and women are indistinguishable as octopods in an acquarium tank". Discuss. But the more serious insight would be this: the new writer has to create his world and style precariously against the hostility of a period's values and styles. The new work is received as a wound. The literary 'monument' is not marble or bronze, but precarious writing about to be pulped. (The first edition of The Rainbow was, of course, destroyed on court order; the report on the prosecution is duly reprinted in the Critical Heritage volume). Secondly, the hostile reception of Lawrence after Sons and Lovers may invite new critical comparisons between that novel and the later novels; thirdly, they will counterpoint the work of better, but sometimes over-reverential,critics like Leavis and his followers. The criticism of critics is healthy, provided that the text itself is not buried under the controversy.

We turn now to the critical anthologies proper, each with its own distinct 'house style', its special uses and potential abuses. The Casebook Series (Macmillan) combines first reception material and significant documents with longer critical essays focussed on one text. They are strongly edited books, with an overall point-of-view, so that the student using a Casebook will be well advised to start with the often excellent introduction. This series is probably the one best suited for coherent private study; it can also be used in toto as part of a seminar (though I would not so use it for reasons to be given later). The Penguin Critical Anthologies also combine what they call 'Contemporaneous Criticism' with later criticism, offering a larger selection of shorter articles, reviews, extracts, even snippets, suited both for the field survey and the treasure hunt; but they are more loosely focussed on an author (not on a text) and less likely to invite systematic study.

It is only to be expected, in our transatlantic culture, that the student will use the two prestigious American series - 'Twentieth Century Views' and 'Twentieth Century Interpretations' - at least as eagerly as the British ones just discussed. The first series tends to have distinguised editors and famous contributors, that is, it goes in for something like 'the star system', with its excitements and occasional let-downs. One finds, for example, that Brecht has little of interest to say in celebrating Shaw (but it is still Brecht saying it!), nor is Mr. Pound on Mr. Eliot (in 1937) quite as exhilarating as one might have hoped, though it is good to know that Mr. Eliot's POSITIVE MERIT is that he can "pass through the dolorous gates and write in the 'citta dolente' among the unstill gibberings of 'fellow reviewers',... doddering geezers doing notes"... But those are the superstars. The series generally takes care to collect some of the best criticism available; on Eliot, for example, it has Leavis, D.W. Harding, Allen Tate, R.P. Blackmur, Empson, Denis Donoghue and Donald Davie, all brought together by Hugh Kenner. And when one reads the essay of a less well-known contributor - say John Peter on Murder in the Cathedral - one is amply rewarded. So this series is to be trusted, but likely to be used as single-essay, single-topic, discussion 'papers' at a seminar, duly xeroxed and circulated. How higher education thrived at all before the advent of the electronic duplicator is as much a mystery as how it thrived before these Prentice Hall series were launched! The other imprint from this publisher, the Interpretations series, has a different approach: a strong focus not only on the text, but on aspects or parts of the text, fairly didactically edited; it also commissions the odd non-star article on a relevant topic. In sum, this critical museum is richly varied and often satisfies the learning instinct. The risks are in the use we make of this vast material.

What risks? - other than those I have mentioned. There is the tendency - which I have seen - to flood seminars with duplicated articles from volumes the student has not seen, or whose authorial or editorial strategy the student has not grasped. Further, the student's own work - "a poor thing but my own" - may be swamped or crowded out by the easy availability of the finished critique, especially if used too soon or too frequently. I would insist that the student writes at least a 'first response' report on a text (our students seldom write full-length essays) before reaching out for the Casebook, the View, the Interpretation, the Super-Guide. Otherwise practical criticism is short-circuited, without the benefit of a new competence, a critical approach - to the critics.

Finally, there is the problem of pluralism. Most of us are for it, call it pleasant names like 'multiple perspective', or richly contending points-of-view all contributing to the common pursuit... At a certain level, this abundance of approaches - the critical museum - may strike the student as chaos. Then we have this paradox of the pluralistic age: you and I are more and more in demand as personal guides to the guides: please select from the selections, extract from the extract, pre-digest all this food for us, they say, to the tutor as mother pelican. Then comes the heavily bibliographed seminar and the super-didactic hand-out, the weekly ration of critic, or critique. The risk is, again, a new kind of dependancy in the student who trembles at the thought of writing or speaking about a novel, a play, a poem, because he has not read his guide or super-guide. Just at the time when ideas of 'deconstruction' are spilling over into critical practice (though I doubt if many of us would advocate total openness of critical interpretation), we find that our students want only to be constructed, or instructed. Meanwhile, we feel we cannot let them go out into the world as casebooks; having examined each case critically and even metacritically, we still aim at the living book.

POSTSCRIPT

During the Conference, Mr Graham Caie, of the University of Copenhagen, gave a much appreciated reading of "Scotland's best bad poet", William McGonagall. After the conference he kindly sent the organizers of the Conference a poem, composed in imitation of this great bard, which we gratefully reproduce here with the author's permission.

'Twas on the 19th to the 21st of May in the year 1983
That the university teachers of English in Scandinavia had a holidee.
Up to Helsinki they went full of glea
To Hanaholmen by the Baltic Sea.

It was a solemn and serious conferénce
With papers on every topic from "What is a Poem" to verbal tense.
Learned talks were given by professors of great knowlédge
We also got lots of fish, meat and veg.
There's one funny thing I canna understand
In that northern land:
  After I'd delighted them with my poetry so grand
I'd to tak off my clothes and was shoved in a room so hot
That the sweat poured down my face quite a lot.
  Do the Finns like to kipper their guests
Or did they think my poetry not of the best?
In Dundee with rotten eggs and fruit I got pelted,
But in Finland they're worse -- I just about melted!

Graham "McGonagall" Caie

H.R. M.R.

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